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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JANUARY 5, 1951 ★ N° 1

The imperialists are once more allotting Western Germany and Japan the role of aggressive powers, and are rebuilding the war industries and armed forces of these countries in order to light the flames of a murderous war. Be vigilant!

Stand up against the criminal plans of the imperialists, who are ruthlessly striving to increase their privileges and extend their domination at the expense of the lives of the working people.

(Manifesto of the WFTU to the Trade Unions and Workers of the World; Executive Bureau Meeting, Bucharest, December 7, 1950.)

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EDITORIAL

THE WORKERS *ARE OUR JUDGES*

THE workers have a vital interest in waging the fight for peace with the utmost vigour. We have always stressed our view that the essential task of the WFTU is **to act to defend peace.** And now, on the threshold of 1951, we call on all workers' trade unions not to hold a single meeting, assembly or rally of workers without dealing with the subject which comes before all others : **the tasks and responsibilities of the labour movement in the defence of a just and lasting peace.**

Why do we stress this point ?

. Because "**there are only two roads open to the workers : PEACE and the continued fight for better living conditions; or WAR with destruction, misery and death".**

(WFTU Executive Bureau Resolution,
Bucharest, December 1-7, 1950.)

Faced with this alternative, we have made our choice. We want peace, a just and lasting peace. But wanting peace is not enough, we must act to defend it. We must determine the ways and means of achieving it. We must also resolutely oppose everything which may obstruct the peoples' march towards peace. The decision of the WFTU Executive Bureau to support enthusiastically the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress was no mere formality. The Executive Bureau took certain pledges. It took them in the name of the world trade union movement by sending all trade unions its recommendations for a basis of action common to workers in all countries.

In capitalist countries, the possibilities for common action by all workers are becoming greater. They are overcoming the resistance and obstruction of the splitters. The splitters are powerless before the manifest determination of the workers to defend themselves **together,** to protect themselves **together** against **common** enemies.

The rearmament policy imposed by the United States government on the countries which are politically and economically subjected to it is creating unbearable living conditions for all workers. **Together,** these workers, as citizens, have to bear heavy taxes, **together** they are experiencing, as wage earners, more exhausting and less well-paid working conditions.

What kind of a reception can the workers give to professional disruptionists and inveterate splitters, when these people stand up in front of them and ask them to hate one other, or when they write articles in an attempt to set them against one another ?

Unity of the workers is not a matter of sentiment. Unity of the workers is a practical necessity which is at the basis of any positive and concrete action in defence of the workers' vital interests. In order to be positive and concrete, such action must stem from a clear-cut programme, from clear watchwords, for clearly defined objectives.

We have a clear-cut programme for peace.

We have clear watchwords in the struggle for peace.

We have stated our peace aims, which are clear and unimpeachable.

We are pursuing the aim of peace by opposing preparations for war.

We proclaim clearly our watchwords for unity of all workers regardless of opinion or belief.

We have put forward our programme for peace. It runs from comprehensive proposals for immediate, simultaneous and controlled disarmament, to the development of commercial and cultural exchanges between countries with different economic and political systems, and includes in particular demands for the organisation of workers' delegations between different countries in order to develop mutual understanding and friendship among workers of all nations.

Our duty, the duty of the 78 million members of the WFTU, is to make the workers themselves, all workers without any discrimination, the judges of our position, our actions and our programme. We have nothing to fear from the judgment of the workers. And in order to make this judgment possible, we must go to the workers, everywhere, in all their workplaces, in all industrial centres, in all towns, villages and country areas.

We have nothing to lose by doing this. The result can be nothing but new strength, new friends and comrades.

As living conditions become more difficult for the workers in capitalist countries, our trade unions must draw closer to the workers and come to their assistance more resolutely.

The policy of war and poverty imposed by American imperialism on the peoples of the countries it has brought into subjection gives the working class fresh reasons to make felt the permanent presence in its ranks of active trade union organisations animated with a fighting spirit. Capitalism is not able to hide its contradictions from the masses by a philanthropy it is not capable of putting into practice. Trade union leaders who have gone or go over to imperialism or to reactionary governments cannot by their glib and demagogic talk conceal the harsh reality of a life made up of hardship, want, unhappiness and anguish, which every new day brings for millions of men, women and children.

Our task and yours, Comrades, is to bring out this reality, to leave no detail in darkness, in order to call on all workers to unite and act against this reality, that is to say against those who are responsible for it.

We do not believe that the policy of preparation for a war of agression, such as the one prepared by the Washington strategists, can be a source of wellbeing and happiness for the workers and for the whole of mankind. It can bring nothing but mourning and fresh sacrifices for the peoples.

We do not believe in this criminal policy. We have said, and we repeat, that we oppose it.

We call on all trade union organisations to express their opposition together with the WFTU. Such are our objectives and our major trade union preoccupations at the present moment.

Indeed, this being so, we are very far from the "trade union" (!)... and MILITARY preoccupations of Mister Irving Brown, and of the Scab International. At the 69th Congress of the A.F. of L. held at Houston (USA) in September, Mister Brown showed a keen interest in the movement of the Italian and French workers in defence of their demands. He stated : **"American trade unions must speak out loudly and clearly to demand that our government bring pressure to bear on the employers and governments of France and Italy to meet the just demands now being made by the democratic non-Communist trade unions. This is not only a matter of social justice. It is a MILITARY NECESSITY . . . "**

FIVE YEARS AGO...

Thus, the apostles of "free" trade unionism, the knights of "trade union independence", the great champions of " humanitarian " trade unionism, use their **military necessity** as a justification to get satisfaction for the working class demands to which their **war policy**

inevitably gives rise in France and Italy, so much so that the "democratic" trade union organisations which the themselves set up by ordering the split have been compelled by pressure from the rank and file to put forward such demands.

Thus, French and Italian workers should see to it that their true representatives, the representatives they elected in their factories to fight for their demands, go to Washington and ask Mr. Truman, after begging for his approval of their demands, to use his influence on the French and Italian governments.

What an admission !

We know the men and women workers of France and Italy well enough to be certain that they will proudly reject the "trade union" ideas submitted by Mr. Irving Brown of the AFL. They will thwart his plans and military necessities which are the source of their poverty.

We said and wrote that the programme of economic assistance to Europe presented in June 1947 by General Marshall was only the prologue to a gigantic farce, the beginning of a large-scale imperialist operation. Those who were taken in by it were those who were willing to be fooled, who had something to gain by doing so.

In its reply to the invitation sent by the American CIO, the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions revealed clearly, in February 1948, the imperialist mechanism concealed behind United States schemes for economic assistance.

The Confederation of Workers of Latin America, in Latin American countries, the All-China Federation of Labour, in Asian countries, the French CGT and the Italian CGIL in Europe, were able to warn the workers of these countries in good time of imperialist aims and of the attempts against their national independence which the American economic assistance programmes could not conceal.

Is there anywhere an honest trade union leader who does not recognise now that these warnings were full of wisdom and far-sightedness ?

Mister Irving Brown's military necessity was spotlighted, within the WFTU, by those who had discovered it before he admitted it publicly.

This did not lead us to advocate or wish for war. On the contrary, we have never stopped calling on workers in all countries to unite in order to dispel the danger of war. We have called on them to be among the best defenders of peace.

And we continue to be defenders of peace, resolutely opposed to those who, by their actions, have made themselves the agents of the warmongers within the world trade union movement.

Against their plans and programmes, which lead to the outbreak of a third world war, we set up our plans and programmes which are leading the peoples towards a just and lasting peace.

In this New Year, we do not merely offer our wishes for peace.

We pledge ourselves to ACT, together with the millions of men and women workers throughout the world—our judges— in order TO WIN PEACE.

Louis SAILLANT.

RESULTS OF THE MEETING OF THE W. F. T. U. EXECUTIVE BUREAU

THE WORKING CLASS In the Vanguard for Peace

THE recent session of the Executive Bureau of our W.F.T.U. which was held in Bucharest from the 1st to the 7th of December was of great importance for the international working class and for the front-rank role it has to play among the progressive forces of the world which are determined, at all costs, to preserve peace and defend boldly the threatened existence and democratic rights of working people in the capitalist countries.

This session of the Executive Bureau was held a few weeks after the great World Peace Congress in Warsaw, at a time when the criminal warmongers—the American aggressors—having been thrown back by the Korean people's heroic army and the Chinese volunteers, were intensifying their war provocations and their military preparations in order to extend their aggression and drag mankind into a third world war.

by Giuseppe DI VITTORIO

General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, President of the WFTU

In these circumstances, the Executive Bureau, as the leading body of the world trade union movement, could not but place foremost in its preoccupations the question foremost in the minds of the workers and of all mankind—namely the threat of war. Our Executive Bureau did not fail in its fundamental task.

Indeed, the very first report to be examined by the Executive Bureau was the report made by comrade Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, on the tasks of the international working class in the struggle for peace. Comrade Saillant's report was fully commensurate with the extreme gravity of the threat which is hanging over the world and of the tasks which the working class has to face.

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Members of the Executive Bureau were welcomed on on arrival at Bucharest by the leaders of the Rumanian CGT. Left to right : **Liuba Kishinevsky, Vice-President of the Rumanian CGT; Liu Ning-Yi (China); G. Apostol, President of the Rumanian CGT; V. V. Kuznetsov (USSR); Louis Saillant, Alain Le Leap (France); L. Soloviev (USSR); V. Lombardo Toledano (President of the CTAL), and Lazaro Peña (Cuba).**

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After analysing the facts which characterise the present world situation, Louis Saillant proved that the desire of American imperialism for world domination, which was clearly indicated by its premeditated aggression against the Korean people and People's China, is the only cause of the present tense situation in the world and the danger of war which is deepening and growing at the present moment.

Louis Saillant recalled the correct analysis of this serious question made by the Second World Trade Union Congress and by the Budapest session of the WFTU Executive Committee. He set out in detail the most characteristic features of the consistent peace policy steadily followed by the USSR. He recalled the series of concrete proposals it has made for an agreement between the great powers : the controlled reduction of armaments in all countries and the outlawing of atomic weapons of mass destruction, as well as other proposals, all of which were made with the clear aim of bringing about a general improvement in the world situation and preserving and consolidating peace.

These proposals were enthusiastically supported by all the People's Democracies. But Anglo-American imperialism, by systematically rejecting all the Soviet proposals, revealed its criminals aggressive plans. It ackowledged its desire for war, confirmed its fear of peace and of the peaceful attraction of the Socialist system and its ever-renewed victories in the development of Socialist economy and the increase in the well-being of the peoples.

Louis Saillant particularly drew the attention of the Executive Bureau to the rearmament of Western Germany, imposed by the British, American and French warmongers in open violation of the Potsdam agreements. This act, by means of which imperialism is re-forming Hitler's army, is without a doubt the gravest war provocation made in recent times. It is the most serious threat to the national independence of the European peoples who experienced invasion and bloody, barbaric domination by Hitler's cohorts. It represents the most serious danger of reorganisation of a new fascism, powerfully armed, in the very heart of Europe.

Saillant stressed the fact that such an open betrayal of the ideals of national independence, freedom and lasting peace for which the workers and the peoples fought heroically against Nazi and fascist barbarism, arouses among these peoples a feeling of moral revulsion and stubborn opposition. But to make itself effectively felt, and succeed in preventing this betrayal, this opposition must be organised. This is one of the most urgent tasks of the world trade union movement.

Louis Saillant confirmed the analysis of the present situation made by the Warsaw Congress and in approving all its decisions he correctly stressed the urgent need to apply these decisions enthusiastically. He outlined the specific tasks which befall the working class in the courageous struggle to be further developed by the world peace front in order to paralyse the warmongers and stop their hysteria and criminal preparations.

Basing itself on the report made by comrade Saillant, the Executive Bureau then made a careful examination of the situation in various parts of the world in order to widen and intensify everywhere the struggle for peace waged by the workers and the peoples. All the members of the Executive Bureau made their contribution to this examination, giving factual reports which enabled the Executive Bureau to get a clear

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Louis Saillant makes his report to the Executive Bureau on the activity of the WFTU in the fight for peace.

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picture of the world situation and of the tremendous possibilities open to the WFTU for developing the struggle for peace in various parts of the world.

AMONG the most interesting speeches made to the Executive Bureau, I wish to mention the one made by comrade V. Kuznetsov, whose arguments, backed up by concrete facts, widened and enriched the discussion. Comrade Kuznetsov made a clear factual demonstration, which would convince any honest person, of the steady and consistent peace policy pursued by the USSR and the People's Democracies, detailing the repeated efforts made untiringly by the Soviet people and government in order to preserve world peace, in spite of the Anglo-American warmongers' unceasing provocations. I expressed the wish that comrade Kuznetsov's speech and comrade Saillant's report be published in pamphlet form so that all our militant trade unionists and the broad masses of the people may read them.

The results of this discussion were outlined in three documents issued by the Executive Bureau, and published with this Review : the resolution on the tasks of the world trade union movement in the struggle for peace; the appeal on the same subject issued in Bucharest by the Executive Bureau; and the address sent by the WFTU to UNO.

We wish to draw the attention of all our National Trade Union Centres and our Trade Departments to the importance of these documents and to stress that it is urgent to distribute them widely and put them into application.

The Executive Bureau noted, as the World Peace Congress had already done, that the peace forces in the world are immeasurably more numerous and stronger than the great criminal war planners and profiteers. Our task is to guide and lead these forces along the path of active defence of peace, of an effective struggle to prevent preparations for aggression; to oppose rearmament and the increase in military expenditure by every effective means; to win and consolidate peace through the will and determination of the people.

We are convinced that by enthusiastically carrying out the tasks laid down by the Bucharest session of our Executive Bureau, the World Federation of Trade Unions will make a powerful contribution to the development and growth of the peoples' movement against war and to the victory of the peace forces in the world.

EVERYONE is aware that the policy of rearmament and intensive war preparations undertaken by all the capitalist governments subservient to American imperialism, entails an impressive increase in military expenditure, a steady worsening of their economic situation, and a forcing-down of the living standards of the workers and middle classes, which they are

The Executive Bureau in session.

less and less in a position to bear. This ruinous war policy also involves an intensified pressure by reaction against the working people, for the war *they* are preparing—which is clearly a war of imperialist aggression, aimed solely at making it possible for the American billionaires to win world domination—would be the most unjust, the most foul, and consequently the most unpopular war of plunder ever to be experienced by man.

The major criminals of imperialism know full well that they cannot drag the peoples into such a war—and impose on them unbearable sacrifices in bloodshed and misery—without first wiping out the vestiges (where vestiges there are) of the workers' democratic, trade union and social rights. This is why, obeying the orders of the American General Staff, all the Marshallised governments have begun imposing a series of reactionary laws which they are already applying rigorously against trade unions and other democratic organisations, against the right to strike, and so on, in order to chain and gag the working people.

In these circumstances, which they will try to make continually more difficult, it is clear that the struggle to defend the daily bread and the rights of the workers is closely linked with the struggle against war preparations and the manufacture and transport of arms. It follows that the primary task of every genuine workers' trade union—that of organising and leading the workers' struggle to defend and improve their conditions—becomes decisive. The fulfilment of this fundamental duty is naturally conditional on the strengthening of trade unions and the development of united action and trade union unity, in spite of the frantic opposition of the disruptionist trade union leaders of the Scab International who are working under the orders of the secret services of Anglo-American imperialism.

With this end in view, the Bucharest meeting of the Executive Bureau examined the activities of the Trade Departments of the WFTU and particularly the metal workers' trade department. Comrades Gebert and Jourdain both made reports on this important

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WFTU President G. Di Vittorio sums up the work of the Executive Bureau in his closing speech.

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question, and the results of this examination are outlined in the resolution carried by the Executive Bureau.

A large part of the Executive Bureau's work was devoted to a thorough study of the situation in Latin America, based on a most revealing report made by Comrade Lombardo Toledano, and on contributions from many trade unionists from various Latin-American countries.

By means of this study, the Executive Bureau was able to obtain a very clear idea of the situation in Latin America, which is determined by the growing economic, and even political domination of U.S. imperialism and by the wave of bloody reaction which it has started and is seeking to intensify as much as possible. This is being done with the aim of smashing the workers' and peasants' trade union organisations, as well as the democratic parties, which are valiantly fighting for the economic and social demands of the population, for peace and national and economic independence for all Latin-American countries.

As a result of this broad study of the situation, the Executive Bureau was able to put into concrete terms, in a resolution which we are publishing, its recommendations for the whole of the Latin-American trade union movement, in order to achieve the widest possible unity of action of the working people, and to intensify their fight for bread, democratic rights, peace and national independence.

The Executive Bureau also examined a certain number of problems concerning the trade union movement in Asia and Africa.

We may in conclusion state that the Bucharest meeting of the WFTU Executive Bureau had most important and fruitful results, and that its resolutions and recommendations will have a considerable influence on the development of the trade union movement and the effective struggle of the working people for peace. The WFTU has placed itself in the vanguard of the peoples' struggle to preserve mankind from the horror of war and to win a lasting peace. We are confident that all our national trade union centres and all trade unions in the world will be worthy of this historic task of the international working class.

In concluding, I wish to give our fraternal thanks to the Confederation of Labour and all our comrades in Rumania, who made it possible for the Executive Bureau to do its work in the best possible conditions. They made it possible for us to see the great victories won by the valiant Rumanian People's Republic in the construction of a new Socialist life, in the development of the national economy and the constant improvement of the people's economic and cultural well-being.

THE COURAGEOUS FIGHT OF JAPANESE METAL WORKERS AGAINST WAR PRODUCTION

By MICHIO WATANABE

The major contribution made by Japanese workers to the aid of the international labour movement for the heroic struggle of the Korean workers and people has been their strong and courageous fight against the production of armaments, and there is no doubt that this activity is a fundamental reason for MacArthur's arbitrary dissolution of the Zen-Ro-Ren (Liaison Council of Japanese Trade Unions). This fascist-like action has not, however, prevented Japanese workers from continuing the fight. In the article printed below is told the story of this struggle in one factory, with the conditions in which it was fought, the methods used by the trade union movement, and the lessons drawn from it. Further examples of the active solidarity of the workers of the world with the Korean people, called for by the WFTU in its Appeal of July 5 (see this Review, N° 6, 1950), will be given in a subsequent number of the Review

LAST August, the Fuji-Mitaka chapter of the United Metal Workers of Japan (Zen-Kinzoku) received a notification from the Company that the plant would be closed down at 6 p.m. on the 16th of the month, and that no Union member would then be permitted to enter the plant. The chapter union, with a membership of 850, immediately upon receipt of the notification, issued a directive calling off the strike then in progress and asking all members to come to the plant. The Union decided to conduct intensive propaganda against the Company's measure.

Confronted with the firm determination of the workers, the management of the factory, the biggest aircraft plant in Japan before the end of the war, had decided to suppress the strike by closing down the plant. The management was dreaming of making easy money, as others have done since the outbreak of the war in Korea, by converting the plant for the production of munitions.

The Union claimed a wage rise to 12,000 yen a month and the full payment of delayed wages. The Company's reply to these demands was : wages cut down to 8,500 yen a month, prohibition of political activities in the plant, and restrictions on Union activities.

On the morning of August 22, 800 members of the Union broke through the barricades set up by the Company and entered the plant. The Union meeting was held immediately, and decided "to defend the plant to the last".

The strikers, with the active support and joint struggle of the Western Tokyo Council of Factory Delegates, and aided by the struggle of the electrical distribution and generation workers against the "Red Purge" (dismissal of progressive trade unionists), won 10,000 yen as wages for July.

The Company sent a bailiff to execute the

provisional closure of the plant on August 18, but neither he nor his assistants were able to enter the plant. On that day, more than 50 fraternal organisations together with members of the trade unionists' families rushed to defend the plant. Representatives from almost all Tokyo trade unions affiliated to the United Metal Workers' Union, including 400 workers from the Mizuho plant who went on strike, were present at the factory. In addition, many day labourers, including women labourers, also came to the factory. The number of workers who formed the "Defence Corps" totalled 2,500.

Early on the morning of August 21, some 2,000 policemen from Tokyo and neighbouring prefectures, with armoured cars and radio cars, raided the plant, brandishing pistols and clubs. After an hour's fight, during which more than 200 workers were injured and about 60 persons arrested, they succeeded in enforcing the provisional closure of the plant.

After the arrest of some of the Union leaders, the chapter union immediately formed a new leadership round the remaining executive members to continue the struggle. The Company, having failed to form a company union and unable to restart the plant, proposed to reopen negotiations with the Union. The Union replied that it would not reopen negotiations unless all those arrested were released.

On September 12 and 13, all the arrested were released on bail as a result of pressure from a protest strike of all the chapter unions in Tokyo affiliated to the United Metal Workers' Union, and negotiations with the Company were resumed.

The struggle of the Fuji-Mitaka chapter of United Metal Workers, which is affiliated to the Metal Workers' TUI of the WFTU, though not nationwide, was nevertheless the biggest fight since the struggle of the 32,000 Hitachi workers in May, and breathed new life into the class consciouness of workers all over the country.

The Union was strong and not divided, and mass actions were well organised. The mere fact that more than 2,500 workers from neighbouring factories were mobilised for the defence of the plant indicates the strong opposition of Japanese workers to the conversion of the plant into a munitions factory through the introduction of foreign capital.

These lessons were clearly brought out at the 2nd National Convention of the United Metal Workers in October, when the whole policy and activities of the metal unions were reviewed and criticised.

In determining the practical steps required to

14,000 workers, members of the United Metal Workers of Japan, demonstrate in front of the Hitachi works against the dismissal of 5,000 workers by the management of this heavy electrical engineering firm.

1) A women's demonstration comes up against a police barrage.

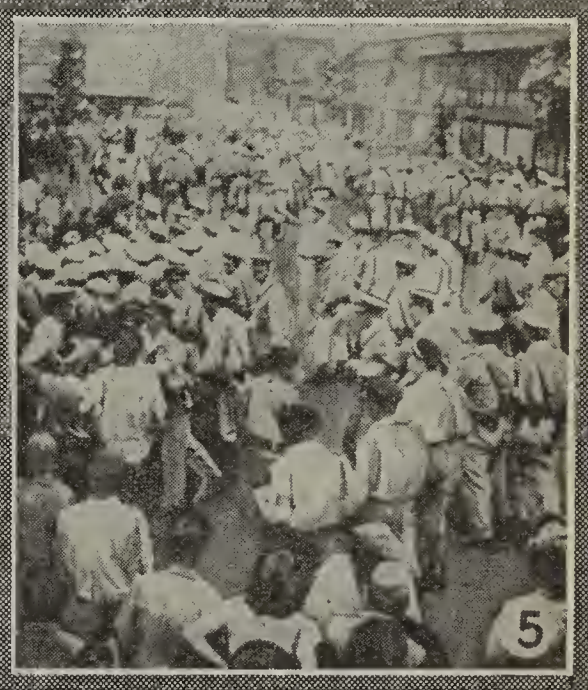
2) Brutally batoned, 8 of the women are seriously injured.

3) The police break down the door of the factory—

4) —and charge the workers gathered inside.

POLICE BRUTALITY

These photos, which show very clearly the brutal attack of the police on strikers employed by the Nippon Aluminium Co., were taken on the spot and sent us by the workers themselves.



improve the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and intensify the struggle against war and for national independence, the great importance of the unification of the labour front was stressed, and it was resolved to fight alongside the rank and file workers affiliated to the right-wing dominated General Council of Japanese Trade Unions.

The declaration adopted by the Metal Workers' Convention states:

"The national crisis is daily increasing as the reactionary forces, internal and external, confronted with the counterattacks of the forces of peaceloving countries, attempt to unleash a world war and to involve Japan in war.

"Under these circumstances, we declare that we will oppose wartime industrial reorganisation under which all rights will be denied to the workers, we will fight fascism, strive to unify the labour front for peace, freedom and national independence, and fight for a lasting peace in the ranks of the 78 million workers rallied under the banner of the WFTU."

5) The police wreak their fury on the workers.

6) Isihara, a 24 year old worker, had several ribs broken by blows from batons. Other workers suffered serious internal injuries.

7) Injured workers lie on the ground near the police truck.

A LEBANESE MILITANT WRITES FROM PRISON

by MUSTAFA EL ARISS
President of the Lebanese Federation of Workers and Employees, Member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU

THE reader will appreciate the difficulties involved in getting through this moving message, written some weeks ago from his prison cell by our comrade El Ariss.

On November 3rd, while his letter was on the way, the writer was released from jail on the expiry of a twelve-month sentence for the « crime » of representing the workers of his country at the WFTU Executive Committee—a case which violates the most elementary rights set down in the United Nations Charter, of which the Lebanon is a signatory.

We learn that our comrade was no sooner out of prison than further charges were brought against him by the reactionary Lebanese authorities. (Editorial note.)

THE situation in the Lebanon is growing daily worse. Both at home and abroad the country's reactionary leaders servilely follow the policy laid down by Anglo-American imperialism. This policy is essentially one of disregard for the nation's interests, attack on the people, and complicity with the war-planners, to serve whom all other considerations are sacrified.

Every vestige of national sovereignty, democracy and liberty has disappeared in the Lebanon. Those who stand for national independence and peace, who oppose the concession of aerodromes and strategic bases to the imperialists and the transformation of the country into a bastion and springboard for anti-Soviet aggression, are hunted and persecuted. But daily their numbers grow.

In fighting for peace the Lebanese people are fighting to win national independence and liberty, to keep foreign armies of occupation from installing themselves once more on Lebanese territory, and to save their country from the horrors of a third world war. They are fighting against American - British - French imperialism and against reactionaries at home who are placing the country's entire resources at the disposal of this imperialism to further its plans for the systematic exploitation, brigandage and pauperisation which are a daily occurrence for the Lebanese people.

To date over £L38 millions have been lavished by the Lebanese government on building one of the world's biggest aerodromes at Khalde, 8 miles out of Beirut. This aerodrome is designed for use by the imperialists' planes in the war they are preparing against the USSR. But this same government has cut credits for public works from 80 to 20 millions.

It grudges every penny spent on schools and on education in general, heedless of the thousands of poor children who roam the streets, but does not hesitate to squander £5 million on a gigantic prison holding 6,000 prisoners—out of a population of 1,200,000.

The government has not yet compensated the population of the regions devastated during the war under the Vichy occupation, but it quickly found 50,000 dollars of the

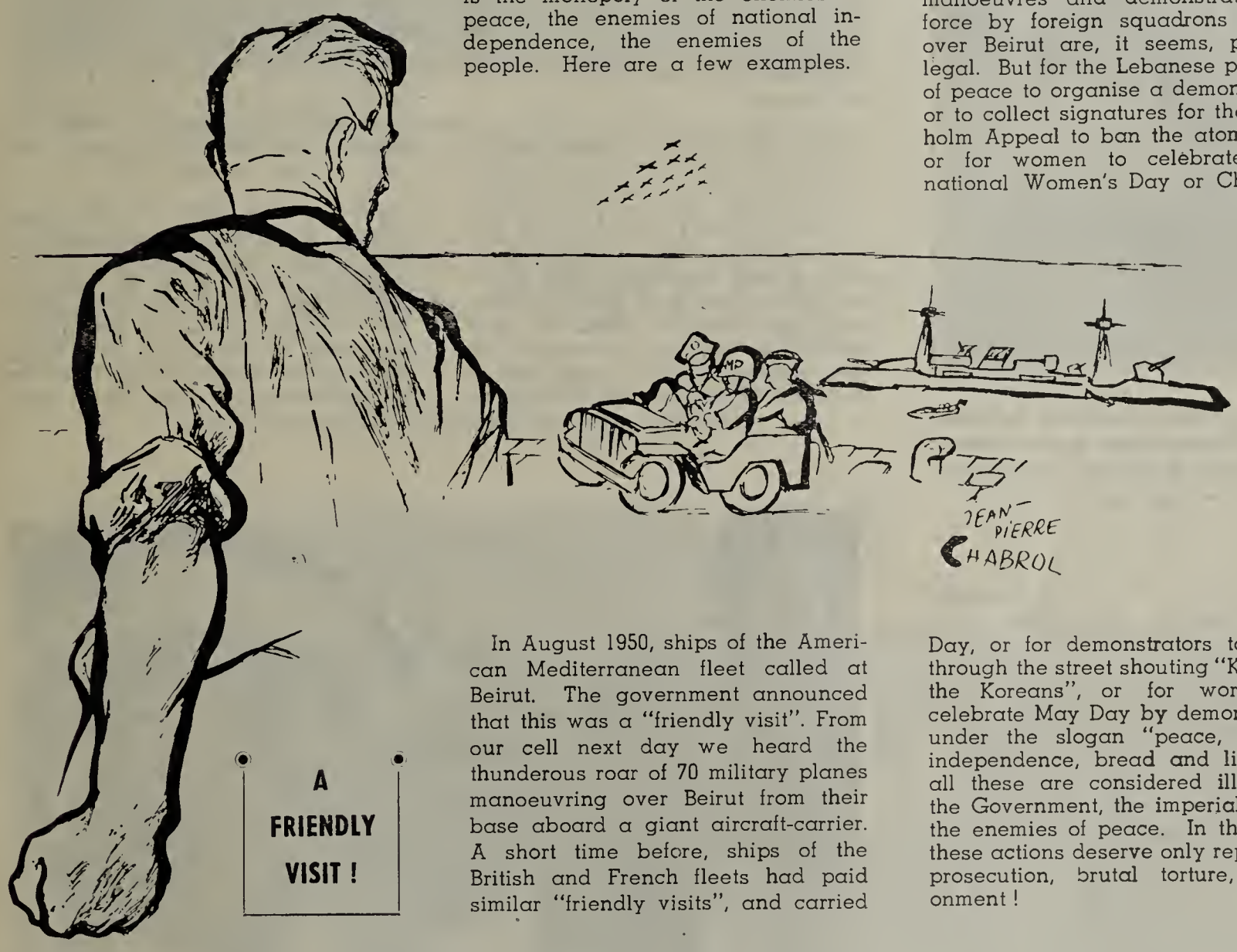
people's money to subscribe to American imperialism's war of aggression against the valiant people of Korea.

Every year the government spends millions of pounds to meet the alleged deficit in the foreign-owned railway company, but it refuses to pay Lebanese workers employed during the war by the French Army the service grants to which they are entitled, and which were long ago handed over to it for distribution.

The government pays subsidies to the tune of many thousands of pounds to foreign "experts" and "advisers", British, American, Belgian, Swiss, etc., but it leaves the thousands of Lebanese unemployed, who receive no grant whatsoever, to starve to death.

PRISON FOR THE PARTISANS OF PEACE. FREEDOM FOR THE WARMONGERS

CERTAIN liberties survive in the Lebanon, but only for the imperialists, their companies and agents, the feudal slave-driving landowners, the big capitalists who outrageously exploit the workers, and for all the spies and provocateurs who exist by splitting the ranks of the workers. Liberty in the Lebanon is the monopoly of the enemies of peace, the enemies of national independence, the enemies of the people. Here are a few examples.



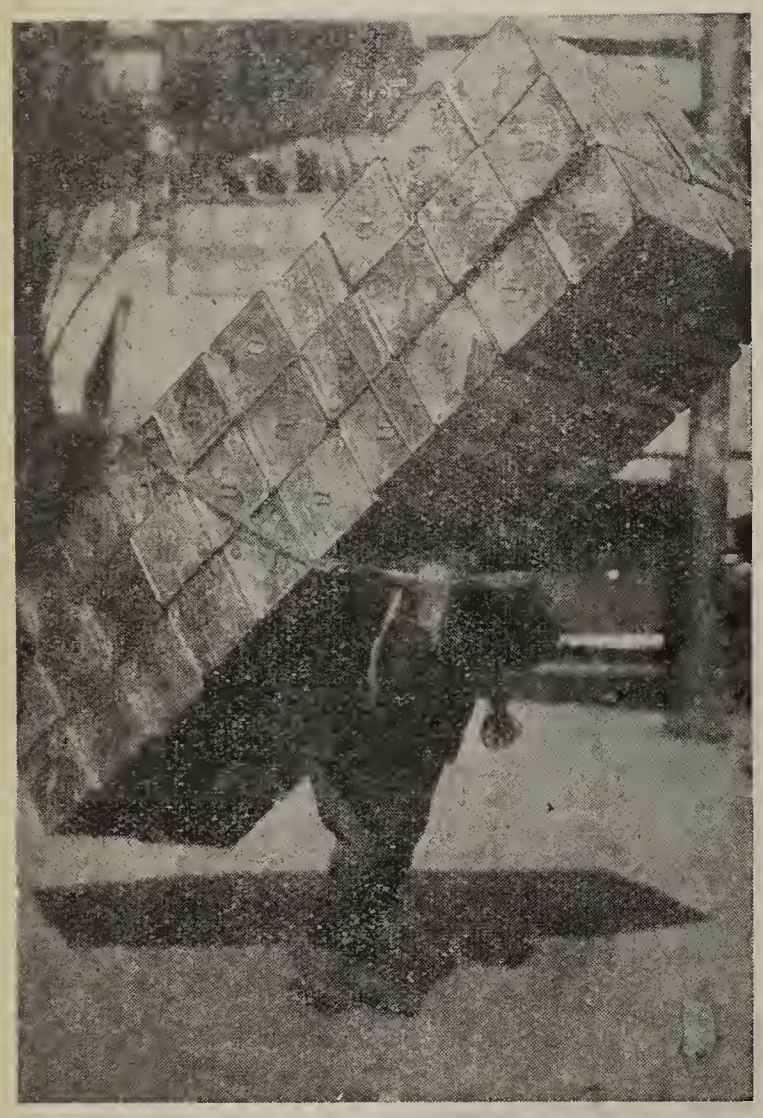
In August 1950, ships of the American Mediterranean fleet called at Beirut. The government announced that this was a "friendly visit". From our cell next day we heard the thunderous roar of 70 military planes manoeuvring over Beirut from their base aboard a giant aircraft-carrier. A short time before, ships of the British and French fleets had paid similar "friendly visits", and carried out similar manoeuvres, with a similar show of force.

In the eyes of the Lebanese government, in the eyes of the reactionaries and enemies of the people, these manoeuvres and demonstrations of force by foreign squadrons in and over Beirut are, it seems, perfectly legal. But for the Lebanese partisans of peace to organise a demonstration or to collect signatures for the Stockholm Appeal to ban the atom bomb, or for women to celebrate International Women's Day or Children's Day, or for demonstrators to march through the street shouting "Korea for the Koreans", or for workers to celebrate May Day by demonstrating under the slogan "peace, national independence, bread and liberty"—all these are considered illegal by the Government, the imperialists and the enemies of peace. In their view these actions deserve only repression, prosecution, brutal torture, imprisonment !

OPPRESSION BY FOREIGN MONOPOLIES

LEBANESE workers are subjected to every kind of exploitation and persecution by the foreign monopolist companies and by their own capitalists and racketeers, backed by the government. Foremost among these companies are the American Tapline, the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Co., Anglo-Dutch Shell, the American-owned Socony-Vacuum Co., the DHP Railways, the Electricity and Tramway Co., the Tobacco Monopoly, the Port Authority, the Bank of Syria and the Lebanon, etc., all owned by foreign capital.

Workers' wages are constantly being cut. Unemployment is spreading at a fearsome rate. Thousands of agricultural workers and poor peasants are leaving their villages and pouring into the towns in search of a livelihood. Far from taking steps to alleviate the plight of these peasants, the government burdens them with



Like so many of his fellows, this Lebanese worker left his village to find work in Beirut: the work of a beast of burden, on starvation wages.

crushing taxes. The feudal landowners appropriate their land, seize harvests, while the foreign banks grind them down with loans at extortionate rates of interest. For all the people the cost of living has risen considerably. Rents are prohibitive.

The attack on civic and trade union liberties has assumed unprecedented proportions. Public meetings are categorically forbidden. Demonstrations are savagely broken up. Detectives, police and militia open fire at point-blank range on workers demonstrating for their demands. Strikes too are brutally put down and the government employs the most violent methods against strikers.

For some time the authorities have been trying to outlaw all trade union activity worthy of the name. Leaders of the movement are arrested, their meetings banned, and they are sent to prison. A special target of their attacks is the Lebanese Federation of Workers and Employees, which is affiliated to the WFTU. As I write, the government is continuing its efforts in this direction in the hope of halting the struggle of the working class and stifling the free trade union movement. But despite all exactions, despite oppression and terror, the workers and their unions are holding firm and waging bitter struggles against the government, the foreign imperialist companies and their agents.

Workers in the Lebanon are increasingly realising the fundamental fact that they can only win respect for their rights **if they are united** and fight systematically for their common aims, whatever their political views, nationality or beliefs. They are therefore fighting tirelessly to strengthen their unity, to bring the maximum number of workers into the unions and works committees and to rid their ranks of agents of the imperialists, the monopolies and the government.

They are taking an active part in the fight for peace, and unanimously protest against the imperialists' military schemes and war plans aimed at the destruction of our country and the annihilation of our people. Evidence of their attachment and affection towards the great land of socialism and towards Stalin is their declaration that they will never allow the Lebanon to be turned into a springboard against the USSR, our staunchest supporter in our fight for independence and freedom, and bastion of world peace and democracy.

Lebanese workers see with confidence the growing movement organised around the World Peace Congress, and are doing what they can to swell the ranks of the hundreds of millions of ordinary people all over the world who have already given it their support.

In their struggle for their economic, social and political demands workers in the Lebanon are coming to understand more and more clearly the full meaning of international working-class solidarity. They joined the WFTU at its foundation in 1945. They intend to remain in the WFTU and to defend it vigorously, as they did when the reactionary leaders of the American and British trade unions, under orders from their imperialist governments, tried to sabotage the WFTU and break the unity of the working class.

For us the WFTU is the living symbol of world-wide working-class unity. Like their brothers in other countries, workers in the Lebanon have found it most useful to have their representatives on the WFTU, attending its congresses, committees and various organisations. This has helped strengthen their bonds with

In the market of the Old City of Beirut, these barefooted, ragged-clothed boys have to carry loads far too heavy for their young shoulders, and get meagre return for it.

Lebanese women celebrated International Women's Day by demonstrations demanding the granting of their economic demands.

workers throughout the world, enabled them to keep in touch with the struggles of the international working class, and given them valuable experience which has guided them in their fight for peace, national independence and democracy, and for all their day-to-day demands.

HOW POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE TREATED

AND now a few words on the prison to which I have been confined since November 3rd 1949.

The Sands Prison in Beirut is the biggest in the country. It can hold 1,000 prisoners. It consists of four large buildings, each of which contains five or six large rooms. In each room between 35 and 55 prisoners are jammed. They sleep on the floor on palliasses laid out in rows, touching each other. There is also a hospital with 3 rooms, each holding 6 persons. The prisoners call it the "health resort"; those who get sent there have nothing wrong with them, but happen to know influential politicians or officials. It is rare to find a sick person in the hospital.

Food is served twice a day, together with a daily issue of four small bits of black bread. It consists of boiled seeds or vegetables. As for meat, traces or it are seen twice a week with beans. The kitchen is filthy.

Prisoners are authorised to receive food parcels from home twice a week. Once a week they are allowed to speak to their relations, through a grille so closely-meshed that it is barely possible to see through it. Most of the prisoners have been sentenced for murder or robbery. There are also a dozen children, neglected, without education, without sufficient food, exposed to every depravation. A penitentiary for juvenile delinquents does exist elsewhere, but most of its inmates are sons of well-to-do families, whereas the poor are jammed into Sands Prison, which they leave embittered and more disposed to crime than when they went in.

The rules for us are the same as for the murderers and burglars. We are forbidden to receive political newspapers, progressive reviews, books, trade union publications, even the journal of the Partisans of Peace. On the other hand the governor allows detective novels, the adventures of Arsene Lupin and Al Capone, and the periodical « Al-Moukhtar », the Arabic edition of the « Reader's Digest », in which prisoners have full liberty to read anti-Soviet slanders and provocations and fascist war propaganda.

Recently the governor confiscated a set of books received shortly before by some of my friends and myself. Among them were Ilya Ehrenburg's "Back from the United States" (in Arabic) and issues of "At-Tarik", a progressive review published at Beirut. They had been very useful to us and a great comfort. We were left only a few textbooks, grammars and so on, with which each studies as best he can.

We are continually fighting for better food, bread, soap, against traffic in the prisoners' rations, and especially against the "evaporation" of the meat and beans supplied. We are also fighting against the fabulous

A workers' demonstration expresses its affection for Mustafa El Ariss and other leaders of the Lebanese Trade Unions.

The Beirut suburb of Armenistan is a heap of hovels built from oil cans and boxes where many workers' families are forced to live through lack of any other lodging.

prices extorted by the prison canteen-owner. We have managed to get them lowered by 15 to 35 %. We have also succeeded in getting the daily exercise period increased from one to two hours.

Now and again a mullah comes to preach to the Mohammedan prisoners. Then a Catholic priest lavishes advice on the Christian prisoners. Protestant preachers also visit prisoners. They call on them to resign themselves to their lot, to accept their woes, their poverty and wretchedness, and promise paradise in the after-life. "Love your enemies!" they say. Once I said to one of these preachers: "Our enemies are the imperialists, the reactionaries and the big capitalists who are planning war and starving the people. You ask us to love them?" He left our cell without answering.

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I would like to end this letter from Sands Prison by sending greetings from myself and my comrades here to our comrades jailed for their fight for peace, national independence, bread and freedom, to all our comrades, the workers of the world, who are courageously fighting the imperialists and capitalists and their reactionary governments, and particularly to our comrades in the vanguard who are consolidating the socialist order and daily marching forward under the wise and enlightened leadership of Stalin.

Long live the world working class, strong and united!

Long Live the World Federation of Trade Unions!

Long Live World peace!

(Sands Prison, October, 1950.)

ROD HOLMGREN

of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (USA and Canada)

GANGSTER METHODS IN THE C.I.O.

THE first phase in the frenzied orgy of raiding which right-wing CIO unions began immediately after the November, 1949, CIO convention has now just about run its course. It is therefore possible to assess what happened—and what it means for the future of American labor.

The raids had actually begun long before the CIO convention last fall. But they were conducted without official, open sanction, and in most cases National CIO either gave no funds to international unions for conducting them, or else disguised the financial assistance under other headings.

Those earlier raids were led chiefly by the United Auto Workers against the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Farm Equipment Workers and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and by the CIO Shipbuilders union against Mine-Mill. They were "hit-and-run" raids, in which the cannibals sought out weak spots of UE or Mine-Mill or FE, came in and snatched the local at a moment of crisis in its relations with the employer, and then did nothing to consolidate the newly-stolen local by winning wage gains or improved conditions for the raided workers.

However, these earlier "unofficial" raids, which began as far back as 1947, did serve a valuable purpose in teaching the progressive unions how to fight back in a raiding situation.

The Farm Equipment Workers and Mine-Mill, particularly, learned important lessons. The leadership learned how to expose the raiders, and the rank-and-file learned how to distinguish between militant, fighting unionism, and the corrupt company unionism which the raiders invariably tried to impose.

Raiding on a grand scale, officially sanctioned and openly supported by top CIO leaders, however, started immediately after the 1949 CIO convention, at which both UE and the Farm Equipment Workers were expelled from CIO. The phony "International United Electrical Workers," promptly dubbed "Imitation UE" by the workers, was set up by CIO and CIO secretary-treasurer James Carey was put in charge with unlimited funds to unleash his raiding crusade.

The job given the "Imitation UE" was to "take over" all locals of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, with which the Farm Equipment Workers union had merged only two months earlier.

Hordes of IUE "organizers" immediately descended upon all the main centres of UE membership and opened their raiding campaigns. At the peak of these raids on UE locals in Westinghouse, General Electric, Radio Corporation of America, Sylvania, and the electrical division of General Motors, James Carey's IUE was spending about $75,000 a month, most of it coming from CIO funds. That meant

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John Clark, President of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (USA and Canada).

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of course, that members of CIO unions all over the nation were contributing through their dues payments to the financing of the IUE raids.

However, in addition to the money received from CIO for the raids, IUE also financed its cannibalistic activities through the use of stolen treasuries of raided locals. Where Carey was successful in bribing or otherwise corrupting officers of local unions to betray their membership and UE, the betrayal was always accompanied by diversion of the entire bank account of the local union to the IUE. Where huge locals were involved, bank balances were all extremely large, as in the case of the East Pittsburgh local of UE, from which Carey's union stole $160,000. The total amount of money diverted to the IUE through this kind of theft, against which the courts refused to take action, was more than two million dollars.

At the same time, Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers, which had been attempting for more than five years to "take over" the jurisdiction of the Farm Equipment Workers union in the farm equipment industry, intensified its raiding activities against what was now the Farm Equipment Workers Council of UE. Here the chief raiding was directed against locals of UE-FE in the giant International Harvester Company, with which FE had been bargaining for some 40,000 members on a corporation-wide basis for nearly a decade.

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Attempts at Bribery and Corruption

THE new year had hardly begun before the CIO Steelworkers Union, over which CIO president Philip Murray also presides, had opened raids against the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. These raids were stepped up when on February 15, the CIO Executive Board expelled Mine-Mill after a star-chamber "hearing" on framed-up charges that the metal workers union had failed to follow "CIO Policy."

These Steel union raids against Mine-Mill moved rapidly toward a crescendo, so that by mid-March, Steel raiders were invading metal workers' locals in both eastern and western Canada, in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, California, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Utah, Alabama, New Mexico and Illinois.

Indeed, the Steel workers union, which at its May, 1950 convention boasted it had more than eight million dollars in its treasury but which had not been able to pay more than 14 cents a week in strike benefits to its own members during the 1949 Big Steel strike, spent more than $250,000 a month in its attempted raids on Mine-Mill during the winter and spring months.

Both the IUE raids against UE and the Steel raids against Mine-Mill were in the form of "blitz" offensives which followed common patterns. It is important to understand the techniques that were used.

In every case, the chief appeal to the workers was on the basis of red-baiting. The slogan was "Join an American union"—which was intended to imply that the union being raided was un-American.

In every case also, the raiders used the "bandwagon" argument. They told the workers that they should belong to a CIO union, a "big" union, a "stable" union.

In many cases, before bringing their offensive out into the open, the raiders arranged secret meetings with top leadership in the local at which an attempt would be made to bribe the officers to lead a "secession" movement. There were, unfortunately, a few cases in which the technique worked.

The bribe offers varied with the importance attached by Steelworkers union officials to the individual leader involved. If he was considered a key person without whose support the raid would certainly fail, he was frequently offered a lifetime job on the Steel union payroll at a high salary.

In the raids against the Farm Equipment Workers by Reuther's UAW in Chicago, the raiders offered brand-new automobiles as bribes to key FE shop stewards in large plants. In the raids against UE locals in the east, one bribe was in the form of a down-payment on a new house for a worker who had been living in a tiny, badly-furnished apartment. Other bribes were in the form of straight cash payments—ranging from as little as $25 to as much as several hundred dollars, depending on the importance of the person being bribed.

Plentiful supplies of whisky formed another kind of bribery. Raiding organizers were given unlimited expense accounts to use in taking rank-and-file workers to local taverns and buying them drinks. At the height of the UAW raid against FE-UE at the McCormick Works of International Harvester in Chicago, 10 full-time UAW organizers were assigned to the single task of meeting workers at the plant gates at the end of the work day, driving them to the nearest bar and plying them with liquor. After a few weeks of this, the "disorganizers" succeeded in making drunkards out of many rank-and-file workers.

At Trail, in British Columbia, Canada, where the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company operates the largest lead smelter in the wold, the Steel union cannibals secretly got the entire executive committee of Mine-Mill Local 480 and a large proportion of the steward body to "come over."

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Fake Membership Claims Fail

THE announcement that the leadership of Local 480 had betrayed the entire membership came as a thunderbolt. And for a few days it seemed that Mine-Mill had lost the entire local to the raiders. However, effective action by Mine-Mill rank-and-file members in the smelter and officers from the regional office

at Vancouver nipped this attempted "blitz" in the bud. A large meeting of the whole working force was called, at which the members elected an entirely new set of officers. A new steward body was rapidly built.

Even while the Trail workers were fighting off the raiders, they were conducting negotiations with the management of CM&S for a new contract, a task made doubly difficult by the fact that the presence of the raiders cast doubt on whether Mine-Mill was the representative bargaining agent.

The issue came to a climax in May, when a British Columbia government labor board studied the "membership cards" submitted by the Steel union officials in their frantic attempt to prove they represented a majority of the workers. The Steel officials were so unsuccessful in proving that they had collected initiation fees to back up their claims of signed membership that the board rejected their application for certification as the bargaining agent. Only a few weeks earlier, the Ontario (Canada) labor board had publicly rebuked the Steel union for deliberate fraud in submitting faked membership cards and false receipts for claimed payment of initiation fees.

Within a short time after the Labor Board decision was handed down in British Columbia, the Trail workers, together with the members of their sister Local 651 at nearby Kimberley where CM & S operates a mine, succeeded in winning an outstanding contract settlement. In addition to a flat hourly wage increase of six cents for every worker, the contract consolidated some 30 cents in "temporary" wage increases, which had been granted during the past three years, into the permanent wage scale. The company also agreed to pay half the costs of a medical and hospital plan.

At the peak of the Steel raid in Trail, the Murray Union had some 12 full-time organizers there. In addition to spending huge amounts for radio time, leaflets, space in the daily newspaper, and special literature, the Steel union was also paying heavy amounts in organizers' salaries and daily expenses. It is impossible to estimate how much was spent in bribes and whisky.

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Disruption of Contract Negotiations

HOW far the raiding unions are willing to go in blocking gains for the workers is also illustrated in Port Colborne, Ontario, also in Canada, where a local of Mine-Mill has held a contract with the International Nickel Company for many years. Here, the leaders of the Mine-Mill local joined with leaders of the giant sister Sudbury Local 598 in negotiating a fine new contract with Inco. The pact smashed the 48-hour work week in a major Canadian industry for the first time since the beginning of World War II, and at the same time won wage improvements for the Inco workers, already among the highest-paid in Canada.

The Steel Union sent a representative before the Ontario Labor Board on May 31, the day before the new contract was scheduled to go into operation, to petition for a representation election on the false claim that Mine-Mill no longer represented the workers. There is no real doubt at all that Mine-Mill is the true representative of the Port Colborne workers, and that the large majority of them wish to remain in their Mine-Mill local. But the Steel union here is interested in disruption only—hoping to capitalize on what may happen as a result of the disruption.

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At the International Harvester plant in East Moline (Illinois), the workers, members of the progressive Farm Equipment Workers' Union, vigorously put to flight the gloved gangsters sent to force them into joining the United Automobile Workers led by labour splitter Reuther.

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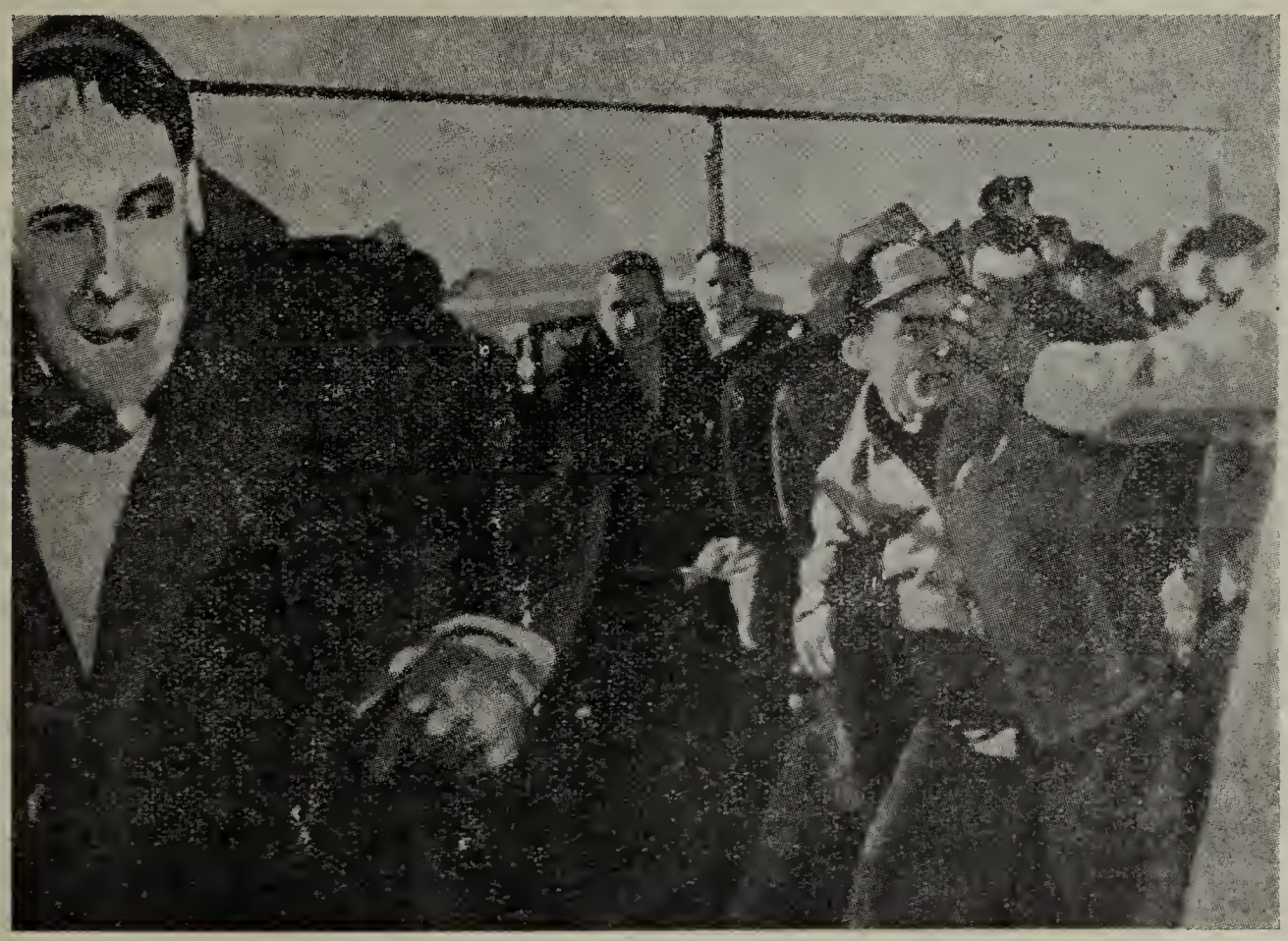

In the November 1949 issue of our Review, we published this photo of Maurice Travis, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and reported the foul attack made on him by goons employed for these low activities by the reactionary leaders of the CIO.

In the United States, the technique of the Steel union has been to concentrate in those areas where Mine-Mill local contracts are about to expire. The Taft-Hatley law requires that when a union wishes to negotiate changes in a contract about to expire, it must send a written notice of that intention to the employer 60 days before expiration of the old contract.

Wherever Mine-Mill locals have sent such 60 day notices, the Steel raiders have appeared—by push-button arrangement with the employer—to begin their raiding campaign, which serves a two-fold purpose. It threatens the very existence of the local as a Mine-Mill affiliate, and by doing so, it disrupts and complicates the negotiations with the employer.

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Genuine Locals Win Elections

DURING the next two months, Mine-Mill conducted a militant campaign against the raiders, which in this case included not only the Steelworkers union, but also the International Association of Machinists and the AFL Chemical Workers. In a National Labor Relations Board election that was held June 27, the Steel union failed to poll more than 150 votes at all three properties combined, as against 716 cast for Mine-Mill, which won at all three of the mines.

The Steel union had boasted that it held a "majority" of the workers in all three mines. At International Minerals and Chemical Co., out of 618 eligible to vote, only 54 cast ballots for Steel. Out of 365 eligible at United States Potash Co, 14 voted for Murray's raiders. And only 82 out of a possible 670 workers at Potash Company of America voted for the raiders. No more than 9 percent of the workers were interested enough in the Steel union to vote for it in the election. And yet the Murray disrupters, together with the Machinists and Chemical Workers, had dared to hold up bargaining for a new contract—and better wages and working conditions—for more than four months.

In the raid at Carlsbad, the Steelworkers union had boldly claimed that a strike called by Local 415 last fall was ordered by top officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in order to make it possible for Stalin to sell potash on the American market! The workers, who had themselves voted overwhelmingly for strike action in order to improve their wages, knew the answer to that lie. They answered by casting their votes for Mine-Mill.

No distortion, no lie, no smear, has been too fantastic for the raiders to use in this orgy of cannibalism. Loyal Mine-Mill members and leaders have repeatedly been accused of acting as spies for the Soviet Union, of all kinds of disloyalty to their own government and country.

As the raids progressed, the Steel and IUE "disorganizers" exposed themselves more and more completely. They had only one weapon—red-baiting—and they used it monotonously and tiresomely. They refused to talk about the basic needs of the workers. They failed to take up the workers' deep restlessness in the face of growing speedup, layoffs and high prices. They had no program.

The three key raiding unions—Steel, Auto and "Imitation UE", were led by the three men most deeply involved as underwriters of the Truman cold-war program—Murray, Reuter and Carey. And the machinations of their staff "disorganizers" reflected that fact.

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Militancy Wins Support of Rank and File

ON the other hand, the progressive union held a variety of powerful weapons with which to defend themselves. They are truly democratic unions, in which every rank and file member has a real voice.

In Mine-Mill, for example, no strike can be called until a secret ballot of the entire membership of the local concerned has been taken. This compares with the Steelworkers Union, where Philip Murray last August called a strike of almost the entire membership throughout the country without taking any vote at all. Nor was there any vote taken when Murray ordered the workers back to work after reaching a settlement that provided no wage increase.

In Mine-Mill also, international officers are elected by secret referendum ballot of the entire membership every two years.

Mine-Mill also held an important weapon in the fact that it has been bargaining agent in the non-ferrous metals industry since 1893, when the Western Federation of Miners was founded. It therefore could truly boast it had the bargaining experience and organizational setup most beneficial to workers in the non-ferrous metals industry.

Mine-Mill also relied heavily on its tradition of more

than a half-century as a militant, fighting union. Mine-Mill and its ancestor union, the old Western Federation of Miners, contributed more than their share of the martyrs of American labor history—and the workers in the industry know the stories of those martyrs.

Most important of all, Mine-Mill and UE-FE were able to demonstrate that they had—and have—a program. That program is concrete and specific. It embraces the fight for peace, for security, for better standards of living, the struggle to win day-by-day on the job, grievances of workers.

As a result, it was possible for the Executive Board of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to announce conclusively on July 12, during a board meeting at Denver, Colorado, that: "It is with greatest pride in our membership that we report the failure of the Steel blitz."

The Board added that "though there have been some casualties, not one major section of our far-flung union has been breached."

Actually, the few locals that were won away from Mine-Mill by the Steel union during five months of the most intensive raiding in history were small, insignificant locals in areas where Mine-Mill organized too recently to consolidate and develop a class-conscious membership.

The Steel union failed to win a single local in the great chain of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, the American Smelting and Refining Company, or the Kennecott Corporation, the "Big Four" of the non-ferrous metals industry in the United States. The chain-wide control of the workers in these corporations still is held—now more strongly than ever—by Mine-Mill.

At the same time, however, the iMne-Mill International Executive Board issued a warning to its membership. It said :

"While we join our membership in rejoicing at this defeat for the union-busting raiders, we call attention to the fact that the all-out blitz was only the first phase of the attack. We now find the Steelworkers' payrollers digging in at many places for long sieges. They are renting office space and making preparations to stay on the scene even where they have been repudiated by our membership and where new-ly-signed contracts bar the way to new elections for many months.

"The raiders are vultures of the labor movement, waiting for our locals to be injured in battle with the employers, so that they can rush into tear at the open wounds.

"Steel payrollers in some places have admitted they have no hape of winning over our membership, but have said their assignment is to watch for every chance to snipe at our local unions, interfere with grievances settlements, attack our solidarity, and in general to do what they can toward lowering the living standards and job rights of our members."

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White house and Vatican back splitters

WHILE Mine-Mill weathered the Steel blitz withouth sustaining any significant losses at all, the same cannot be said of UE, unfortunately.

The Farm Equipment Workers section of UE withstood the 1950 raids of the United Auto Workers magnificently, repulsing the raiders at every plant where they appeared, even though UAW spent untold sums in its attemps to smash the UE-FE.

The "Imitation UE" was openly backed by the federal government, with the National Labor Relations Board and the courts repeatedly handing down illegal decisions against UE and in favor of IUE. When the "Imitation UE" held its rump convention in order to "set up a CIO union in the electrical industry" Secretary of State Dean Acheson gave Carey's new venture his blessing by appearing at the convention to make a speech.

At the height of the raiding campaign at the Lynn, Massacusetts, plant of General Electric, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin appeared at a rally sponsored by "Imitation UE", to tell the workers they should vote for an "American" union—and against UE. This open intervention by a high government official in a union election campaign was unprecedented in American labor history.

The Catholic Church also played an extremely important part on the side of Carey's union during the raiding campaigns in many eastern cities, which have heavy concentrations of Catholic population. Catholic priests repeatedly preached from the pulpit that any worker who voted for UE would be committing a mortal sin. Nuns and priests by the hundreds actively engaged in the campaigns, even to the extent of house-to-house canvassing, where Catholic workers and their wives were instructed to vote for "Imitation UE."

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Divisionist intrigues cut labour gains

THE daily press also threw its entire weight into the campaign against UE, spreading big smear headlines across its front pages day after day, in the effort to confuse and befuddle the workers.

Despite this overwhelming lineup on the side of "Cold War Carey," the IUE failed to do more than split the two biggest electrical chains down the middle. Out of the four giant plants owned by GE and Westinghouse, UE retained its bargaining rights at three. They are the Schenectady and Erie, Pennsylvania plants of GE, and the South Philadel-

This is how the American police « guarantee the right to strike ».

phia plan of Westinghouse, Because the Catholic Church, the press, government officials, the courts, the company and a variety of other forces threw so much weight into the campaign at Lynn Massachusetts, the IUE succeeded in capturing that one key plant of GE.

At the same time, UE kept control of two out of three most importants locals at Radio Corporation of America plants, and also maintained the majority of workers in the Sylvania chain.

In every plant and shop where the raiders have succeeded in stealing the local from a progressive union there has been an almost immediate deterioration of conditions. An example is the MacIntyre-Porcupine Mines in the Timmins gold mining district of Ontario, Canada. There the Steel union, aided by the Canadian Congress of Labor—the CIO's Canadian Branch—opened a raid against Mine Mill some two years ago—a raid which succeeded in snatching away the local which had been painstakingly organized by Mine-Mill.

During the two years since Murray's union won the local, the workers have been left without protection by any contract at all, with the result that the MacIntyre-Porcupine wages are among the lowest in Canada. In June, 1950, fearing that Mine-Mill might win back the MacIntyre local, Steel union officials finally sat down at the bargaining table with the employers.

The outcome was a contract which provided no wage increase at all, no pension or other security benefits, and none of the other gains workers everywhere fight for, except minor concessions on vacations and statuory holidays. This of course, is in line with the "no wage increase" policy which Murray's Steelworkers union has followed both in Canada and the United States for more than a year.

It now can be said that progressive unions have weathered the shock of post-expulsion raiding gloriously. While some inroads have been made, the progressive unions have maintained their main strength everywhere.

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Collective action the basis for victory

THE reactionary CIO leaders, who had boasted they would "liquidate" the progressive unions in less than a year, have been seriously set back by their failure to destroy the chief bastions of progressive unionism in America.

In the meantime, a new policy of collective action among progressive unions is beginning to unfold. At an executive board meeting of the International Longshoremens' and Warehousemens' union recently, officiers of ILWU were authorized to "initiate the calling of a conference of those unions already expelled from CIO or about to be expelled."

The purpose of the conference will be "to make appropriate plans and to take all possible steps towards such unions working collectively for their own mutual protection and advantage."

The ILWU resolution emphasized that the proposed conference should "not in any way be construed or used as a program or a move to form another separate federation or congress of labor." It added: "We now believe that the time has come when the national unions that have been expelled from CIO and those about to be expelled, should get together for the purpose of putting into effect on a national level what our ILWU locals and rank and file have been doing on a local level, namely, exposing the true nature and program of the CIO, and adopt a program for mutual aid and assistance against CIO schemes for raiding, union-busting and strike-breaking."

MASS STRIKE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

by

Gottlieb FIALA

Elected Vice-President of the Confederation of Austrian Trade Unions.

THE announcement, at the end of September, of the contents of the fourth collective agreement on wages and prices concluded by the reactionary leadership of the Confederation of Austrian Trade Unions and the employers, with Government approval, gave rise to a spontaneous strike movement of protest in which, in the Vienna area alone, 160 firms, including the most important in the area, took part.

Without consulting the workers, without taking any account of their claims or interests but, in fact, behind their backs and in the most undemocratic way possible, the reactionary leaders of the Austrian CGT signed on September 27 a collective agreement with the Federal Economic Chamber. This agreement restricted salary and wage rises to 10%.

At the same time, the Government issued a decree granting its agricultural electorate an increase of more than 20% in the prices of various cereals. This decree also put up the prices of other food items, electric power (30%) and various other commodities and services.

Workers of all opinions, who had been claiming a wage adjustment for months in order to cut down the gap between wages and high prices, thus not only saw their claims rejected but also suffered a further drop in their purchasing power as a result of this further "legal" rise in the cost of living.

The movement also had repercussions in the provinces. In Upper Austria, which is in the American zone, the United Austrian Steelworks (former Hermann Goering plant), the Linz fertiliser factory, the Steyr plants, and the miners of the Wolfegg-Trauntal coal-field, joined the general protest movement. Almost all the factories of Lower Austria stopped work, including the entire petroleum region. A mighty wave of protest strikes rose up against the shameless robbery carried out through the wages and prices policy.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF AUSTRIAN WORKS COMMITTEES

ON Saturday, September 30, a general meeting of Austrian works committees was called on the initiative of the Floridsdorf metal workers. The meeting was attended by 2417 members of works committees and delegates of strike committees from the whole of Austria. All political opinions

Like the photo on the preceding page, this view shows part of the great demonstration when Viennese workers, regardless of their political opinions, protested against the wages-prices agreement signed behind their backs and without regard for their interests.

were represented among the delegates, among whom where 800 members of the Socialist Party and many others belonging to no party.

The Works Committees Conference drew up the following demands:

1) Annulment of the decision on price increases or 100% tax-free increase of all wages, salaries, pensions, family allowances and bonuses provided for by the wages-prices agreement.

2) No further price increases, and freezing of prices by law.

3) No further devaluation of the schilling.

An ultimatum expiring October 3rd was sent to the Government. The strike was planned for October 4th, should a positive reply not have been received by that date from the Government. The strike was in fact launched on the 4th. In Vienna, it was marked by a big demonstration and march to the City Hall square, and in the federal provinces by equally big demonstrations, particularly at Linz and Steyr (American zone). This movement covered 400,000 factory and office workers, and was the most powerful in Austria since the end of the war.

WAVE OF TERROR AGAINST STRIKERS

Faced with the strike, the Government was seized with panic. It launched a campaign of terror against the strikers which fully reflected the fear it felt of the workers' movement. It used the radio and posters to declare that the Communists were preparing a "putsch" against the Republic in order to establish a People's Democracy in Austria. Gangs of armed strike-breakers were brought into operation following the example set by the former fascist Heimwehr. These gangs were directed by Olah, President of the Building and Wood Workers' Union, with the aim of terrorising the strikers. The armed police occupied the Steyr plants, the Linz Steel Works, the Alpine-Montan firm and other enterprises in the Western occupation zone. In the Soviet occupation zone, the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Helmer, also attempted to organise intervention by police units sent from other parts of the country, contrary to the provisions of the Inter-Allied Control Agreement. But these units were obliged to withdraw.

The Austrian Government carried on a terrorist campaign which was all the more brutal in the American occupation zone because it had failed in the Soviet zone. In the American zone, the workers were forced to go back to work under pressure from the armed police.

On the second day of the strike, the Executive of the Works Committees Conference which was acting as the Central Strike Committee, was forced, as a result of the armed terror exercised by the police and the use of strike-breakers by the right-wing Socialist trade union leaders, to end the strike in order to preserve unity and prevent the mass arrest and dismissal of strikers and their expulsion from the trade unions.

The Appeal issued by the Central Strike Committee declared:

"The right-wing leadership of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party have entirely and unreservedly placed themselves in the service of the capitalists. They have stabbed the workers in the back by acting as strike-breakers and stooges of the bosses. They have formed a united front with all the old and new supporters of fascism, with Raab, Graf and the VDU (neo-fascists).

"The workers began a struggle for their just demands through strikes and peaceful demonstrations. The Government is seeking to provoke bloody clashes and to drive them to the point of launching a civil war. In the federal provinces of the Western zone, the workers were obliged, after a heroic struggle, to go back to work, in face of the use of armed forces protected by the Western occupation authorities. This now makes it impossible to carry out a united movement throughout Austria.

"For these reasons, the Executive of the Austrian Works Committees Conference recommends the workers to end the strike and to decide today, Friday, in workers' meetings, to go

back to work. During these workers' meetings, the workers should protest against the agreement concluded by those who are speculating on the price rise and should condemn the methods of violence and terror used against the strikers. They will continue the struggle in other forms."

In accordance with the Executive decision, the workers went back to work united, after holding meetings in the factories which gave rise to lively discussion.

ARRESTS, MASS DISMISSALS, EXPULSIONS FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

During the strike itself, many members of works committees and shop stewards were arrested, including all the members of works committees in the Steyr and Alpine-Montan firms, although they had been elected on a joint list.

The (right-wing Socialist) Minister of Justice, Tschadek, ordered arrests on the basis of a law passed in 1870 which had not been applied since 1911. The fascist law on State security, introduced by Dollfuss, was also used to justify the arrests.

At the very first trial, involving two members of a works committee, the judges were forced to acquit the accused, recording that, even in terms of the charge drawn up by the police, no legal basis for prosecution could be maintained against them. The Public Prosecutor was of the same opinion but had to come out in opposition on orders from the "Socialist" Minister of Justice. On appeal, the acquittal of these two works committee members was upheld.

A similar ignominious fate was reserved for the lies of the "Socialist" Minister who had the members of the works committees of the Donawitz firm arrested on the basis of an accusation of "sabotage". All 45 witnesses heard by the court, from the general manager to the engineers and police, proved in their statements that the accusation was without foundation.

The lie about the preparation of a "putsch" which had been used to justify all the dismissals, was not upheld by the court either. The Government, which had spread this lie, was publicly censured for the propagation of false information by a member of Parliament named Honner, who declared himself prepared to forego his parliamentary immunity in order to maintain his accusation in the courts. But the Government wisely renounced this procedure because it knew full well that it could not put forward the slightest proof to justify its lie.

Alongside the prosecutions, mass dismissals of the workers were carried out particularly in nationalised enterprises, which are under the control of the right-wing Socialist Minister, Waldbrunner, as for example at Steyr, in the Linz Steel Works, at Radenthein, etc. In the trade unions, the so-called "Socialist" leaders systematically expelled Communist secretaries and other officials from the trade unions. The pro-government fraction of the Building and Wood Workers' Union, led by the organiser of the strike-breaking gangs, Olah, went so far as to decree the expulsion of members from the district leadership and to declare that Communists or Communist sympathisers could no longer occupy responsible posts in the union.

Among those expelled was the Vice-President of the National Confederation of Austrian Trade Unions, two members of the national leadership who are at the same time secretaries of their unions, a number of secretaries of the Textile Workers' Union, secretaries and members of the leadership of the Metal Workers' and Miners' Unions, members of the leadership of the Clerical

On the occasion of American General Mark Clark's visit, Viennese youth demonstrate against preparations for war.

Another view of the demonstration by Austrian workers against the carrying out of a policy driving them to starvation.

Workers' Union, of the Civil Servants' Union, of the Commercial Workers' Union, of the Transport Workers' Union, etc. The mass strike quite obviously served merely as a pretext for these expulsions, which the Americans have been demanding for a long time and which have now been carried out by the right-wing Socialist Party and the Christian People's Party (VP).

A broad mass campaign has been launched against these dismissals and expulsions. Protest resolutions have been adopted in factories and trade unions and collections have been organised, rapidly bringing in the sum of 150,000 schillings. The question of the reinstatement of dismissed workers is also being followed attentively.

Tens of thousands of Socialists are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communists. The strike demonstrated the deep indignation of the workers at the disastrous consequences of Marshall Plan policy. *Never before have so many Socialists taken part in the fight alongside the Communists, as in this strike.*

In addition to the tens of thousands of Socialist workers and shop stewards who actually took part in the strike, there were hundreds of thousands of Socialist workers who, without having the strength to carry on a strike movement in face of intimidation from their leaders, did not conceal their opposition to the agreement on wages and prices which had just been concluded without consulting the workers and contrary to their interests. Indignation was particularly great since the right-wing Socialist trade union leaders had solemnly promised that the workers and shop stewards in the factories would have the opportunity of making their attitude known before the agreement was signed.

The incitement to an anti-communist "pogrom" carried on by the right-wing Socialist leaders met with dismal failure. Many Socialist members or presidents of works committees publicly joined the Communist Party after the strike. Discussions with Socialist workers took on such proportions in the factories that the central organ of the trade unions, "Solidarity", was forced to take an extremely energetic stand against this situation in a special editorial on the question.

The results of a certain number of works committee elections which took place after the strike show the increase in votes in favour of trade union unity lists and the fall in votes going to the right-wing Socialists. The results of the Municipal Council elections which took place at Innsbruck, capital of the Tyrol, shortly after the strike, can be regarded as symptomatic. All parties lost votes and seats except the left-wing bloc which increased its votes and won one additional seat.

TREACHERY OF THE RIGHT-WING "SOCIALIST" LEADERS

STRUGGLE is the most instructive form of working-class action. Never before in the history of the Austrian labour movement had there been a case of the Social-Democratic leaders resorting to the use of terrorist armed guards to crush a workers' strike movement. During the last strike, it fell to the right-wing "Socialist" leaders to play the role of Pinkertons.

Every member of the terrorist gangs was paid 50 schillings per day. Austrian workers still remember the gangs of armed strike-breakers of the fascist Heimwehr, who carried on their despicable activity against the workers for 5 schillings a day. Today, the pseudo-Socialist leaders are working hand-in-hand with the ex-Heimwehr fascists who in 1934 banned free trade unions and the Social Democratic Party itself.

Just as reaction invented the "M Plan" in Germany in order to present itself as "Germany's saviour from Bolshevism", so the right-wing Socialist press in Austria noised around a mysterious report concerning a "Plan 3" whose contents have so far not been divulged. It merely limited itself to informing the public that the implementation of this plan had been prevented. No gangster method is spurned by these studious pupils of the Americans in their action against the working class.

A pamphlet published by the Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party at the time of the strike contains the complaints of these lackeys of the American monopolists who regret having been prevented by the Soviet occupation authorities from using armed force against the strikers.

A passage in the pamphlet dealing with the events in Amstett states "the Kommandatura prohibited the use of arms against the demonstrators without prior agreement by the Military Commander of the town... In any case, this attitude by the occupation authority impeded the intervention of the agents of public authority. In no case was a bloody clash between

the public authorities' forces and the demonstrators permitted" (page 35).

Thus the right-wing Socialist leaders openly confess their resolve to crush the workers' movement with bloodshed, and it is solely as a result of the Soviet occupation authorities' order opposing the use of arms by repressive forces against the workers which prevented this from taking place.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPT TO TURN AUSTRIA INTO A SECOND KOREA

The Austrian Government, composed solely of members of the right-wing Socialist Party and the Christian People's Party, was determined to provoke armed intervention by the Americans. The *New York Times* of September 27th reports that members of the Government contacted the American occupation authorities to request intervention by their troops against the workers. The Government systematically spread the rumour of a so-called "coup d'Etat" prepared by the Communists in order to introduce a People's Democratic regime into Austria. This falsehood was put forward by the Government in agreement with the American authorities in order to create the conditions for armed intervention by American troops.

The statement made by the Socialist Vice-Chancellor, Schärf, who said that *he had crossed the 38th parallel,* and the provocative attitude of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gruber, who declared at a press conference he gave while in the United States, that Austria "was going to follow a new course" shows that this was a reactionary conspiracy against the existence of the Unified Republic in Austria. The "new course" mentioned by Gruber is the same as that followed by the Atlantic powers in Germany and Japan where they are seeking to get a peace treaty signed without the Soviet Union with the aim of completely incorporating these countries into the Atlantic Pact.

In Austria, this "new course" implies the division of the country and the "Anschluss" of the Western zone of Austria with Western Germany. Gruber's statements describing the Soviet authorities as "interfering in Austrian affairs" and openly indicating that with the aid of the American majority in UNO, an armed conflict should be launched in Austria, clearly show that the situation was one of the most outrageous provocations so far attempted in order cause the outbreak of another war. Thus this mass strike has made no mean contribution to the exposure of the sinister schemes of the war planners in Austria.

Strikers massed on the Ballhausplatz, Vienna, enthusiastically carry a motion condemning the wages-prices agreement, which they called the « Starvation Pact ».

NEW BATTLES AHEAD

The price rise caused by the 4th Agreement on wages and prices is steadily continuing. As compensation for the legal price increase, the workers were granted an average wage readjustment of 10%. This wage increase has since then been easily caught up on by further price rises, leaving aside the fact that the fall in the workers' real income resulting from the three previous Agreements on wages and prices has never been compensated.

According to a very moderate estimate made by Mantler, President of the Labour Exchange (*Arbeiterkammer*), the leeway amounted to 17%. Although industrial and craft production in Austria is already 40% higher than the 1937 level and productivity has reached its prewar rate, *real wages are barely 60% of peace-time real wages.* The employees in many firms have put forward a demand for a 15% wage increase and the payment of an interim bonus. The policy of the Marshallised Government, seeking to incorporate Austria into the aggressive front of the Atlantic Pact countries, entails an increasingly big drop in the workers' living standards, and this is inevitably leading to still sharper struggles.

The fight against the fall in the workers' living standards is linked up with the fight against dismissals and against the expulsion of honest trade union officials from their organisations, as well as with a huge solidarity campaign.

The struggle is aimed at preventing the trade unions from being broken up and the unity of the Austrian Confederation of Trade Unions from being destroyed, the achievement of this unity having been one of the biggest success won by the workers in 1945. Fighting unity with the Socialist workers, consolidated during the strike, must be strengthened, and those workers who are still being fooled by the right-wing Socialist leaders must be won over to united action.

We must continue with all our strength the fight to defend democratic rights against fascist terrorist methods and to preserve peace, jeopardized by the adventurist policy of the Government which is seeking to divide up Austria and hand it over to the American monopolists.

Viennese workers move in serried ranks to their meeting place, with their demands displayed on placards.

Maria ROMANO

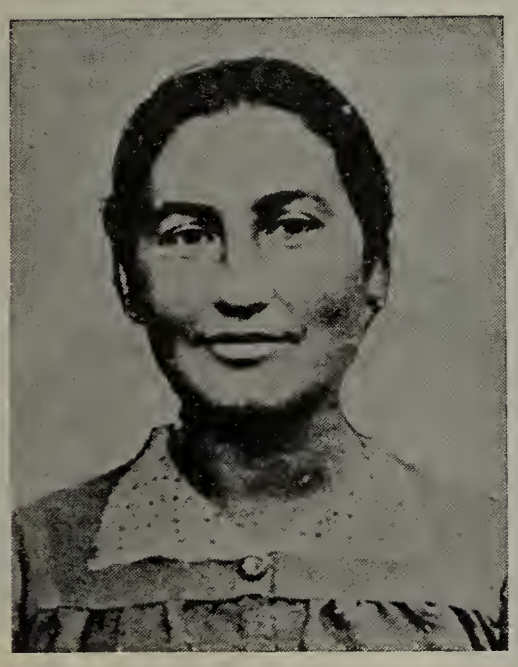
Italian Women Fight for The Right to Work

"TO prevent the management from taking three tanks of oil out of the factory we laid ourselves across the railway track. The locomotive drivers looked at us and said : 'Don't worry, we won't do you any harm'. So the oil stayed in the factory and is now being used to drive the machine motors."

This is what Maria Ferro, worker at the Ilva engineering plant in Savona told us.

Do you know Savona ? It is a charming town on the Italian Riviera. This region is called the "river of flowers." Its name brings to mind a picture of magnificent blue skies, sunshine, flowers and the sea whose temperature is so mild that bathing is possible almost the whole year round. It is the very image of that Italy known throughout the world for its beauty and as the ideal country for tourists—the country of the "bel canto" where everyone is supposed to have a song on his lips. There are beautiful villas with at least 10 rooms and often more, standing in magnificent gardens. One would imagine on seeing all this that it must be wonderful to live in an area so favoured by nature.

Indeed, it would be wonderful to live there—on condition that things were organised differently, because those beautiful villas I mentioned are not for everyone. Not by a long way. In Italy, the total number of rooms in all houses is 27 million and the population of the country is 46 million people. It is therefore easy to work out that when a certain number of people possess 10 rooms or more, there are others who do not possess even one room . . . for a whole family.



Angelina Mauro, murdered at Melissa (Calabra) during the occupation of fallow land by the peasants. Women took a courageous part in this movement.

Giuditta Levato, Calabran peasant mother, murdered at Calabricata by police in the service of the feudal land-owners whose peasants wanted to work abandoned land.

Maria Margotti, murdered by the police during the agricultural workers' strike in Moinella (Emilia). Maria was a war widow, and left two young daughters.

GUNS, NOT MACHINES

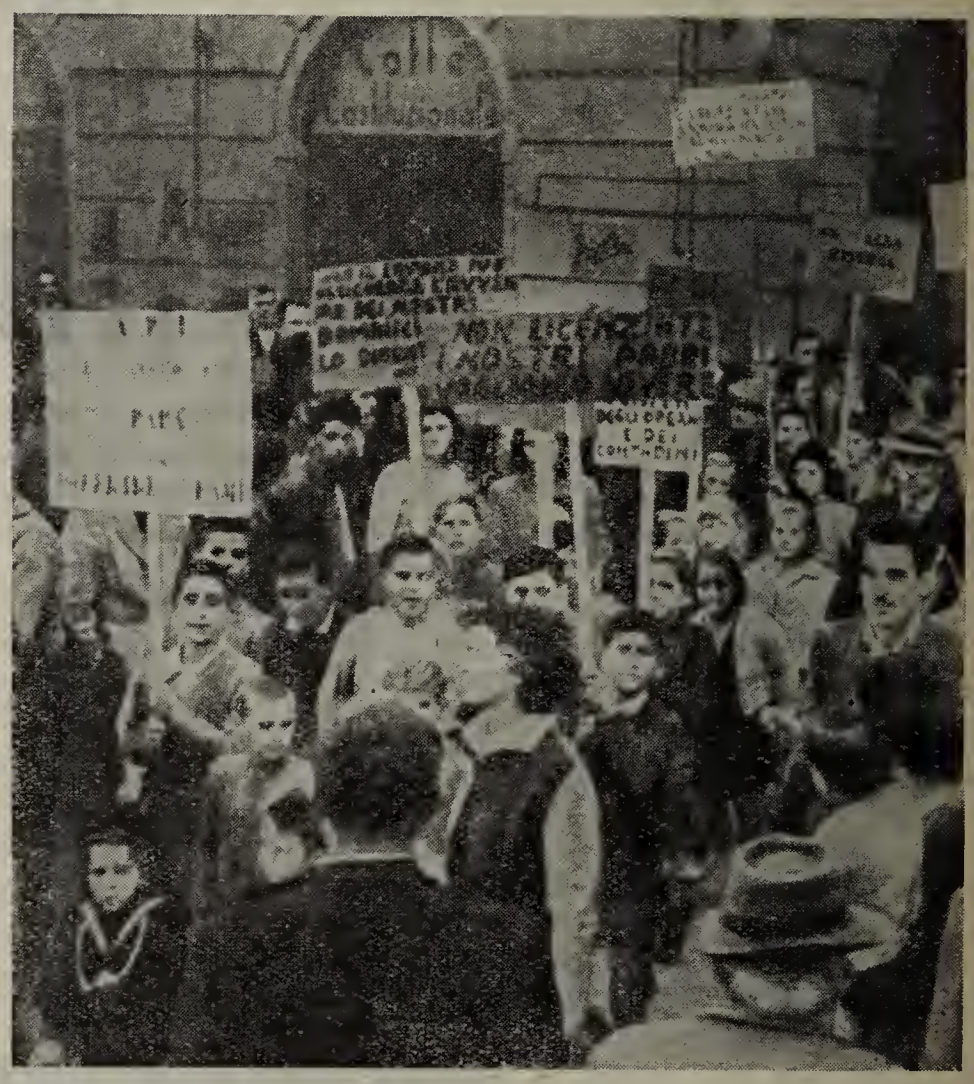
LET us leave the villas, the sea-shore and the flowers—the newspapers and "ladies" magazines say quite enough about them. Let us see how the women working in the Ilva plant live.

The factory is at work. One might say that there is nothing particularly strange about that—a factory is there to be at work. Quite so, but if the management had its way, it would not be operating any longer. It appears that output is not high enough. Not that the men and women employed there do not work hard enough, but in order to obtain better output it would be necessary to renew equipment and make technical improvements and this requires money. The money is there to import luxury goods but not machines. The Italian State which is joint owner of the firm, has also got some money—which it uses on war preparations and repression. 30% of the entire Italian budget is swallowed up on the purchase of arms. So it is quite clear that since money can only be spent once, there is none left for investment in industry. Thus the workers are being dismissed and the factories closed down.

But what about the men and women who have worked all their lives, often in the same factory and who have families to support? The bosses couldn't care less. They have got their American automobiles and their luxury goods; Italy is beautiful, the sky blue, the sun is shining and the flowers are abundant so let's make the most of it and let the workers fend for themselves.

So the workers are fending for themselves. All working women are fighting back just like Maria Ferro who on October 3rd laid herself across the railway track to prevent the oil, vital for the operation of the factory, from being taken away.

Maria Ferro is 44 years old, rather slight, and has a tired face. She has been working for a long time at the Ilva plant, 8 hours per day every day of the week and every week in the year. Every working day she handles three barrels of tin-plate weighing 100 lbs each in stifling heat. The men and women working there each drink 6 pints of water per day on an average. This kind of work is not very amusing and provides no incentive to maintain the reputation of Italian "bel canto." But Maria has to work because she has three children to feed. The thought of her three children was uppermost in her mind when she took the lead in lying down on the railway track. Now she is among those who have been thrown out of their jobs. No work means no bread, and poverty in the home, and she did not bring her three children into the world to die of hunger. So she is fighting back like her workmates, the other working women.



After its announcement of mass dismissals, the management abandoned the plant in accordance with a deliberate and long-prepared plan. The wives and children of the workers take part in the protest demonstration and the factory machines run again.

DISMISSED WORKERS IN THE GRIP OF POVERTY

CELESTE Rubba, for example, has been working in this factory for 32 years. She has been dismissed with a pension of 3,000 lire per month. We would mention in passing that the minimum living wage for the average model family is 53,000 lire per month—minimum calculated by the Turin Chamber of Commerce The average wage of an industrial worker is rarely above 30,000 lire. This is what "sunny Italy" means for the workers.

Caterina Tomator is no luckier. "I have worked here for 16 years. For 15 years I worked for my husband, ex-Ilva worker suffering from an occupational disease contracted here. Now I am a widow and I have been sacked with a pension of 3 thousand lire."

"My name is Felice Della. I have worked here for 36 years, 26 years of which I spent in the manufacturing section and 10 in the foundry. They have dismissed me with a 3,000 lire pension."

"I am Severina Marrassi and I have worked here for 26 years. I have been dismissed too."

"Giuseppina Ciarmo. I am a widow and have worked here in the tin-plate section for 28 years. I too have been pensioned off with 3,000 lire."

"I have been sacked after 26 years of work here but I won't get a pension. My name is Angela Ciarlo."

"How is it that you won't have a pension after 26 years of work?"

"It's because I am 35 years old and you have to be 55 to get a pension. I will get it in two years' time but that doesn't help when I have to pay my food bill today."

Teresa Falco is in the same situation. She was 18 years old when she entered the factory—an age at which the daughters of the owners are only thinking about going out to dances, to the theatre and to the opera. In the evening, she went home worn out. Today, she is 50 years old, 32 years of which she has spent at work. She will not get a pension until 5 years' time. After 32 years of hard and fatiguing work, she has to wait 5 more years to get the miserable 3,000 lire which will not even allow her to buy bread every day.

And so the list goes on.

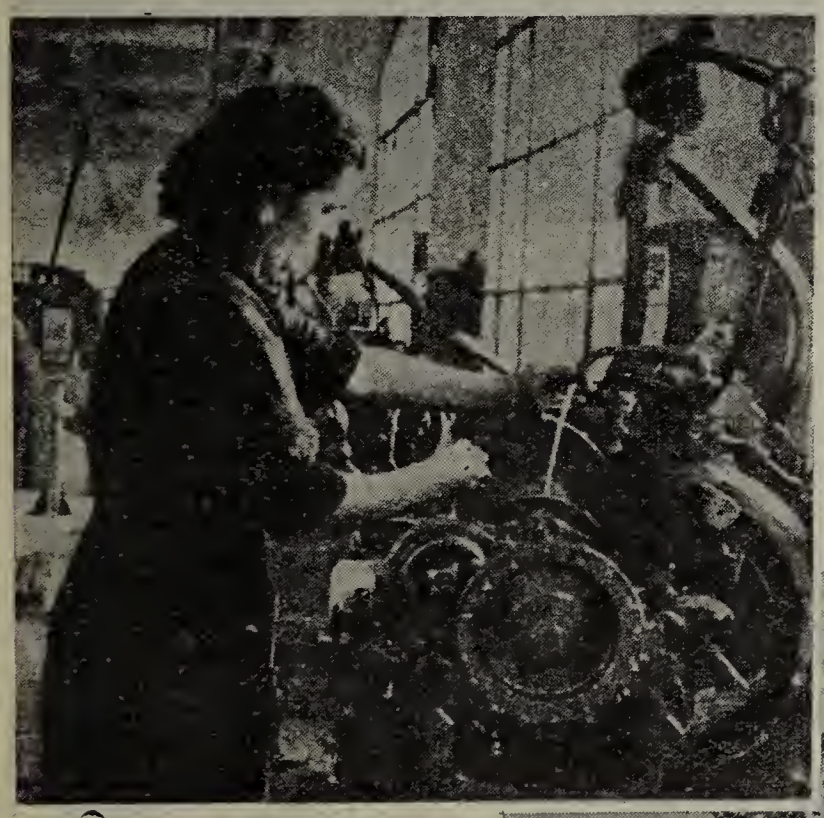
"We know what the men in the Government are after," the women told us, "but we, *all* the women of Savona, shall prevent them from making war just as we are stopping them from closing down the plant."

The factory whistle blew marking the end of the working day. The women hurried out. At home, the children are waiting for their mothers. They bid each other goodbye. Soon, only the watchman is left to guard the factory where, tomorrow, work will begin again.

IN REGGIO, IN MILAN, THE FIGHT FOR WORK GOES ON

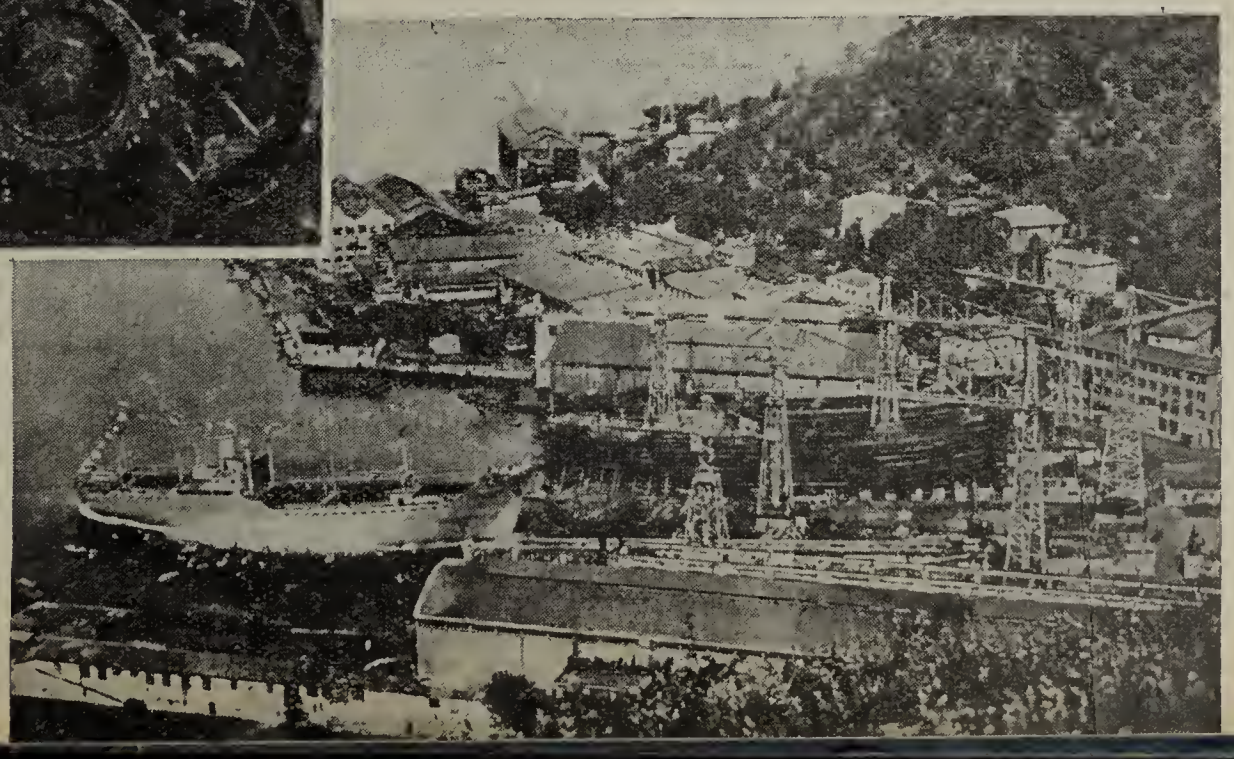
THIS factory is not an exception. There are many in Italy where the situation is the same. At Reggio Emilia, in the same area of the "river of flowers," there are the Reggiano factories, abandoned by the management on September 30th when 2,100 dismissed workers refused to leave. Now the workers are operating the plants. They are continuing to repair the railway trucks belonging to the State which, in accepting theses repairs, recognises that the factory is doing useful work but which nevertheless refuses to invest the necessary capital in it.

The young workers of Reggiano have built a new model locomotive capable of reaching a speed of 150 kilometres an hour. American machines which arrived a year ago and which, so it appears, are intended to be used on the manufacture of war material, have never been used. The workers refuse to put them into operation. The Reggiano plant is producing dairy equipment, agricultural machinery and locomotives. 90% of the women working there have been sacked but they are continuing to work alongside the men. Quite recently the workers succeeded in carrying out the supremely delicate operation of metal tapping, under their own management. When the molten steel came gushing



(Above :) The employers tried to close down the factory, but the workers, both men and women, resumed work for peace production.

A view of the Ansaldo-Muggiano shipyards at La Spezia, where the workers won a great victory thanks to their unity and fighting spirit and to the solidarity of the whole population.



Working-class solidarity is a pledge of victory for these strikers in the Motta plant, Milan, to whom the local population bring provisions.

(Below :) Reggiane strikers were brought a solidarity gift from their peasant comrades by the widow of an agricultural worker killed by the police in Calano.

out, some of the workers had tears in their eyes, but then everyone burst into applause.

"They want to dismiss us, not because there is no work, but because they want to prepare for war," one of the women said. "They want to make arms instead of agricultural machines, in order to massacre our remaining sons. The employers say that they have made up their minds, but all of us in Reggio have also made up our minds. The whole town, everyone in the surrounding countryside is behind us."

Indeed, it is as a result of the solidarity of the whole population, the peasants and tradesmen, who understand that the workers' interests are also linked with their own, that these working men and women. who are courageously working without wages, can continue to live.

At Sesto San Giovanni, in the suburbs of Milan, at the Breda works, thousands of workers have been dismissed. Many women still come to the factory with the letter of dismissal in their pocket. Section V of the Breda works produces planes for civil aviation, an industry with immense possibilities of development in Italy. But the Governement wants to liquidate the firm. Today 800 women are assembled in the canteen listening to "Mountain", widow of a deportee who is saying that 80% of the women working in the plant are widows and family bread-winners, and 40% are more than 50 years old.

The large number of widows is explained by the executions carried out by the Germans towards the end of the war when the workers defended the factory from destruction by the retreating Germans.

The women say "We beat the Germans, and we shall not fight in vain this time either." Delegations are being organised and sent to the management of the factory, to the Municipal Council, and to the Mayor. The women of Breda are receiving wholehearted solidarity from the entire population of Milan.

This active solidarity with the workers of Breda, Ilva, Reggiano and everywhere where factories are being closed down, is encouraging the women and driving them out of their traditional attitude of resignation. Strengthened by the support of the entire population which is experiencing the same suffering as themselves, they will win through.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

BRAZIL

Peace, Yes ! War, No !

"A railway worker of Deodoro has put the following question to our column "The Voice of the Railway Worker" : "How does the Brazilian Government's preparations for war concern the railwaymen of the Brazilian trade union centre ?" We are going to answer this question.

"By preparing actively to assist the American soldiers in their fight against the brave Korean people struggling for its freedom, the Brazilian government is obliged to undertake expenditure on a series of military projects, such as the purchase of aeroplanes and cruisers, the increase in the number of troops under arms, and so on. The Government's budget for 1950 already allocated more than 50 % of the total expenditure to military items, whereas for education and public health the total reached barely 5 %.

"Recently the government approved a 50 million cruzeiro budget to meet Brazil's contribution in foodstuffs for the imperialist soldiers who have invaded Korea: and there is now talk of devoting 57 millions more to the purchase of surplus war material.

"Where does the money come from ? It comes from the workers and the Brazilian people in general, by means of ever higher taxes, a higher cost of living and, as regards the railwaymen of the trade union centre, by means of increased exploitation, enforced higher productivity, longer working hours, refusal to grant wage increases and to pay New Year bonuses.

"The Government's war preparations are bringing the workers more hunger and poverty, the intensification of persecution and arbitrary measures, as the only means of silencing the workers' demands."

Gazeta Sindical, *December* 1950.

CHINA

Christians Unite Against Imperialism

"Since liberation, Chinese Christians have issued several statements expressing whole-hearted support for the Central People's Government and endorsing the movement in defence of world peace. Their September 23rd manifesto under the title of The Direction of Endeavour for Chinese Christianity in the Construction of New China *however, goes far beyond any of their previous pronouncements in significance. It is also their most representative statement to date. The result of many months' deliberations in Chinese church circles, this document proposes nothing less than a general reformation movement to free the Chinese Christian Church from the shackles of imperialism.*

"The 1,527 *leading Chinese Christians who sponsored this manifesto include many well-known educationalists, physicians and intellectuals of all the Protestant denominations : Methodists, Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, etc., from the coastal provinces and the deep hinterland...*

"In this document, after a century of unashamed abuse on the part of the foreign imperialists and their agents, the Chinese Christians have unequivocally declared their determination to break once and for all every remaining tie with imperialism and to protect their religion from the snares of political intrigue. They have slammed the door against imperialist infiltration. This re-affirmation of loyalty to their motherland is a considerable contribution to strengthening the great Democratic United Front of the Chinese People...

"The reformation movement has two fundamental aims. The first is to frustrate the imperialist — and especially the US imperialist — attempts to use religion as a means of resurrecting the power of the reactionary forces in China. To achieve this aim, states the manifesto, the masses of Christians must be made fully aware of the crimes committed by the imperialists in China. At the same time, they must be encouraged to take a full part in the peace movement and educated to understand and support the Government's land reform policy.

"The second aim of the movement is to raise the self-respect and self-reliance of Christians by developing their patriotic and democratic spirit and by enabling the churches and related institutions to become self-governing, self-supporting and able to promote their own development...

"The liberated Chinese people have stood up. So have the Chinese Christians. Together with the whole of the Chinese people, they have learnt the truth that equality and lasting universal peace can only by achieved under the banner of Socialism. They have chosen the road of peace and democracy."

People's China, 16-11-50.

FRANCE

Resistance to War Now a Mass Movement

"This time years of carnage have not had to pass before resistance to war has been taken up by the masses. But this unprecedented event has taken place at the very time when wars can only be total wars, when they require not only the participation of millions upon millions of combatants, but also a struggle in the rear, under the bombs, by whole peoples working in the factories, machine-shops, mines, fields and laboratories. It has never been so impossible to wage war without them...

"But... everything is tying up to frustrate the plot organised by those who want to lead the flock to slaughter and use the peoples to drown in blood, in their own blood, the peoples' great aspiration.

"The Warsaw Congress was a great and solemn warning. The peace forces can no longer be ignored.

"Mr. Attlee thought he could stifle them by his shameful sabotage of the Sheffield Congress; all he did was to set against him a great section of his countrymen and increase tenfold the success he tried to prevent... And when Mr. Truman spoke rashly of using the atom bomb, the Parliamentary Labour opposition rose to 150 *members. Ideas don't need a police visa to cross frontiers !*

"The clearer the threat becomes, the stronger and wider the reaction. The war wagon, whose mad race might dash the world into the deepest abyss, was already showing signs of strain; it has just suffered a blow which has caused further disintegration.

"But it is still dashing headlong.

"It is up to us to ensure that before it reaches its infernal destination it is stopped by the determination of millions of men who do not want to die but hope for that free, happy and peaceful life which the genius of man offers them."

Cahiers Internationaux (*an international labour review*) *Paris, December* 1950.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

For the Application of the Warsaw Decisions

The F.D.G.B.'s weekly has published the joint appeal issued by the F.D.G.B. Confederal Bureau and the German Peace Committee to all workers in the Democratic Republic asking them to give the widest possible publicity to the decisions made by the World Peace Congress in Warsaw. The appeal ends with the following recommendations :

"We invite all organisations in the trade union movement, and in particular all industrial trade union committees, as well as the leadership of the trade union works committees and the organisations of the peace movement, to take steps in order that all factory peace committees set up a plan of action for the next month or two, announce meetings in good time and use more initiative than they have so far to bring into the work in defence of peace their colleagues who are not yet active in the parties and organisations.

"In this way, the peace movement in Germany will receive an impulse and be reinforced by the rank and file so as to enable it to fulfil the heavy and responsible tasks which face it in order that peace may be saved for our people and for the world."

Tribune, 17-12-50.

INDIA

Diamond Mines Worked by Slave Labour

"The Panna District of Vindhya Pradesh is a district of diamond mines. 'Behind the brilliance of the diamond lurks the poignant story of slave labour who operates these mines', reports the National Standard *of October 30th.*

"The labour force is drawn from certain backward tribes in the district. The male members are purchased outright by contractors who advance a loan of Rs. 100 to every hefty youth to enable him to get married. The man and his wife are then condemned to life-long slavery. They can't get away until the loan is repaid. And none can repay the loan. For a male worker is paid 10 annas a day and a female 8 annas. Children aged four to five are also employed in the mines.*

"The mines are 20 to 35 feet deep and are worked in a most primitive style with handpicks and shovels and without any safety arrangements. In August last, a mine at Ramkiriya suddenly collapsed and seven workers were buried alive. The owner of this mine, Lal Mohmad, a staunch Muslim Leaguer until 1948, is now President of the Panna District Congress Committee and as such enjoys a number of concessions and privileges.

"From Ramkiriya mines, 500 diamonds were mined within the last five months whose value was estimated at Rs. 300.000. Of this amount, the contractor will have to pay only 10 per cent to the State as Royalty."

Crossroads (*Bombay*), 10-11-50.

* 16 annas = 1 rupee = 1s. 6d.

ITALY

A National Solidarity Crusade against Poverty

With the winter coming on, which is going to be particularly hard for the millions, from the North to the South of Italy, who are unemployed or on short time and who suffer from cold and hunger, the C.G.I.L. is organising a nation-wide campaign. G. di Vittorio writes as follows in the C.G.I.L.'s weekly:

"There is a problem which is not new in itself, but which has taken on a new aspect on account of its gravity and nature, and which we want to solve in accordance with the interests of the country : namely the growing poverty of an ever larger part of the population. This problem is growing in depth and intensity year by year, month by month, and even day by day. We have reached a point where a really impressive proportion of the population is reduced to such a state of poverty and misery, hunger and despair, that it could not bear a heavier burden. It is the C.G.I.L.'s honourable duty to take the lead of a national movement to try to alleviate this distress by using every possible means.

"There is at present much talk going on everywhere about national solidarity. Solidarity is a fine word and a suggestive expression. This word has been adopted by all parties and associations, by the press and even by the government... But what they have in mind is a one-sided solidarity, coupled with ideological discrimination.

"If the Italian people does not succeed in mobilising itself and rallying around a common economic, social and human objective, in placing the question of the people's life above every other consideration, we must realise that there will be a really distressing extension of the people's hardship. Therefore, it is important to promote the movement to which we have given the name of "national solidarity crusade against poverty".

Lavoro, 2-12-50.

PUERTO-RICO

The American Government Now Pretends to be Concerned with the People's Education

"After 52 years of colonial exploitation, the United States Congress and the Puerto-Rican government which belongs, body and soul, to North-American imperialism—intend now to look into the poverty, illiteracy and bad state of health of our people, and in particular of our youth.

"This is how the Congress Commission named to deal with this subject sees the facts :

"1. 47 % of the children of school age do not go to school, for lack of educational facilities;

"2. In 1947, there were approximately 84,000 families herded together in filthy and overcrowded suburbs, while the population was growing at the rate of 2,080 per year;

"3. 66 % of childbirths in 1948 were attended by a doctor. And in physical development, Puerto-Rican children lag two years behind the average for continental children;

"4. Puerto-Rico has only one doctor per 2,250 inhabitants, whereas in New-York there is one per 200 inhabitants, and in the state of Mississipi one per 1.500;

"5. There are 4.3 hospital beds per thousand according to the law passed by the United States concerning the setting up and construction of hospitals;

"6. In 1949, there were 17.000 invalid children waiting for their turn to receive treatment;

"7. One quarter of the child population over 10 years of age was illiterate in 1946, compared with an illiteracy rate for the whole of the continent of 2.7 % of the child population aged 14 or more;

"8. Only 48 % of the children complete 4 years of study; 21 % complete 8 years; and 5 % complete 12 years;

"9. 46% of the primary schoolteachers employed in 1948 did not have the qualifications necessary to receive a schoolteacher's diploma;

"10. Only one third of the children who are in need of social assistance receive such assistance; there are no maternal centres for working women and few means of combatting juvenile delinquency.

"Until now the teaching of the Spanish language existed only in theory in our country. The textbooks, which are one of the sources for the teaching of our language and of the various educational disciplines, continue to be a delaying influence in our culture, as they are written in English, which for us is a foreign language".

Pueblo, *Puerto-Rico*, 20-11-50.
November 1950.

SOUTH AFRICA

Malan Creates a Caste of Untouchables

"South African Airways air hostesses have been told to 'tag' all linen used by non-European passengers with a special red tag.

"All tagged articles must be sent on every occasion 'for special hygienic processing and dry cleaning', according to a circular issued to S.A. Airways officials.

"'Travel hostesses and others concerned', says the circular, 'must exer-

cise tact in the application of these instructions.' The air hostess must discreetly tag the article immediately after use".

Rand Daily Mail, *quoted by the London* Daily Worker, 20-12-50.

U. S. A.

War Drums and Redbaiting at CIO Convention

"One of the newer of the newsmen covering the C.I.O. convention in Chicago turned to me on the third day and asked: 'Why are they banging away on Communism every minute of this show? As far as I can see there isn't a Communist delegate in the hall.'

"'My boy,' I replied to him, 'in the A.F.L. it was an old practice, and still is in some unions, to keep delegates continually drunk as the little gang that runs the union railroaded through anything it wanted. It worked for years and helped to entrench some of the notorious labor fakers in office.

"But Murray, Reuther, do it the 'modern' and more 'refined' way. They continually spray the convention hall with a poisonous substance called redbaiting. Like firewater, it has a chloroform effect on the brain and brings frightful visions before those who are allergic to it.'

"The C.I.O.'s leaders had good reason to keep the redbaiting spray guns going. Even many of their own followers sought answers to some of their problems, especially on the reason the C.I.O. met disaster at the polls. The C.I.O.'s leaders had no real answers or they weren't able to agree upon any...

"The C.I.O.'s leadership was also aware that the Administration's foreign policy is becoming increasingly unpopular among their own members...

"Did the C.I.O. leaders learn... that their members want peace and should get a constructive channel for expressing it? Oh, no! With Reuther playing the principal role, they went to work beating the war drums louder than ever...

"Another cause for uneasiness to C.I.O. leaders despite the show of 'unity' they staged, was the knowledge that they do not have unity with the rank and file in the locals...

"The most apparent evidence of the gap between the leaders and the rank and file was the presence of only seven *Negro delegates... and a vote of* 557 *delegates seated. That neither indicated equality for, or a trustful attitude towards, the estimated* 400,000 *Negro members in the C.I.O...*

"Such are some of the reasons that made redbaiting urgent for the C.I.O.'s leaders. It was the main ground upon which they stay 'united', and it provided the smokescreen over the many ugly things unfit for public view".

George Morris in The Worker, *New-York*, 3-12-50.

U. S. S. R.

The Struggle for Peace and the Vital Interests of the Workers

Commenting the Appeal issued by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. to the trade unions and workers of the world, the leader writer of *Trud* says:

"In the name of its 78 *million members, the W.F.T.U. — the greatest international working class organisation — has raised its voice in protest against the bloody misdeeds of the imperialists, and calls on the working class to take effective action to defend peace.*

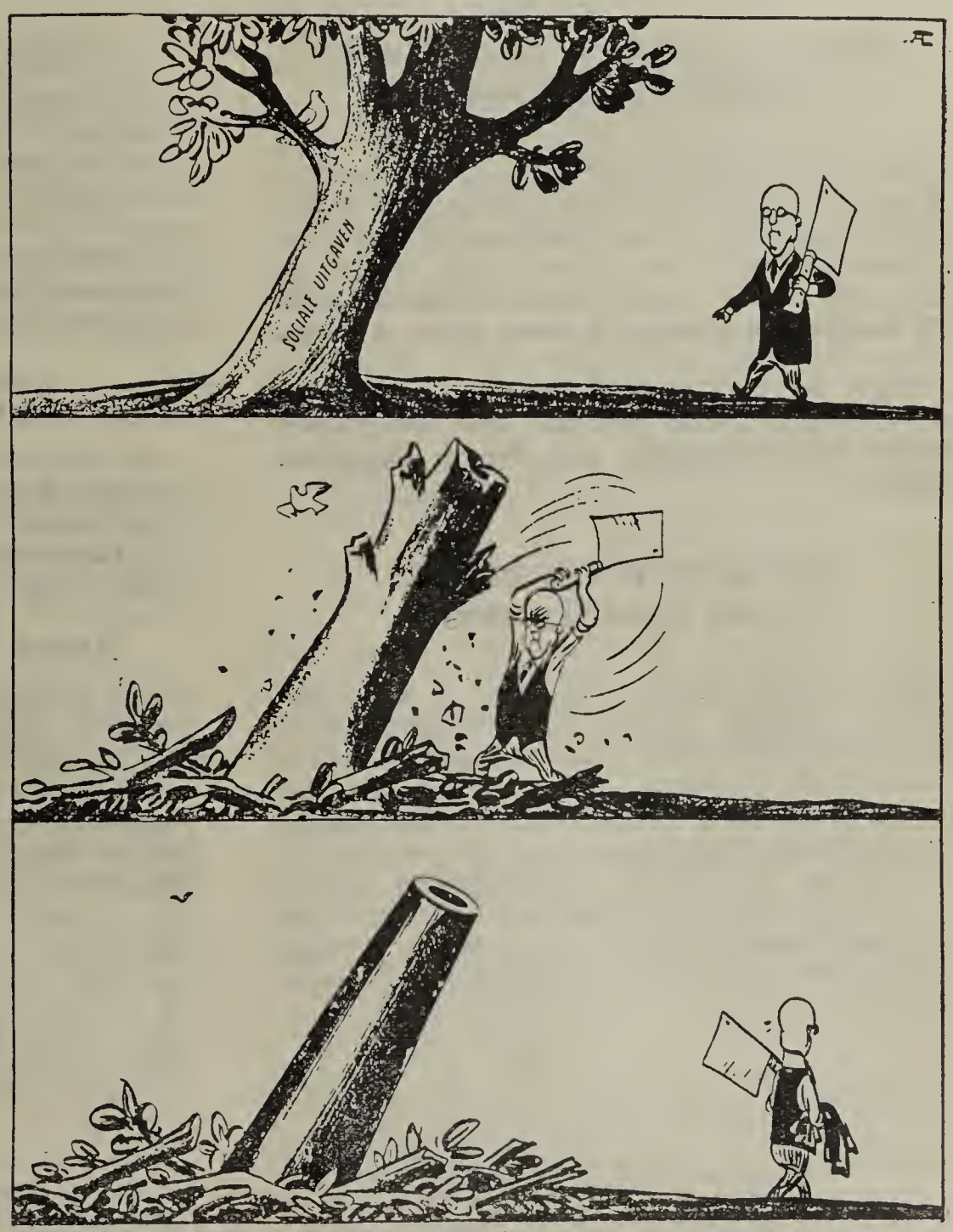
"At its very inception, the W.F.T.U. inscribed on its banner the noble watchwords of the struggle for peace and democracy and against fascism and war. The World Federation of Trade Unions was in attendance at the birth of the Defenders of Peace Movement.

"At the last Peace Congress in Warsaw, the voice of the W.F.T.U. echoed loudly. The World Federation of Trade Unions was born in the struggle waged by the working class against fascism, and it has now become one of the most important and effective detachments of the camp of peace and democracy.

"This is quite natural. The working class has a vital interest in warding of the war danger, for the burden of war would be borne chiefly by the working class. The working class is the main force in the peace movement. All the opponents of war are rallying around it, regardless of their trade, race, nationality, political opinion or religious belief."

After describing the changes in the world situation, the leader writer goes on:

"The Warsaw Peace Congress was the expression of the desire of hundreds



Social Expenses or War: The Right-Wing Social-Democrats' Solution
(Cartoon from "De Waarheid," Amsterdam)

of millions of simple people to take up themselves the task of defending peace. The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. gave its unreserved approval to the Congress decisions and supported them enthusiastically.

"The Executive Bureau sent a message to U.N.O. announcing its support for the Address sent to the United Nations Organisation by the Second World Peace Congress.

"On behalf of its 78 million members, the W.F.T.U. demands firmly the application of all the proposals contained in the Address, which are a guarantee for the mainteance of peace in the world."

The writer stresses particularly *"the transcendent importance of the proposals made by the W.F.T.U. to the National Trade Union Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (T.D.'s of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade unions : preparation and application of a concrete plan to foster a mighty movement for unity; consolidation of the links with trade unions not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. in order to undertake concrete activities to defend peace; unity of the forces of all workers, whether organised or not, in the struggle for peace; greater efficiency and extension of the activities of peace committees set up in workplaces."*

Trud, 15-11-50.

ECONOMIC NOTES

AMERICAN CAPITAL IN FRENCH WEST AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Two leading members of the American maritime industry have stated on the conclusion of a long trip in Africa that free trade with Africa may be established sooner than most Americans think, and that it would not be surprising to see **US investments increase in many areas of Africa.**

They were very optimist about the possibilities of developing trade relations with **the French Sudan, the Cameroons, and French Equatorial Africa.**

THE STATE IN THE SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN TRUSTS

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, president of the Sugar Refining Company, is to be appointed ambassador in Buenos Aires. Mr. Arthur Vandenberg, son of the Republican senator, is resuming work at the International Basic Economy Corp, directed by by **Mr. Nelson Rockefeller.** Readers will remember that Mr. Rockefeller was appointed adviser to Truman's Point 4 Programme and that International Basic directs its main efforts towards the penetration of Brazil, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

GUNS AND BUTTER IN THE USA ?

The well-known economist, Mr. Szymczak, American Government spokesman, has drawn up a very suggestive picture of the consequences of rearmament. He points out that the country can expect an increase in taxes, the transfer of orders to industries working for defence, longer working hours, new credit regulations, reduced automobile production and less home building.

AMERICAN CAPITAL IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The American Smelting and Refining Co has just signed an agreement with the British Mines Development Syndicate in Southern Nigeria for the **prospection of mining areas** owned in Nigeria by the latter Company.

"HANDS OFF ARMAMENT PROFITS !"

In a speech at the Brussels Chamber of Commerce, Professor Baudhuin stated that Belgium had an excellent geographic position in the economy of rearmament, adequate equipment and a proverbially rich economy. But **it was nonetheless necessary to avoid discouraging those who intended to profit by the possibilities open.** Yet it was stated that those who accept armament orders were war profiteers to be squeezed to the last drop.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

December 16

LAKE-SUCCESS. — At a press conference held before the Chinese delegation's return to Peking, General Wu Hsiu-chuan, head of the delegation, declares that "the peace-loving people of the whole world are demanding that the Korean problem be solved peacefully".

Denouncing the proposals for a mere cease-fire order as a trap to tie the hands of the Korean People's Army, General Wu expressed his conviction that the overwhelming majority of the American people also want peace and friendship with the Chinese people.

U.S.S.R. — The Government of the Soviet Union sends a note to the French Government, and a similar one to the British Government, protesting against the fact that "they have come to an agreement with other Governments regarding the establishment of a German Army in Western Germany, the sending into this Army of many Hitlerite generals and officers, and measures for the restoration of war industries, including those of the Ruhr."

The notes remind the two governments that "such a position is not only contrary to the Potsdam agreement regarding the demilitarisation of Germany", but also "in direct contradiction" with the Franco-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet treaties.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES. — The Law for the Protection of Peace comes into force in the German Democratic Republic and in the Rumanian People's Republic.

KOREA. — Mass executions of political prisoners and the brutal slaughtering of women and children in Seoul by Syngman Rhee's fascist gangs arouse protests from foreign missionnaries and even among British troops. Two priests declare "at least 800 persons, many of whom were women, and also children, were executed in the last 5 days."

INDIA. — Death of Sardar V. Patel, wealthy deputy Premier and Minister for Home Affairs. Patel personally led the repression of trade unionists, progressives and peasant leaders, 25,000 of whom are still being held as political prisoners, in violation of the provisions of the Constitution.

BURMA. — Formation of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party", composed of left-wing Socialists, trade unionists and leaders of the Students' and Women's movements.

INDONESIA. — The workers of the "United States Tobacco Company" in Semarang go on strike to support their claims for better living conditions. The Macassar printers, on strike since the 12th, and the Dempu school teachers, in Sumbawa, on strike since December 2nd, return to work after a victorious settlement of their respective claims.

December 17

U.S.S.R. — Election to the Local Soviets in several Republics of the Union: Russian Federal Republic, Ukraine, Bielorussia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Esthonia, Lettonia, and Karelia.

UNITED STATES. — President Truman appoints an "economic dictator" with sweeping powers over economic resources and production of war material, such powers aiming also to extend over Atlantic Pact satellites. The man chosen for the post is a direct representative of Big Business: Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric monopoly.

BRITAIN. — The Union of Democratic Control, whose Executive Committee includes several Labour MPs, urges the Labour Government to give no further support to the rearming of Western Germany, and "to make it clear to all concerned that the British people are not prepared to enter a war against China."

ARGENTINE. — Buenos Aires railroad workers and guards go on strike, bringing all suburban travel to a standstill. They reject the ultimatum of the Transport Minister, who ordered the strikers back to work on penalty of dismissal; the men further demand the "irrevocable resignation" of Pablo Lopez, president imposed on their trade union by the Peron Government, and a basic wage increase, as conditions for their returning to work.

December 18

BRUSSELS. — The Foreign and Defence Ministers of the 12 Atlantic Pact satellites meet under the presidency of Dean Acheson to adopt officially the American war plan for Western Europe and the reconstitution of a West German army, which, in the words of the Soviet note of protest, would have "a predominating place in the armed forces of the West European powers".

By order of the American instigators of the plan, the joint "Atlantic forces" are placed under the command of the US General Dwight Eisenhower.

MALAYA. — Further repressive steps are taken by the British authorities. They include collective fines on villages and the stationing of "security troops", *at the expense of the inhabitants,* in areas where these refuse to supply information to the police about the People's Liberation Army.

December 19

U.S.S.R. — Amid tremendous enthusiasm, 99.99% of the registered voters go to the polls to elect the deputies to the Soviet of Moscow workers.

NIGERIA. — A five-day old strike of 20,000 employees of foreign combines spreads to the largest British shipping company in the country: Elder Dempster. The strikers demand a 12 1/2% cost-of-living allowance retrospective from April.

WARSAW.—At its closing session, the Administrative Committee of the Trade Unions International of Seamen, Dockers, Inland Waterways and Allied Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), which had been meeting since Dec. 12, makes an appeal to world seamen and dockers to join in actively in the struggle for peace and against war preparations.

Headquarters of the T.U. International, formerly

in Marseilles, had to be transferred to Gdynia (Poland), the French Government having banned its trade union activities in French territory.

December 20

BRITAIN. — As direct results of the Truman-Attlee talks in Washington and the Brussels meeting of the "Atlantic Pact Council", it is revealed that full-scale return of wartime controls, including the direction of labour employment, is to be considered by the Labour Government in the New Year. In face of mounting opposition from the British working people, far-reaching cuts in civilian consumption are envisaged.

— The National Union of Railwaymen call on the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to initiate a peace conference between the Soviet and British trade unions. The TUC Council rejected the proposal.

UNITED STATES. — Congress approves a loan of 38 million dollars to Tito as part of American policy to strengthen his tottering regime and tie it more securely to the war planners' camp.

— Former President Herbert Hoover, scared by the consequences of present US policy in the Far East and Western Europe, declares the US should withdraw to the Western Hemisphere to make it "the Gibraltar of estern civilisation", and not send "another dollar or another man to Europe".

December 21

ITALY. — Italian metal workers stage a four-hour nation-wide strike to protest against threats of mass dismissals and closing of factories, and also against attacks on trade union rights.

December 22

BRITAIN. — The Board of Trade announces that all "utility" wool cloths are to go up 30% and worsted cloths 40% in price from February 1. These are the sharpest increases in the ten years of Government "price control". They are the direct result of the Truman-Attlee war alliance and Anglo-American stockpiling.

UNITED STATES. — American railroad workers win wage increases and a sliding scale for periodic cost-of-living adjustments. The agreement between the 4 large Railroad Unions and the owners is the outcome of a long struggle, which the Truman Government attempted to suppress by putting operation of the railroads under control of the US Army last August.

UNITED NATIONS.—Jacob Malik, permanent Soviet representative at U.N.O., asks the President of the General Assembly to take urgent steps in order to save the life of Panastis Kokinos, Secretary of the Greek Telephone Workers' Union, sentenced to death by a military court in Athens.

INDIA.—The All India Trade Union Congress protests to the Government of India and to the Madras Governement against the confirmation of a death sentence on Baluswamy, a Madura trade unionist, and against terrorist methods used in the repression of Indian trade union activities.

December 23

UNITED STATES. — Discord arises in the Truman Administration between the new "economic dictator", Charles Wilson, who wants to enforce longer working hours while relaxing regulations for over-time pay, on the one hand, and Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, on the other hand, who fears that if the real meaning of Truman's policy is made so clear to the workers "it might demoralize them to such an extent that it would adversely affect production of urgently-needed materials".

CHINA.—The All China Federation of Labour sends a message to the WFTU President and General Secretary, expressing the fullest support of the Chinese workers for the manifesto and the resolutions adopted at the Bucharest meeting of the Executive Bureau.

FRANCE.—The national committee of the Fighters for Peace and Freedom launches a nation-wide referendum against the rearmament of Western Germany. This campaign develops rapidly throughout the country and is marked by numerous demonstrations and work stoppages.

GERMANY.—German Associations of Victims of Nazism—in both Eastern and Western Germany —send to the International Federation of Deportees numerous messages against the rearming of Germany.

December 24

NEW ZEALAND.—All workers on the State-owned New Zealand railways come out on strike in protest against the inadequacy of recent wage grants as compared with the soaring cost of living. In solidarity with the railmen, truck drivers refuse to transport goods normally carried by railways

December 25

GERMANY.—Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, renew his proposal of November 30 to Konrad Adenauer for joint talks on German unity and peace.

December 26

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN.—Following a series of major strikes in many industries, railway workers begin a three-day strike in protest against the anti-trade union acts of the British-dominated government which are intended to repress the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the fight for better conditions.

CHINA.—Following a report from Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese delegation to the Warsaw Congress, the Central People's Government Council decides its official support for the Address to the United Nations Organisation issued by the 2nd World Peace Congress.

December 27

UNITED STATES.—Under new regulations tightening police control over workers, all sailors and dockers and "every person employed on the ships or docks" in U.S. territory must have a special "security card," which the Coast Guard commandant can deny to any worker he considers "subversive."

Harry Bridges, for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (70,000 strong) and Hugh Bryson, for the 10,000-member Marine

Cooks and Stewards, raise an energetic protest, showing that no man could defend himself against a "subversive" charge.

December 28

BRITAIN.—The war drive again hits the British people with a Government announcement that, as from February 1, the use of zinc, copper or copper alloys will be prohibited in the manufacture of 200 household articles and consumer goods. These metals will be reserved for the production of war materials.

— The Communist Party of Great Britain issues its "most serious call sent out since the end of the war" urging a full mobilisation of the people against the rearming of Germany and for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

December 29

POLAND.—The Legislative Diet of the Republic endorses the proposals of the 2nd World Peace Congress, declares its active support for the World Peace Council and passes a law in defence of peace which makes war propaganda or slander of the peace movement a crime punishable by law.

BRITAIN.—The Archbishop of York condemns the use of the atom bomb against China, saying it would "outrage the conscience of the British nation." He calls for negotiations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China "to reach agreement on points of difference."

IRAN.—Following up a week of demonstrations in Teheran demanding the cancellation of concessions for the Anglo-Iranian Oil trust and the nationalisation of the oil industry, a huge meeting of over 50,000 people is held under the leadership of the famous priest Abol-Ghassem Hachani.

December 30

UNITED STATES.—As part of the war mobilisation programme, the National Production Authority bans the use of copper in more than 300 consumer products. This ban, which is effective from March 1, moves U.S. economy still further towards the substitution of guns for butter.

December 31

UNITED STATES.—Following up his previous day's review of foreign policy, in which he stressed the need for "sacrifice" by the American people in the rearmament drive, Secretary of State Acheson in his New Year's Eve broadcast states that America needs "bloods and toil, tears and sweat" and calls for greater speed in the building of tanks, guns, planes and other weapons for war.

TOKIO.—General MacArthur advocates the rearmament of Japan so that, along with the former Nazis of Western Germany, she make take her place among the allies of the "Atlantic."

BRITAIN.—4,000 people attend an open-air meeting in London to protest against German rearmament.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE W.F.T.U.

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by Nicolas KALOUDIS,
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(from N° 13)

LONDON GAS STRIKERS SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT

by Dave MURPHY
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by Jock FITZWILLIAM
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GANGSTER METHODS IN THE C.I.O.

by Rod HOLMGREN
of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (USA and Canada)
(from N° 1, 1950)

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

EXECUTIVE BUREAU
Meeting

BUCHAREST, DECEMBER 1-7, 1950

SUPPLEMENT

TO

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

N° 1. (January 5, 1951)

MANIFESTO

TO THE TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS OF THE WORLD

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN !
WORKERS OF ALL LANDS !

The threat of war is growing.

The imperialists of the United States, who are sowing death and destruction in Korea, are casting a shadow over the world—the threat of a barbaric war. Only the peoples can bar the way to war.

You millions of working men and women are humanity's greatest power. The destiny of the world is in your hands. You must take immediate and effective action against war, for the entire weight of such a catastrophe would fall on you.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls on you to take vigorous action to defend peace, to safeguard the lives of your children and to preserve the fruits of your creative labour.

The 2nd World Peace Congress expressed the determination of hundreds of millions of common people throughout the world to take the defence of peace into their own hands and to oppose resolutely the criminal designs of the imperialists.

With this in view, the Warsaw Congress drew up a programme for effective and immediate action. If this programme is carried out, peace will be assured.

Together with the Defenders of Peace of all lands, we must enforce the complete prohibition of all forms of atomic, bacteriological, chemical, toxic and radioactive weapons and all other means of mass destruction.

We must warn the warmongers that the first to use these weapons shall be condemned by mankind as a war criminal and meet with harsh punishment for his monstrous crime.

We must take immediate action to frustrate Truman's criminal schemes for using the atom bomb against the Korean and Chinese peoples who are defending their freedom and independence.

We must fight for the reduction of all land, sea and air forces, and for the establishment of strict international control of general disarmament.

WORKERS!

Refuse to produce arms!

Remember that war means death and restruction, countless victims and endless suffering.

Demand the condemnation of armed aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of peoples. Every people is entitled to freedom and independence.

Take action to stop the war in Korea immediately, to have foreign armies withdrawn from that country and to bring about a peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea. This settlement must be arrived at with the participation of the representatives of the Korean people.

All those who lived through the horrors of the Second World War and who want to preserve their homes from such horrors in the future, cannot and must not remain indifferent to the fate of the Korean people who, with perfect right, want to determine freely their own destiny.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

The imperialists are once more allotting Western Germany and Japan the role of aggressive powers, and are rebuilding the war industries and armed forces of these countries in order to light the flames of a murderous war. Be vigilant!

Stand up against the criminal plans of the imperialists, who are ruthlessly striving to increase their privileges and extend their domination at the expense of the lives of the working people.

Remember the horrors committed by the Nazi barbarians and the Japanese militarists, the grievous effects of which are still being felt by the working class in so many countries.

Expose the lying propaganda of the enemies of peace, demands its prohibition and severe punishment for those responsible for war propaganda.

The peoples of all countries, whatever their system of government, want peaceful cooperation and friendly relations with one another.

Demand that normal trade relations between different countries be resumed and increased, and that cultural relations between the peoples be strengthened in order to foster mutual understanding and confidence in the common fight for peace.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls on all trade unions and workers to support the Appeal issued by the 2nd World Peace Congress to the United Nations Organisation. A peaceful policy of friendly cooperation among the peoples can be achieved only by common endeavour.

TRADE UNIONISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Strengthen the activity of Peace Committees at your place of work, and set up these committees where they do not yet exist. Bring the widest masses of the workers intho the peace movement.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN!

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls on you to consolidate unity within your ranks in the fight for peace, and to link up this fight with the struggle to win your immediate and essential demands and improvement of your economic and social conditions.

The fight for peace is inseparable from the fight for better living conditions; and the success of this fight is inseparable from the consolidation of national and international labour unity.

Create a powerful drive towards unity among the workers.

Strengthen joint action by the industrial and agricultural working class.

Act in close cooperation with the immense number of Defenders of Peace and with all progressive and peace-loving forces.

Expose unflinchingly the warmongers and their agents in the trade union movement who are endeavouring to engineer division within the working class in order to weaken it and make it easier to launch another war.

It is the duty of every worker to fight for peace and to oppose war.

EVERYTHING FOR PEACE!

LONG LIVE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE PEOPLES!

BUCHAREST, December 7, 1950.

RESOLUTION

ON THE TASKS OF THE W. F. T. U. IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. notes that since the meeting of the Executive Committe in Budapest (May 1950), the imperialist forces have passed from preparation for war to direct aggression. American imperialism is frantically pursuing its plans for world domination. By order of the trusts, American troops are ruthlessly attacking the innocent Korean people, destroying and devastating the country; they are directly threatening China and bombing and machine-gunning its territory. The ruling circles of the United States are carrying on armed intervention against the national liberation movements of other peoples.

The American imperialists are trying to provoke a general conflict in which every country would be involved, thus threatening all parts of the world with death and destruction.

Truman, the aggressor, is threatening to use the atom bomb against the peace-loving population of Korea and China. He has cynically announced the intention of the ruling circles of the USA to maintain the criminal war in Korea in order to undertake further fruitless imperialist ventures.

2. But the imperialists are more and more disturbed by the might and steady growth of the peoples' world peace movement. The war-planners find themselves confronted by all peoples, conscious now of their strength and opposed to the criminal designs of a handful of exploiters determined to preserve their domination at all costs and to increase their profits.

The unanimous desire of the peoples was demonstrated with particular clarity and force at the 2nd World Peace Congress. The historic importance of this Congress must be brought home to all workers. It expressed the determination of hundreds of millions of ordinary people throughout the world to take the defence of peace into their own hands.

The workers in capitalist countries are already hard hit by the effects of war economy. In these countries, peace industries are again being converted to war production. The production of consumer goods is being reduced. Working hours are lengthened, the living standards of wage earners are cut, and the burden they have to bear as result of the continuous increase in war expenditure is growing daily heavier. Their trade union rights and democratic liberties are suppressed. At the same time, prices rise, the profits of trusts and monopolies increase, and industrial concentration is speeded up, making the State still more dependent on the wishes of the capitalist multimillionaires.

There are only two roads open to the workers: peace and the continued fight for better living conditions; or war with destruction, misery and death. The workers therefore have a vital interest in waging the fight for peace with all their strength.

4. The Executive Bureau of the WFTU therefore unanimously endorses and enthusiastically supports the decisions of the 2nd World Peace Congress, demanding:

— the immediate ending of the war in Korea and of the ruthless mass extermination of the Korean civilian population; the withdrawal from this country of foreign armies; and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of the representatives of the Korean people;

— the ending of intervention by American troops in the Chinese island and with Taiwan (Formosa), and an end to hostilities with the Republic of Viet-Nam;

— the signing of a peace treaty with a united, demilitarised Germany and with Japan, and the withdrawal of occupation troops from these two countries.

— the condemnation of armed aggression and armed intervention by any State in the internal affairs of other countries;

— the prohibition of propaganda advocating another war and the passing, by Parliaments of all countries, of a law in defence of peace, making any form of propaganda advocating another war a punishable offence;

— the total outlawing of all types of atomic weapons, of bacteriological, chemical, toxic, and radioactive weapons, and the branding as a war criminal of the first government to make use of such weapons;

— the progressive and simultaneous reduction, during 1951 and 1952, of all armaments and land, air and sea forces, by between one-third and one-half;

— the establishment of an international body, attached to the Security Council, having at its disposal qualified supervisors and responsible for controlling both the reduction of conventional armaments and the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons;

— the extension of control to the inspection of not only declared but even supposed military forces, armaments and arms production;

— the resumption and expansion of normal trade relations between different countries, and the strengthening of cultural relations among peoples in order to foster mutual understanding and confidence in the common struggle for peace.

The Executive Bureau of the WFTU welcomes the formation of the World Peace Council, a great peoples' council set up to carry out the noble task of safeguarding peace.

5. The WFTU recommends all National Trade Union Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (TD's of the WFTU) and all trade unions:

a — to make known and explain the decisions of the 2nd World Peace Congress to the workers in the widest possible manner (through the press, radio, cinema, trade union meetings, meetings at work-places and so on);

b — to call on Members of Parliament and Governments to put these decisions into practical application, and to adopt an attitude in conformity with these decisions, particularly within UNO;

c — to organise increasingly vigorous action against the manufacture of arms and the handling and transport of war material;

d — to increase their solidarity with colonial and dependent peoples fighting for their national liberation, and to give greater assistance to the Korean people, victims of American aggression;

e — to draw up and put into practice, on the basis of a powerful unity drive, concrete plans for the prevention of rearmament, particularly as regards Germany and Japan, which the rulers of America are seeking to turn once more into aggressive powers;

f — to link the fight for peace closely with the fight to win the workers' immediate and essential demands;

g — to demand the reduction of expenditure on arms, and to draw up and apply concrete plans for the expansion of socially useful construction and the raising of the workers' living standards by using for this purpose the resources freed by the reduction of war expenditure;

h — to increase contact with trade unions not affiliated with the WFTU in order to undertake concrete action in defence of peace, to bring all workers, both organised and unorganised, into the fight for peace, while sparing no effort to denounce the disastrous activities of the divisionist trade union leaders of the International Confederation of self-styled Free Trade Unions and of the International Trade Secretariats, who are seeking by political manœuvres to conceal their role as obedient agents of the imperialist warmongers;

i — to expand and strengthen Works Peace Committees, to give greater impetus to their activity and to set up such Committees where they do not already exist.

6. The Executive Bureau instructs the WFTU Secretariat:

a — to intensify its propaganda denouncing the imperialists' designs, to publicise the decisions of the 2nd World Peace Congress and the peace campaign carried on by the National Centres, in its periodicals, in pamphlets, in the press and over the radio, so as to enable each affiliated organisation to benefit from the positive experience of other centres;

b — to make an examination of the activity carried out by Works Peace Committees, and to inform the National Centres of the results of this activity, whether positive or negative, and to make concrete proposals on the future tasks of these Committees;

c — to support and coordinate all measures adopted by workers and trade unions to prevent the rearmament of Germany, bearing in mind the necessity for uniting the workers of all countries, and of Europe in particular, in this campaign;

d — to assist National Centres in exchanging workers' delegations between different countries and to publicise the reports made by these delegations;

e — to expand its organisational and propaganda work in colonial and dependent countries, stressing the link which necessarily exists between the fight for peace and the fight for national liberation;

f — to submit proposals to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommending the reduction of expenditure on arms and the use of sums freed in this way to raise the living standards of workers in towns and rural areas;

g — to draw up proposals, in collaboration with the Trade Unions Internationals (TD's of the WFTU) to establish free commercial and cultural relations among all countries.

BUCHAREST, December 7, 1950.

WARSAW CONGRESS ADDRESS TO U. N. O. ENDORSED BY W. F. T. U.

Cable sent by the Executive Bureau

The Secretary-General,
United Nations Organisation,
Lake Success, N.Y., U.S.A.

The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions examined at its session on December 7, 1950, the Address to the United Nations Organisation by the 2nd World Peace Congress, and endorsed it unanimously. In the name of its 78 million members, the World Federation of Trade Unions urges the U.N.O. to apply as rapidly as possible all the measures mentioned in the Address so that world peace may be ensured.

Guiseppe DI VITTORIO
President of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Louis SAILLANT
General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The same message was also cabled to the President of the United Nations General Assembly.

RESOLUTION

ON THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

1. The fundamental aim of the WFTU is to improve the living conditions of workers of all countries, to defend and develop democratic and trade union rights, and to preserve peace.

2. The working people of Latin America are living in difficult conditions : agriculture, which is the basis of the economy of these countries, is backward; in some, the process of industrialisation has barely begun; the cultural level of the population is low; national reaction and foreign imperialism prevent the working people from enjoying the benefits of civilisation and universal culture.

3. In the post-war period, the American imperialists, in order to achieve their aims of expansion and war, have intensified their economic, political, cultural and military pressure on Latin American countries.

4. In the economic sphere, the American imperialists are taking steps to turn the countries of Latin America into sources of raw materials and markets suited to the needs of North-American industry, thus preventing the development of national industries and endeavouring to isolate the countries of Latin America from the rest of the world.

5. In the political sphere, the American imperialists aim at completely wiping out the sovereignty of the Latin American countries, at suppressing all resistance to their domination, and at utilising the countries of Latin America to achieve their policy of aggression.

They are endeavouring to set up and are supporting reactionary regimes which persecute the working class movement and the democratic movement in general; for only through tyranny can they fulfil their designs. In certain countries they have already achieved this objective.

6. In the military sphere, the North-American imperialists intend to turn Latin America into a fortress of the United States Army, to unify the armies and standardise armaments under the command and control of the North-American General Staff and thus use the armed forces of Latin America as auxiliaries to be sacrified in new military ventures and aggressive wars.

7. In the cultural sphere, the North-American imperialists are attempting to convince the peoples of Latin America that it is the "manifest destiny" of the United States to rule the world and that "geographic destiny" has indissolubly bound the Latin-American nations to the North-American power. They are endeavouring to impose on the peoples what they call the "American way of life", which they set up in opposition to the ideas and desires of all the peoples of the earth. To this end, they seek to bring under their influence the intellectuals, artists and scientists of Latin America. They offer them scholarships and trips to the United States and send cultural missions to the countries of Latin America; they control the press and radio and impose their films on these countries. All this is done to stifle expression of the national culture of Latin-American countries, to weaken the characteristic features of their historical development and intellectual and artistic evolution, in order to facilitate the domination of the US monopolies.

8. The Executive Bureau of the WFTU notes that the American monopolists—in alliance with local reaction, which has betrayed the interests of the Latin American peoples—have, in order to attain their objectives, started an open and violent offensive against the basic rights and democratic liberties of the people. Trade Union organisations which defend the workers' interests are heing violently attacked.

9. The agents of imperialism within the working class movement, going over completely to the enemies of the working class, are organising provocations and division in order to facilitate the application of their masters' plans. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour, following the failure of their attempt at obtaining direct control of the Latin-American working class movement, are now using the Brussels Scab International to camouflage the application of orders issued by the State Departement.

10. The result of this offensive by imperialism is that the living standards of the working people in all Latin American countries are being constantly lowered; the development of national industry is being hindered; unemployment is rising; peasants are being ousted from their lands and thrown into the deepest poverty; social gains are attacked and trade union rights violated.

11. But the workers of Latin America are organising. They are courageously resisting the attacks made against them and their organisations. They are valiantly struggling and defending—often successfully—their rights and vital interests. They are showing initiative in organising numerous campaigns for their demands.

12. The CTAL, which unites the majority of organised Latin-American workers, in itself represents an important victory of the peoples of these countries and a considerable power in the world working class movement. It is in the forefront of the struggle for the improvement of the workers' living conditions, for national independence, democracy and peace, and for the free development of Latin American countries.

The CTAL devotes its efforts to strengthening unity between the working class and the peasantry, and defends their interests. It has called for the formation of a broad front of struggle in each country, uniting around the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and part of the national bourgeoisie, in order to resist North-American imperialism and oppose its war plans. It represents the link between the workers of Latin America and their brothers, the workers of the whole world, fighting under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

13. The Executive Bureau of the WFTU considers that, in the present situation of the working class movement in Latin America, international labour solidarity and mutual

assistance—which are the basis of the policy and programme of the WFTU—must be given and guaranteed to it. The Executive Bureau pledges itself to do its duty in this respect and, taking into account the reports submitted by the CTAL delegation, considers that the essential conditions for the success of the Latin-American workers' struggle are contained in the following proposals. The Executive Bureau recommends that these be applied.

14. RECOMMENDATIONS.

I. — The first objective to be attained is united action by the workers. Unity must be organised among the rank and file, in work places, as well as in each branch of industry, and on the local and national level, to defend the essential interests of the working class. This unity of action must be organised around concrete and immediate objectives capable of rallying the broadest masses of workers.

Consequently, the struggle must be developed for wage increases, for the application of progressive social legislation and social security, for the improvement of working conditions, for a legal guarantee of the free exercise of social and trade union rights and for other essential demands of the workers.

In order to ensure the success of this action, it is necessary to link the struggle for economic and social demands to the struggle for national independence and peace, and to apply different methods according to concrete local conditions.

It is also necessary to rid the trade union movement of sectarianism—which is an obstacle to common action—by strengthening the unity of all workers, whether organised or not, and regardless of their trade union or political affiliations or religious beliefs.

II. — The struggle for organisational trade union unity must be linked with this action, based on the WFTU slogans:

— one trade union in each factory and industry;

— one trade union centre in each country;

— one Latin American Confederation;

— one World Federation of Trade Unions.

In order to attain this objective, it is necessary constantly to expose to public opinion and to the workers the destructive activity of the leaders of the Scab International and their agents, as well as the activity of the leaders of fascist and government-sponsored trade unions. This exposure must be carried out on the basis of the workers' personal experience.

The workers of Latin America must resolutely keep their trade unions independent of employers and governments.

III. — Organisational work must be improved in all trade unions, federations and national centres, as well as within the CTAL, so as to strengthen their links with the working people, this being the essential condition for the achievement of the aims they have set themselves.

To this end, it is necessary:

a) to organise collective work and the regular functioning of trade union bodies, by developing trade union democracy;

b) to regard the financial administration of trade unions as highly important;

c) to collect subscriptions regularly through trade union collectors who must be responsible to the trade union which must be the sovereign body for determining subscription rates and methods of collection.

IV. — International solidarity and mutual assistance will make an important contribution to the success of trade union work in the countries of Latin America. Consequently, it is necessary to draw closer the links already binding the workers of Latin America and their trade union organisations to the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Departments of the WFTU:

a) by extending exchanges of information and experience among trade unions of Latin-American countries, as well as between these organisations and the trade unions of other countries;

b) by organising exchanges of delegations with trade unions in other capitalist countries, in the People's Democracies and the USSR;

c) by speeding up the affiliation of industrial federations and trade unions to the appropriate Trade Departments of the World Federation of Trade Unions; by taking part in their activities and by struggling together for the application of their programmes.

The Executive Bureau also considers that it is indispensable to strengthen the links between the CTAL and the World Federation of Trade Unions and to improve their common work.

15. The Executive Bureau warmly greets the workers of Latin America and expresses its firm belief that the attainment of the objectives and the application of the methods outlined above will make a powerful contribution to the success of their struggle.

The WFTU assures the wage earners of Latin America of the enthusiastic and active support of all the workers of the world. Closely united, we will together win the battle of the working class and all the peoples of the world for peace, freedom, national independence and social progress.

Bucharest, December 7, 1950.

RESOLUTION

ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF METAL AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES

THE Executive Bureau notes from an examination of the report presented by the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries that this Trade Department, by basing its activity on the decisions of the Trade Unions Internationals' Conference and of the Budapest meeting of the WFTU Executive Committee, has won success in its work.

The Trade Unions International has intensified activity aimed at strengthening international trade union unity and at safeguarding peace and the workers' economic and social rights.

The Trade Unions International is carrying on its activity in a period of intensified struggle by workers in metal and engineering industries in capitalist countries. In France, Italy, Latin America, the USA, Finland, Belgium, Holland and other countries, strike movements are becoming wider. In Great Britain, following their rejection of the wage-freeze policy, the working masses are strengthening their fight.

The sharpening of the struggle is due to the stepping-up of the capitalists' offensive on the living conditions of the working-class and to the imperialists' preparations for starting another world war.

The Executive Bureau endorses the activity of the Trade Unions International aimed at organising an international fight against the Schuman Plan for aggression, the purpose of which is to concentrate under the control of the American imperialists the coal, metal and engineering industries of France, Western Germany and other West European countries, and to subordinate the economies of these countries to the war plans of American imperialism.

It endorses also the plan of action drawn up by the Administrative Committee of the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries, providing for the coordination of the international fight for increased wages; for the abolition of speed-ups and descending wage-rates for increased output: for peace production in opposition to plans for war production; for the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work: in defence of militant trade unionists and of trade union rights: for the unity of all metal and engineering workers around a concrete programme in the election of works committees or councils.

The Executive Bureau notes that the strengthening, through united action, of unity among metal and engineering workers, as it is being achieved among the rank and file particularly in France, Italy and other countries, is a positive result of the activity of the Trade Unions International. This is also true of united action by metal and engineering workers of different countries, such as France and Germany, in defence of their essential interests in the fight for peace.

The Executive Bureau notes, however, that the Trade Unions International is not yet conducting an adequate campaign for alliance and cooperation with metal workers and trade unions not affiliated to the WFTU.

The Executive Bureau recommends that the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries :

1. Take all steps necessary to widen existing contact, and to make further contact, with metal workers' trade unions not affiliated to the WFTU, particularly those in the United States, Great Britain, Western Germany, Japan, Scandinavia and in colonial and dependent countries, and to organise, in conjunction with these unions, joint support of the workers' claims for better wages, social security and other problems in the settlement of which metal and engineering workers in these countries are interested.

2. Give more effective aid and backing to workers fighting to improve their conditions.

3 Link its activity with the workers' present demands, bearing in mind that one of the basic demands of workers in metal and engineering industries in capitalist countries is the prevention of speed-ups and descending wage-rates for increased output.

In taking part in the world-wide movement which will defeat the warmongers' plans, metal and engineering workers must oppose the conversion of factories to war production and fight for employment on peace production.

The Executive Bureau considers that the Metal Workers' and Miners Trade Unions Internationals should continue and widen the fight against the Schuman Plan.

4. The Executive Bureau recommends that the Trade Unions International improve the contents and lay-out of its Bulletin and make it an important means of publicising the Trade Unions International's activity, not only in affiliated organis-

ations, but also among workers not affiliated to the Trade Unions International.

The Executive Bureau also recommends that the experiment already made with the Bulletin wholly devoted to the fight against the Schuman Plan be repeated by publishing special issues of the Bulletin, and pamphlets, dealing with :

— the organisation of the fight against the increased exploitation of the workers in capitalist countries:

— the fight waged by metal and engineering workers in various countries for the winning of their essential demands, with an analysis of its lessons;

— the struggle against the conversion of factories to war production;

— the exposure of the reactionary leaders of the Metal Workers' International Trade Secretariat and those national trade union leaders who support the aggressive plans of the imperialists and are seeking to divide the ranks of the working class so as to weaken it in its fight for its vital interests.

5. The Executive Bureau recommends that the Trade Unions International :

— urge its affiliated trade unions to appoint members of their organisations who will be responsible for the propaganda work of the Trade Unions International and widening the exchange of fighting experience with workers in other countries;

— to draw all members of the Administrative Committee into active participation in the work of the Trade Unions International, getting from them practical suggestions in drawing up and implementing the Administrative Committee's decisions.

The Executive Bureau is firmly convinced that all metal and engineering workers will take an active part in applying the decisions of the 2nd World Peace Congress in Warsaw and in setting up and furthering the activity of Works Peace Committees.

The Executive Bureau calls on metal and engineering workers in all countries to draw their ranks closer and unite under the banner of working-class internationalism.

Bucharest, December 7, 1950.

I.C.C. (J. LONDON Impr.), 13, r. de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JANUARY 20, 1951 ★ N° 2

The whole Korean people have risen in a great and just struggle for liberation. However strong the imperialist forces may be, they will not succeed in conquering a people fighting for its freedom. Its final victory will be the victory of Defenders of Peace throughout the world.

(Appeal from the World Federation of Trade Unions to the workers of the world on the year of aggression against the Korean people — July 5, 1950.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

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THE VOICE OF PEACE

WILL NOT BE SILENCED

WHEN the WFTU approved the decisions of the 2nd World Peace Congress and decided to support them, it took into consideration the help our organisations can give in carrying them out. We took into account the fact that ever since January 1946 the WFTU, in the name of the working men and women of the world, has continually intervened in the United Nations Organisation so that their voice might be heard.

For it is five years ago that the first General Assembly of the United Nations took place in London. For five years now the WFTU has been working in UNO for peace among the peoples and for the development of social progress.

All our activities in the past five years have been based on an exact and honest presentation of the just aspirations of the mass of working people. In taking part in the work of the UNO Economic and Social Council, we wanted to put forward the workers' point of view. There is no reason for our using any other language in the Economic and Social Council than the language we use every day when talking with the workers of the world. We have had no interest in giving way to the atmosphere of diplomatic talks and abandoning any item of the workers' demands or of the decisions taken by the representative bodies of the WFTU. Our loyal support for the principles of the United Nations Charter does not allow us to remain silent when we consider they have been violated. This same loyalty urges us

to place before the Economic and Social Council any proposal which may lead to the achievement of the aims set out in the United Nations Charter.

The Executive Bureau of the WFTU regarded the **Address to UNO** adopted by the 2nd World Peace Congress as a document of primary importance. In considering the sections of this Address which concern it, the Economic and Social Council of UNO must count with opinions which are held not only by the tens of millions of workers organised in the WFTU but also by the hundreds of millions of men and women, in 80 countries, in whose name 1,756 mandated delegates carried on their discussions in Warsaw.

When the WFTU placed before the Economic and Social Council last December a report on **the fall in the workers' living standards as a result of war economy,** we wanted to get the Economic and Social Council to carry out the work of building peace for which it was founded. We asked that this report be included on the agenda of the Council's 12th session to take place next month.

Does the war economy imposed on the capitalist world by those who have chosen a policy of intensive reamament and aggression result in a fall in the workers' living standards or not ?

And, on the other hand,, is it not in the USSR and the Peoples' Democracies that the workers' living standards and social progress are constantly improving as a logical and natural result of their peace policy ?

Moreover, if there was a general, simultaneous and controlled reduction of armaments, as proclaimed by the 2nd Congress in Warsaw, would it or would it not bring real possibilities of improving the peoples' standards of living ?

It was in order to give a precise and satisfactory answer to these questions that the WFTU included along with its report to the Economic and Social Council some concrete proposals.

What are these concrete proposals ?

We ask the Economic and Social Council to instruct the United Nations Secretariat to prepare annual reports on:

a) the evolution of national income and its distribution;
b) the evolution of the living standards of wage workers in industry and agriculture;
c) the evolution of the total superprofits gained as a result of war economy.

As the WFTU report already gives precise details on these three points, we ask the Economic and Social Council to recommend that governments reduce by 30 to 50 % the sections of their 1951-1952 budgets devoted to armament.

Following up this proposal, the WFTU asks that governments be recommended to use the resources freed in this way to carry out a concrete policy for full peaceful employment, a policy which will produce an improvement in the peoples' living standards and make possible an immediate decrease in the taxation with which they are burdened.

We make it clear that the resources thus freed should be, in particular, devoted to :

a) improving and developing State social security schemes and establishing them where they do not yet exist;

b) increasing cultural and educational expenditure ;

c) carrying out big building programmes for town and country housing, schools, hospitals, rest homes, children's creches ;

d) increasing in quantity and number credits for small and middle farmers by offering them the equipment needed to improve their working and living conditions ;

e) modernising and improving industrial equipment in line with the reconversion of economy to a peace footing.

Are these proposals within the competence of the Economic and Social Council ? Undoubtedly they are. Otherwise, we would be led to think that this Council was only competent to concern itself with the "well-being" of people after towns and villages have been barbarically destroyed and civilian populations massacred, as was explained to us when the Council's "good offices" were offered to MacArthur, the ravager of Korea.

Should the Economic and Social Council be MacArthur's pharmaceutical laboratory or an organisation for the defence of men's lives, men's progress, and the protection of the wealth and fruits of men's labour ?

For us, the answer is clear. Our answer is fully contained in the proposals we have put before the Economic and Social Council. It is better to prevent an evil than to set about repairing it.

On January 4, however, there were governmental representatives on the Council's Agenda Committee who considered that the report and proposals of the WFTU should be excluded from the agenda of the 12th session.

The representative of the USSR was alone in approving and supporting the WFTU's initiative. The French representative accepted the inclusion of our proposals on the agenda so as to be able to debate them. But the majority voted against. There were four of them in this majority: the representative of the USA, the gang-leader, the British representative, who breaks out in a hot sweat every time the WFTU is mentioned, the representative of Peru, and... the representative (!) of Chiang Kai-shek.

In all countries, the workers should make known and comment on this event. It is not without importance. Will we be accused of using it as a means of propaganda? We take far more seriously than does the artificial majority of the Agenda Committee the peoples' desire to rid themselves of the disastrous consequences of the present policy of war and poverty.

This artificial majority is making a miscalculation. If it thinks it is avoiding a debate on the means of improving the peoples' living standards by lightening the burdens resulting from the policy of intensive rearmament, it is making a mistake in its appraisal of the situation.

The mistake results, in the first place, from the fact that this artificial majority is forgetting that on the Economic and Social Council there are governmental representatives — from the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia — who consider it an honour to listen to the voice of the working people of the world and will not let it be silenced. And we trust that other governmental representatives on the Council will do the same, so that our proposals may nonetheless be studied.

Secondly, to decide artificially to keep this problem off the agenda of the Economic and Social Council is not to suppress the problem, which arises every day among the mass of working people.

In contrast with this blindness of the majority of the Economic and Social Council's Agenda Committee, which arises in fact from political convictions we know very well, I want to bring forward the clarity and objectivity shown unanimously by the members of the World Peace Council Bureau.

Meeting for the first time since the 2nd World Peace Congress, the Bureau of the World Peace Council made no attempt to ignore the peoples' powerful desire for a peace policy and their resolve to find the practical means to achieve it.

On January 10 and 11, in Geneva, the Bureau of the World Peace Council studied proposals for the immediate consideration of problems which

are vital for the peoples, such as the development of economic and cultural exchanges as the basis for a policy of peace among the peoples and the necessary improvement of their living conditions.

By deciding to propose to the coming meeting of the World Peace Council that it organise an International Conference to define an economic policy for peace, and by proposing that highly qualified persons be invited to attend it, whatever their nationality or political opinions, the Bureau of the World Peace Council showed that it was more useful, more effective and more understanding than the majority of the Agenda Committee of the Economic and Social Council of UNO.

The peoples will see this and pass judgment.

Let those governmental representatives who want to bar the way to the free and public expression of the ideas and opinions of the masses of the people be warned of their inevitable defeat. Their underhand manoeuvres can no longer succeed.

They are no longer strong enough to prevent the peoples from making themselves heard. Nor are they strong enough to stop the peoples from putting forward their proposals on subjects in which they are directly and fundamentally interested.

The voice of peace cannot be silenced. It will ring out more strongly and clearly throughout the world. It will not be silenced in the Economic and Social Council of UNO.

Louis SAILLANT

HIMMLER : "BRAVO, GENERAL ! WE WERE PRETTY GOOD AT IT TOO, UNTIL WE SLIPPED AT NUREMBERG AND HURT OUR NECKS."

(Original Cartoon, specially drawn for **World Trade Union Movement** by Yakka.)

KOREA — THE LESSONS

by Serge Rostovsky

Secretary of the WFTU

THE events in Korea are nearing their inevitable and logical conclusion: the Korean people with the help of the Chinese volunteers will soon expel the invaders from their land and be able to decide their future for themselves.

The American militarists are beginning to say that the Korean problem cannot be settled by purely military means.

The bourgeois press correspondents report that the High Command of the American armed forces is eagerly discussing the following question: is it possible to keep an armed base on Korean soil in the Taegu-Pusan area in order to hold a trump card while negotiating, or must the armed forces be withdrawn to Japan?
Several firebrand senators are demanding that war be declared on China and that Manchuria be bombed. Others, such as Taft and Hoover, are demanding a complete revision of American foreign policy.

The American delegate to UNO, Austin, is making every effort to have China named as the aggressor.

The Conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers has revealed that there is a divergency of views as regards the policy to be followed in the Far-East.

Similarly, divergencies are to be noted between the ruling classes of all the other capitalist countries.

In the meantime, the Korean People's Liberation Army, supported by the Chinese volunteers, is victoriously marching forward, conscious of its strength and firmly convinced that it is capable of liberating the whole of its country.

Every trade unionist and every decent person is today asking himself this question: was it necessary in order to settle the Korean question to start off by destroying the country. piling up corpses, shedding rivers of Korean and American blood, ridiculing UNO by putting it in the service of the United States, and all this in order to arrive finally at the point where a peaceful settlement of the question is envisaged— a method which the whole of world public opinion proposed a long time ago? Has not mankind paid too dearly for the diplomatic and military adventures of the irresponsible politicians of the USA?

At the very beginning of the conflict, the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Joseph Stalin, declared in answer to a proposal by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru:

"I welcome your peaceable initiative. I fully share your point of view as regards the expediency of the peaceful settlement of the Korean question through the Security Council with the obligatory participation of the representatives of the five Great Powers, including the People's Government of China.

"I believe that for a speedy settlement of the Korean question it would be expedient to hear in the Security Council representatives of the Korean people."

The USSR delegation at UNO has repeatedly urged the necessity of withdrawing all foreign armed forces from Korea and of giving to the Koreans themselves the possibility of settling their own affairs. But the rulers of the Unites States did not listen to warnings and advice. Having taken the bit between their teeth, they plunged into military adventure. It is

quite natural that they should now bear all the consequences of their insane policy. They have been defeated military, diplomatically and morally.

MILITARY DEFEAT

The American military leaders' strategy and tactics in Korea have met with most shameful failure. This defeat means the bankruptcy of the whole military doctrine of the United States. The American militarists were convinced that aviation and powerful technical means were capable, by themselves, of determining the issue of the war. The events in Korea showed that the fate of a war is determined by other long-term factors, and in particular that the issue of a war is determined by living men, who fight and who suffer. The peace-loving Korean workers and peasants who took up arms showed their superiority over the American invaders who were armed to the teeth.

The American militarists have caused the inglorious death, in this shameful adventure, of tens of thousands of their soldiers. The United States has spent more than 12,000 million dollars which could have been usefully devoted to the needs of the people. In spite of their efforts, they have met with failure. This was the inevitable result of their reactionary policy and ideology.

The facts have demonstrated that moral superiority and the consciousness of a just cause are more important and stronger on the battlefield than supremacy in technical means, It follows from this that the American imperialists, who have powerful technical means at their disposal but who follow a reactionary policy, cannot be successful in the military sphere.

DIPLOMATIC SETBACK

The world now realizes that the American politicians have met with dismal diplomatic failure. Truman and Acheson, from their giddy heights, thought that they could do anything, that they have the right to do as they please, that they can dictate their wishes to the peoples of Asia who are some 5,000 miles distant from them. They thought they could dispose of the peoples without the participation and against the aspirations of the Asian peoples themselves. But when events turned out to be different from the plans drawn up in Truman's and Acheson's offices, they began to cast their eyes on every side exactly like the Hitlerite strategists when they began to meet with defeat.

So that we are presented with the sorry spectacle of diplomatic agitation in the United States, the switch-over from threats and blackmail to military operations, then to further blackmail and diplomatic somersaults. All this is plain to see for whoever follows events attentively.

Very early on, Truman declared that the despatch of American armed forces to Korea was a mere "police operation". He imagined that it would be sufficient to threaten the Korean people with the air force and navy, for the Korean people to renounce all their rights and to recognize American domination.

The Americans then had to send in several divisions, and later almost the whole of the armed forces they had in readiness, and these were finally beaten on the battlefield. Taking advantage of the situation in Korea, the American Government proclaimed a series of laws for the militarization of the country. In peacetime, they proclaimed a state of emergency in the country. They are spending more than 50,000 million dollars for armaments, causing great joy to the monopolists who are raking in fantastic profits. They have forced all their satellites to rearm, gone into hysterics at UNO, threatened to use the atom bomb, declared a senseless economic blockage of China, and are now rearming Japan and Germany.

The rulers of the United States have lost all sense of reality and are dragging the whole world into a new world war. American politicians are behaving like neurotics and anti-Communist maniacs and not like statesmen who are capable of solving cooly and thoughtfully problems on which the destiny of the world depends.

Consequently, these maniacs are becoming isolated in the world: Truman's Government is becoming isolated in its own country, the United States is becoming isolated from its allies and satellites and from the millions upon millions of working people of all countries.

MORAL FAILURE

The Korean adventure, the very means used by the Americans and the manner in which they are conducting the war in Korea—senseless and barbaric bombing, mass extermination of the population, the scorched earth policy which is nothing but a repetition of Hitler's tactics, support of the hangman Syngman Rhee — all this has the effect of morally isolating the United States from the peoples. It represents a tremendous moral failure.

By their actions in Korea, the American imperialists have given rise to indestructible and profound hatred against them, in particular among the Asian peoples. When at the beginning of the century the British imperialists attacked a small people in South Africa, the Boers, a wave of indignation stirred the whole world and even now, fifty years after the event,

(Left:) Syngman Rhee's fascist police, dressed in American uniforms, pose proudly by the bodies of the Korean patriots they have murdered.

☆

(Below:) The horrified look of this Korean child, gripping the dead body of his mother, accuses MacArthur's murder squads.

METHODS OF THE AMERICAN "CRUSADE" IN KOREA

((Below:) Prisoners are summarily executed by being shot in the back.

☆

(Below Right:) Others are murdered with their hands tied behind their backs.

the memory of this aggression by British imperialism remains in the minds of the peoples as a dark and dishonourable blot. Even now, songs are being sung in the countryside praising the heroic resistance of the Boers and indignantly condemning the actions of the British.

But the British aggression against the Boers looks like a kid-glove affair in comparison with the most barbaric and dishonourable actions of the Americans in Korea. The small, peaceful, heroic Korean people rose up to a moral height never attained before — and the rulers of the USA have fallen into the abyss of dishonour.

The whole world now sees that American troops are fighting in Korea for an unjust, reactionary cause and that, on the contrary, the Korean people is defending its freedom and independence, is struggling for its future and to fulfil its destiny. It is victorious because it is defending progress against reaction, democracy against fascism, because a people fighting for its freedom cannot be defeated.

FAILURE OF THE SCAB INTERNATIONAL'S POLICY

The Scab International, which was brought into the world by Anglo-American imperialism whose fate it has linked with its own, has also dishonoured itself by its support of American intervention in Korea, by its defence of the bloodthirsty Syngman Rhee, by its degrading stand in favour of American policy in China, by its support of Japanese and German rearmament and by its defence of American atomic blackmail.

The scabs of the Brussels International are now silent about the events in Korea. If they still had any feeling of decency, they ought now to hang their heads in shame. But the workers must not forget that Green, Deakin, Carey, Murray, Oldenbroek and Reuther were howling like jackals at the thousands of Korean martyrs who were murdered and tortured by Syngman Rhee's armed bands.

These jackals continue to praise the American policy which consists in bringing about a new war. They are slandering the working peoples of Korea and China and are doing everything in their power to flatter their masters—the enraged monopolists of the United States.

THE POLICY OF THE WFTU ON THE KOREAN QUESTION

From the beginning the World Federation of Trade Unions took up a just and equitable position as regards the events in Korea. It called on the workers of all countries to show their active support and solidarity towards the Korean people. In its Appeal published on July 5, 1950, it declared: "The World Federation of Trade Unions approves and supports all trade union organisations protesting against the American armed aggression in Korea".

The WFTU declared that "the American imperialists' military intervention in Korea has publicly exposed their criminal aims to all honest people".

The WFTU expressed its deep conviction that the Korean people will win the final victory. The Appeal of the WFTU goes on: "The whole Korean people have risen in a great and just struggle for liberation. However strong the imperialist forces may be, they will not succeed in conquering a people fighting for its freedom. Its final victory will be the victory of the defenders of peace throughout the world".

This policy of the WFTU has been entirely confirmed by events and it has won to our Federation thousands of new supporters who, through their own experience, have understood on which side is the truth.

THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE DRAWING THEIR CONCLUSIONS

The American imperialists have learnt nothing from these hard lessons. They are plunging ever deeper into the armaments race, they are preparing bases for further ventures in Europe and Asia with the intention of bringing devastation to other countries and transforming them in their turn into battlefields. The peoples of the world will not forget these lessons and they will draw from them the inescapable conclusion. The peoples of all countries are taking into their own hands the solution of questions involving peace and war. This was clearly brought out by the Second World Peace Congress.

JIRI HRONEK

General Secretary of the International Organisation of Journalists

WHAT I SAW IN KOREA

I. — SOLDIERS AND WORKERS AT WAR

THE true face of a nation is revealed during periods of great adversity. I had the opportunity of seeing the true face of the Korean nation because I came to Korea at a very grave hour, when the nation had to show that it was capable of drawing strength not only from victory but also from set-backs caused by the numerical superiority of the enemy.

I saw with my own eyes the great heroism of the Korean people, I lived with them, and saw, myself, the vast endeavours it is making. I can only add my voice to those of numberless Korean men and women, peasants and soldiers who say simply, with dignity and resolve, that the Korean nation shall never become the slave of foreign imperialists greedy for conquest, whatever the development of immediate military events.

The situation on the fronts was serious when I stepped on to Korean soil at Sinuiju. It became more serious at each mile covered by our car in its journey through the night towards the South.

The national army was accomplishing miracles of bravery and heroism. But the enemy had the advantage. Its positions were strong and a flow of material was assured by the sea-ports behind its lines. The aggressor dominated the air because the young Korean army had only been created at the beginning of 1948 and had no planes and very few pilots.

During the daytime, it was impossible to fight because the Americans kept up heavy artillery fire and dominated the entire sector with its planes, which dropped not only bombs but also napalm which burst into flame on contact with the soil.

The Second-in-Command of the 3rd Division of Korean Guards, Ho In Chu, described the battles near the river Naktong in the following words: "We fought bitterly for every inch of ground. Our sappers accomplished real feats of heroism in removing mines. Our soldiers, loaded with grenades, threw themselves under oncoming tanks to wipe them out. When we did not have enough ammunition, we made bayonet attacks. The enemy was so terrified of hand-to-hand fighting that the Americans fled or surrendered when they heard our battle cry 'Ouan-sé,' which means hurrah, when we rushed forward to fight with our bayonets."

When the 3rd Division of Korean Guards won the Sou-am Heights, the soldiers said : "After the liberation we shall build a monument to commemorate the Korean soldiers who fought and died here." Ho In Chu nodded his head and added, "Every one of our soldiers knows that the planes will not succeed in breaking our fighting spirit and our courage. *We will come back.* It is only a matter of time."

I met a young wounded soldier near Seoul. He was a twenty year-old peasant from Northern Hamkeh and his name was Chei Si Min. He seemed oblivious of pain and smiled with his big black eyes in his intelligent face. He knew how serious the situation was, but like all the others I met, he was convinced that the Korean people would finally vanquish the enemy. He told me : "We were defending Samgak hill. The Americans' front-line troops were Negroes. When we attacked, the white Americans fled but the Negroes resisted. We asked the prisoners why they were fighting against us. We said 'Don't the Americans

Soldiers and partisans meet after successfully completing a combined operation against the American aggressor.

exploit and oppress you? We are fighting for even your liberty.' As far as these Negroes were able to understand, they replied: 'We cannot retreat because if we do so, the white officers will shoot us down'."

In spite of the heroic defence put up by the Korean People's Army, which fought stubbornly, the American aggressor, thanks to his material superiority, succeeded in operating a number of landings and in establishing a junction between his forces in the North near Seoul and those fighting in the South near Taegu. MacArthur was already declaring that the Korean people's army in the South had been crushed although fierce fighting was still going on.

The situation was extremely grave, but I did not meet one person who had lost his head, his courage or the unshakeable conviction that final victory would rest with the side of right and justice, with the Korean People's Army. Chei Si Min, a soldier whose teeth flashed in a smile which lit up his brown face, said to me, "Tell the people at home that our army will fight to the last drop of blood. We need planes and we cannot train pilots overnight. But just wait until our air force is strong enough..." Chei Si Min held out his hand and said very seriously and solemnly: "We shall never give in, whatever happens. Final victory will be ours."

The Fighters Speak

IN the dead of night, columns of fresh defenders advance along the roads of Korea. They are mostly young, well-built men, gay and smiling. As they march along, they sing lively marches. We started a conversation with some of them. They questioned us on conditions in Czechoslovakia about which they knew a surprising amount. One of them, with whom we had begun to talk when it was impossible to go forward because of the dense traffic, said to us: "I have read one of your books. It is called *Notes from the Gallows* by Fucik. Do you know the book?" I replied that not only did I know it, but so did every Czech and Slovak. I expained to him that Julius Fucik was our national hero.

He lowered his head and said: "That's fine. I read in Fucik's book how the workers in your country fought heroically, under difficult conditions. It is one of the most wonderful books I have ever read. We are very interested in your Republic. We know that you are building socialism and that you are with us..."

The column of young Korean defenders began to move but the young man shouted back to me in the dark, "My greetings to the people of Fucik. My name is Li Ton-sik."

I hardly caught a glimpse of his face in the night, but his melodious voice, dying away in the noise of the traffic, is still ringing in my ears.

Li Chon-sen, a yyoung lieutenant who before the war was an engineering student and whom I met a few days later, possessed, in spite of his youth, a great deal of fighting experience. He, like many other Koreans, volunteered for the famous Chinese 8th Army. After the liberation of China he came home to finish his studies in one of the many secondary schools created by the young Korean People's Democratic Republic. But he was not able to complete his studies. The Korean people had to rise in its own defence when the American puppet government of Syngman Rhee launched its cowardly attack on North Korea. So the experienced Chinese 8th Army volunteer, Lieutenant Li Chon-sen, soon found himself in the front line.

"We fought in North Korea near Som-nim, we liberated the small town of I-den-Bu, then we fought for the liberation of Seoul. Our regiment was the first to enter the streets of the liberated town. The women embraced us and brought us flowers." Li Chon-sen smiled as he recalled this, but immediately became serious again when he began to tell of the advance from Taejon to Taegu.

"Our advance was so rapid that for two days we had nothing to eat," he said. "At one point, the Americans sent in their tanks against us. We did not have enough ammunition for our anti-tank weapons, so we dug trenches

in which we sheltered, then we attacked the tanks with hand grenades, and brought them to a stop. As for the American infantry which was following on behind, we attacked them with bayonets."

"I have never seen such a battle," added Li Chon-sen. "Our spoils were 150 American trucks and two 150mm guns." "He got a decoration for that," added someone in the group of soldiers who surrounded us, "and another one later." "What was the other one for?" we asked.

"It was near the town of Anui," he replied, "where we wiped out an American battalion which was defending a hill."

"Two American companies came within rifle range. We killed them all and advanced to a school in which the American Command Post was quartered. We surrounded the school and shouted to them to surrender, but they didn't understand Korean. An interpreter was found and an American soldier came out of the school to talk with us. 'You are going to massacre us,' he said. It took us some time to convince him that we weren't. 'We have some wounded,' he then told us. We offered to take care of them, sent for an ambulance and there, in front of the school, the American wounded received first aid. When the American saw this, he whistled twice and suddenly, the American soldiers in hiding came out with their hands above their heads. We took a large number of prisoners."

Second-Lieutenant Kim Pyon-kak, although he is only twenty years old, already possesses three decorations—the Order of Glory and two medals for bravery. We asked him for what exploits he had won these decorations. "I received the first medal for courage back in 1949," he said. "I was doing my military service on the 38th Parallel, in the region of Un-pa-san, where skirmishes were taking place all the time because Syngman Rhee's men were launching attacks on our territory."—"And the other decorations?" we asked. Kim Pyon-kak ran his hand through his straight black hair, and smiled modestly.

"Well," he said calmly, "during the battle at Inchon, we were advancing, but suddenly, we came up against an American position armed with three guns and heavy machine-guns. We had already reached the edge of the town but we could not go forward because the Americans were barring the way. The battalion commander called one of our comrades and myself over and told us: 'We can wipe that out only with grenades and courage.' We took some grenades and our tommy-guns and crawled towards the post. This was difficult because the ground was not suitable for such a manoeuvre—there was nothing but sand. After we had gone a few yards, my comrade was hit. When the battalion commander saw this, he took his place and once more we began to crawl towards the American position. But after a few minutes, he was also hit and collapsed without uttering a sound. So I was left on my own. I continued to crawl forward. There was only about five hundred yards to go but it took me three hours.

"When I finally got there, I threw the grenades in on the eight men at the three heavy machine-guns. I had eleven grenades left with which I finished off the rest. We captured the guns but were not able to make any prisoners because all the Americans had been killed."

These are some of the facts I noted in Korea. They are just a few examples, and thousands of other similar ones could be quoted. The Korean People's Army is an army of heroes fighting victoriously against the numerical and technical superiority of the aggressor because each soldier knows what he is fighting for. He knows that he is fighting for the freedom and independence of his country against a foreign aggressor seeking to subjugate the Korean people and to make Korea into a colony. This is why the Korean people will never, whatever the situation, cease its fight against the imperialist aggressor.

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Despite the heavy bombing, Korean steelworkers carry on their work and increase their output for the front.

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On the initiative of the People's Committee of the town of Ken-Khari, and despite the difficult conditions of war, the population continue their work of peaceful construction by clearing the ground for a new school.

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The Korean delegation to the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in Milan. On the right is Choi Gen Dek, President of thhe All-Korea Trade Union Federation.

Everything For the Front !

THE battle cry "Everything For the Front !" had, in view of the gravity of the situation when I arrived in Korea, taken on a still more significant meaning that at the period of military successes. It was the slogan of the peasants supplying the soldiers with food, a slogan firmly rooted in the minds of thousands of men who stream along Korean roads in the moonless night.

I want to tell you about them too, about the heroic epic of the transport of material to the front along the roads of Korea, about the stubborn fight to keep the transport routes open which was waged unceasingly against the American air force, armed with the most modern methods of slaughter, by the Korean people who often had only spades for weapons or who fought with their bare hands, filled with the firm determination to win victory in this unequal struggle.

To set foot on Korean roads in the daytime was equivalent to suicide. The Americans had mastery of the air and fired on every moving and stationary object. So there was no life on Korean roads until after sun-down. The roads and railways, empty during the day, rapidly filled up, as by miracle, with an uninterrupted stream of carts and vehicles of all kinds. During the day, they were invisible to my eyes because the Koreans had mastered the art of camouflage in a very short time. After sun-down, the roads became alive. Heavy trucks noisily forged ahead through the endless files of two-wheeled carts drawn by buffaloes. These carts were placed at the Government's disposal by the peasants who also volunteered to drive them.

Military units advanced on both sides of the road. Between them and the carts marched white-clad peasants in Indian file. They were men who had volunteered to repair the damaged roads and bridges. Often, the Americans succeeded in damaging road or river bridges. I saw one which had already been hit several times, but always, and in an incredibly short time, it was repaired so that the vehicles could cross over it.

I was present when an American plane succeeded in making a direct hit on the road, throwing up a wall of

sand and stone across the road round a deep hole. The bomb buried itself in the sand without exploding. Within a quarter on an hour, white-clad peasants from the nearest village appeared and very quickly removed the obstacle so that the traffic could start up again. Korean drivers are performing real miracles by travelling over land which, in normal times, would never be attempted by a motor vehicle.

Factories Work While the Bombs Fall

THE fight to keep the communication arteries open—a fight in which the railwaymen, peasants, cart-drivers and truck-drivers play such a courageous part—is not the only proof of the Korean people's spirit of sacrifice in the bloody and hard battle for its national and democratic liberties.

I visited Korean factories, working night and day in two 12-hour shifts, often under enemy bombardment and in unimaginably difficult conditions.

The bulk of the workers were middle-aged men and women because the young people are at the front. The enthusiasm of the Korean working men and women is beyond description. The production plan, which had been increased at the beginning of the war, had been exceeded although the experienced labour had left the factories for the army. In one plant I visited, the plan had been fulfilled by 200%. The brigades which exceed the plan by 50% receive the honourable title of "Brigades of Aid to the Front" and there are many such brigades in the factories. These brigades are often led by women, pretty girls wearing white and red scarves indicating their rank as brigade-leaders. On the factory walls there are banners declaring "We work as our soldiers fight", "The safety of our army depends on us, we shall endeavour to guarantee it." In the courtyard is a big roll of honour bearing the names of the heroes who left the factory for the front. Among them are the names of two pilots, Di Mun Sun and Kim Kuok, who attacked a whole group of American planes and shot down two.

"Our life was good," said the worker-director of the factory, Kim Kei Sok. "The workers earned on an average three times more than under the Japanese. We wanted to build a house of culture and we already had the necessary means when the war started. Now the house of culture will have to wait..."

"Come and see how the girls here work," he said and led me towards another roll of honour and showed me the

(Above:) **Following the passage of American bombers, this Korean mother no longer has a home, and her child is injured.**

(Centre:) **In Pyong-Yang, Korean women carry the wounded off to makeshift hospitals, all others having been bombed by the Americans.**

(Below:) **MacArthur's "civilising" mission: to destroy towns and manufacture orphans**

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"All for the Front!" In Pyong-Yang and other Korean towns, despite raids by American aircraft several times a day, thousands of women workers make up uniforms for the soldiers of the People's Army.

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photographs of two pretty black-haired and black-eyed girls, Ok Kyon and Sin Bok Sil, both decorated several times as heroines of Socialist labour. I wanted to speak to them but when I met them they smiled apologetically and hurriedly shook my hand. "Please excuse us," they said, "but we haven't got time. The work for the front is urgent."

In another plant, construction work had not been completed in accordance with the two-year plan because the war had interrupted the plans, but several thousands of workers were at work there. Some factories had been dug in the cliffs in order to protect them from air raids. The plants are working all-out for war. It had not been easy to change over immediately from peace to war production, and sometimes the graph of fulfilment of the plan showed a heavy drop. But this did not last for long. At present, although 35% of the personnel are at the front and the demands made by the war production plan on the factories are greater than before the war, the plan has nevertheless been fulfilled by 120%.

How has this been possible? Quite simply as a result of the immense spirit of sacrifice on the part of the workers who invent ways of forcing the machines to give higher output, and of improving the productivity of labour. Damaged machinery which formerly took a month to six weeks to repair, is now back in operation in a week. Absenteeism is today, in the period of war and air-raids, lower than it was in peace-time—1.3%.

The reason for this is the highly developed political consciousness of the Korean workers. "We know what is at stake," a worker told us without interrupting the job he was doing. "We know that the Americans are abusing the United Nations flag, we know that the American imperialists want to turn Korea into their colony. We have seen that once already. The Japanese have taught us what imperialism and slavery means. My son is at the front... I don't even know where he is... and I too, even though I'm an old man, am doing my duty."

We shook hands with the worker-director, Kim Ki Fan, and we asked him if he had a message for our workers. Without hesitation he replied: "We know very well that our fight is not ours alone. It is the fight of the whole democratic world. This is why we are not alone. Whatever happens, we shall win in the end, because liberty and democracy will triumph in the world. Tell your workers that we thank them for everything they are doing, for example, for increasing output to make your country into an ever stronger bastion of progress. Tell your workers that we will never lay down our arms and that we shall win final victory, and in so doing, we shall be repaying your confidence in us..."

(The second part of this article will be published in our next issue.)

A YOUNG AFRICAN VISITS NEW CHINA

By ABDOU MOUMIN

ON the occasion of the first anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, following an invitation from the Chinese League of Youth for New Democracy, organised a big delegation to visit China to mark the solidarity of democratic youth throughout the world with the heroic youthh and people of China.

I had the unique opportunity of taking part in this delegation as a representative of democratic youth in French Colonial Africa. The trip will always be the outstanding event of my life and I shall never forget the warm welcome we received everywhere in the People's Democracies, the Soviet Union and China from enthusiastic young people who everywhere demonstrated their support, friendship and solidarity. It was clear that these sentiments were being expressed to the thousands of young people and to the entire peoples of our countries of whom we were but a symbol.

FIRST MEETINGS

OUR delegation stayed in China for six weeks (September 11 to October 23, 1950), and visited many different parts of the country, including the North-East (Manchuria), the North, the South-East and the central regions of the South, stopping in more than fifteen towns, including Mukden, Harbin, Dairen, Peking, Nanking, Shanghai and Canton.

Throughout our journey, we were in continous contact with the Chinese youth and people, at huge meetings, at visits to factories, workshops and villages, and during fraternal collective or individual conversations. The thing that strikes one first is the great enthusiasm of the Chinese people, young and old, their great patriotism and spirit of internationalism, their desire for peace and also their firmness in face of the imperialist aggressors.

Chinese youth give a fraternal welcome to the delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The cross (×) indicates the author of this article.

In their leisure hours, young soldiers of the People's Army learn to play musical instruments.

This enthusiasm was apparent everywhere, among the workers and peasants, among the students, in the People's Liberation Army. Thus in Mukden, when we visited the Red Army Medical Institute, the students carried all the delegates in triumphal procession, tossing them some three or four feet into the air. When the delegation arrived in Dairen, a group of young workers in the port pledged themselves to double production, and the same thing occurred in many other towns.

This great enthusiasm, plus the vastness of the meetings (rarely less than 100,000 people taking part), the multi-coloured banners and flags of all nations, the abundance of portraits of leaders of all peoples of the world, and the varied clothing (workers in blue, artistic groups and *yan-ko* dancers in shimmering silks, and People's Army soldiers in blue or khaki), all made the meetings we held in China truly impressive sights.

Walking around the streets of such towns as Chang-Chun, Mukden, and Shanghai, we could see, in spite of the extent of the reconstruction which is going on, the ruins and vestiges of the death of a regime which did its utmost to survive and then attempted to destroy everything when its own destruction proved inevitable. There were also modern buildings which had remained wholely or partly intact, former big stores and depôts, banks and palaces of rich Americain and British businessmen or their Chinese understudies. Certain of them, as in Shanghai for example, still bear the painted US flag, and at the windows can now be seen the faces of scores of men, women and children who formerly lived in abject poverty. These scenes are a living indictment of the old life, and to see them is truly impressive and, I may even say, comforting.

When one meets the people themselves, one discovers great simplicity and extraordinary modesty. Soberness of dress is a well-known characteristic of the Chinese people but this simplicity and modesty deserves emphasis. I shall always remember the conversations we had with labour heroes, model workers and battle heroes who always answered our questions very simply and told us of their desire for peace and their determination to do still more. In reply to our congratulations, Wue Le-kuo, war hero who by himself had wiped out one hundred and ten of the enemy, said to us: "I still have much more to do to defend my homeland."

These are just one or two characteristics noted among so many others.

THE NEW LIFE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

MAO TSE TUNG, speaking in Peking on the occasion of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic on 1st October 1949, said: "*A new life is beginning for the Chinese people.*"

During our stay in China, we were able to see that in fact, a new life was beginning, both in the towns and in the countryside of China.

In the towns, the workers, liberated from the yoke of bureaucratic capitalism, are taking a very active part in political and social life and are adopting a new attitude towards their work. A great nation-wide competition was launched in industrial production, because it is clearly understood that at present, the industrialisation of the country is the main objective of the People's Government.

Everywhere, in the factories and on the building sites, the workers are labouring with very great enthusiasm on the reconstruction of the devastation caused by the Kuomintang and on the building of a new China. A new type of worker has come to the fore—the model worker and labour hero, who puts all his energy and enthusiasm into producing still more, by mastering, improving and developing technique.

In order to understand the extent of the emulation competitions in the economic sphere, and the scope of the great Labour Heroes' and Model Workers' Movement, the new conditions of the Chinese workers must not be forgotten.

At Chang-Chun, a young labour hero told me: "Under the Kuomintang regime, the workers' average wage

amounted to hardly 50 lbs of rice per month. I couldn't keep my family of four on my wages and I had to leave the town and go to work on the land. After I had spent a year in the country, the liberation came and then the agrarian reform. I obtained 20 acres of land, but on the appeal from the People's Governement for skilled workers to help in rebuilding the factories, I came back to the town. The living conditions of the workers had improved and I earned three times as much as before. The trade union in my factory organised evening technical courses on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, as well as cultural activities in which we eagerly take part.

"After work, I devote myself to studying the machinery and then I go home to draw up the account of the day's work. Then I think over the next day's programme. At last we know the joy of working and living for ourselves."

In all the factories we visited, we saw workers, as amateur actors, interpret scenes from Chinese life taken from both ancient and modern works We saw them give concerts with typically Chinese instruments as well as with "Western" ones.

The transformation has been as great in the countryside as in the towns, if not greater. Much has been said in the past about the poverty of the Chinese peasant, but it would not be entirely useless to recall here the living conditions of the poorer peasant in Old China.

He was subject to feudal land-owners who rented him the land, to money-lenders to whom he was often forced to hand over one of his sons or daughters as a slave, as a method of payment, to say nothing of the despots of all kinds who ruled over the countryside.

Today, after the liberation and agrarian reform, he has been given the land (about half an acre for each member of his family). In addition, he has all means for working it to the full, for the People's Government has given the poor peasants the means of production (implements, animals) confiscated from the big feudal estates, and also helps the peasants by supplying them with seeds and by creating State Farms and Stations which help the peasants to improve the methods of cultivation.

A new life has begun for the great mass of Chinese peasants who, liberated from the feudal yoke, are now taking an important part in the country's political, social and economic life. The emulation movement in production is developing among the peasants who are organising co-operatives in the villages. Among the peasants there are many labour heroes, innovators and inventors of new methods of cultivation. Without waiting to receive the modern mechanical equipment which is gradually being introduced into the nation's agriculture, they are making ingenious inventions to improve and replace the archaic implements which they have inherited from centuries of feudal exploitation. For example, Liu Chao Tsun, a peasant in the Kaiping district of Manchuria, developed a harrow which could be drawn by a small draught animal. Its seed box sows the grain which is driven in by a rear wheel made of wood, and reduces grain wastage by two thirds.

From the train we could see the immense Chinese plains, great extents of cultivated land, rice fields and gardens. In particular, by our visits to several villages, such as Yun Chin near Pao Dine, we were able to appreciate the great enthusiasm of the peasants in their work, and to observe the new conditions of life of the Chinese peasant. When I visited the peasants' homes I could not help thinking of the miserable conditions of the African peasant, of the savage exploitation he suffers and the political oppression exercised over him by the colonial administration. But I also thought of the day when, just like the Chinese peasant, he will have conquered the right to live and work for his own welfare and for his homeland and to have human living conditions.

THE HEROIC CHINESE YOUTH

YOUTH is taking a very important part in the different aspects of life in New China, thereby continuing the heroic traditions of the struggle it untiringly waged under the Japanese occupation, the Kuomintang regime and during the war of liberation. The young people are enthusiastic and are at work, firmly resolved to learn, to master science and technique in order to give greater service to their homeland.

In the factories, many of the young people are model workers and labour heroes. In Shanghai, of the 370 labour heroes, 90 are young people. In the schools and universities (where the number of students has considerably risen), everyone is studying with ardour and enthusiasm (in material conditions unknown to

The happy children of People's China.

Young dancers performing the graceful and humorous Yan-ko (peasant dance).

Artists of the People's Theatre improvise sketches picturing the old life of feudal servitude that has gone for ever.

students in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries) so as to be able later to give all their strength to the building of the New China.

But the young people are also very lively and full of a great spirit of friendship with all the young people of the whole world, and this spirit was demonstrated everywhere during the enthusiastic receptions, meetings and conversations we had with them.

THE EMANCIPATION OF CHINESE WOMEN

ONE thing which particularly struck me in view of the conditions of women in Africa, was the status of women who have come from a feudal society into a new world.

In New China, woman has been liberated from the feudal yoke. A new marriage law has been passed which ensures women's equality with men. This is not a theorical emancipation. We ourselves saw the part played by women both in the field of production (women in the Tien-Tsin textile mills, women engine drivers, tractor drivers, women peasants in the Yung Chin village, etc.) and in politics. Is it necessary to recall that Madame Sun Yat Sen is Vice-President of the Central Government and that in the regional and provincial people's governments, 20 % of the members are women ?

In the People's Army, which fought and vanquished foreign imperialism and national reaction, there are many women, and they hold their posts with honour. Among the model workers, labour heroes, and war heroes, there are a large number of women. I would like to mention Li Lan Ting, heroine of the People's Army struggle and now one of the leading tractor drivers in China.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE

ONE of the aspects of the New China which most impressed me was undoubtedly the tremendous development of culture, of a new culture. In every factory, every undertaking, village, school or university, the workers, peasants and students set up artistic clubs (dramatic, literary, musical, etc.).

The same thing occurs in the People's Liberation Army. And, in the course of our journey, we saw many artistic performances given either by workers, or by People's Army men. And one of the best plays I saw during the whole of my trip was "The Liberation of Hai Nan", performed by a group of People's Army soldiers in Canton, showing soldiers training on swings to get over sea-sickness, then the boats out at sea, the landing and the battle on the island, done with such realism that one gets impression of really being in it.

The folk songs, operas and folk dances—which always reminded me of our African folk songs and dances—are the object of an extraordinary development, in which the enthusiasm of the people and the new conditions are strongly reflected. The youth and the workers all sing and dance the Yan-Ko (Chinese peasant dance). The young dancers, dressed in shimmering blue, green and red silks, carry a small drum slung over their shoulders, on which they beat a triple time rythm, taking three steps forward, one step back, and so on.

A decisive change has also been made in education. The number of schools and universities has been greatly increased (227 higher educational institutions, 3,690 secondary schools, 212,890 elementary schools). Education is no longer the preserve of a privileged minority, the pupils and students come from all sections of the population and the fact that they are are so numerous (134,000 university students, 1,090,000 secondary school students and 16 million elementary school pupils) is a clear indication of the changes which have been made.

In order to illustrate the changes which have occured in this respect, I may quote the fact that in Shanghai

alone (5,000,000 inhabitants) one year after the liberation of this city, there are 447,000 children now attending school, that is, 4 times more than in the whole of French Colonial Africa (22,000,000 inhabitants, 101,600 school pupils) after almost a century of French colonialisation.

Workers and peasants also have the possibility of going to secondary schools and universities, for the People's Government has set up the Peking People's University, where I saw workers such as printer Mao Ho-yung, labour hero, peasants such as Yi Pao-hu who, at the age of 38, has a record of 14 years of armed struggle, and many others.

In a few years' time, these workers and peasants will be intellectuals of a new kind, the leaders of Chinese society. Yi Pao-hu, for example, who is studying Russian, Law, etc., intends to go into the diplomatic service. However, education did not merely develop—it is also being taken to the working people. The People's Government has undertaken the difficult task of wiping out illiteracy—teaching 80% of the population to read and write in the complicated Chinese characters is no easy task. And yet, in one year since the setting up of the People's rule, 12 million peasants and 700,000 workers received elementary education.

The pupils and students are playing a very active part in this campaign: during the holidays and vacations, they stream into the villages in the country-side and organise courses to wipe out illiteracy. In the towns, they organise evening classes during school terms. The youth of all colonial countries, particularly of Colonial Africa, see in this an exhilarating example, the road to be followed within the framework of its struggle to be followed its struggle against colonial cultural oppression.

提高文化　　任遷喬作　(山東)

Liberation brings culture too: the national campaign against illiteracy is having great success with young and old. This woodcut, by People's Artist Jen Chen-chiao, shows the campaign in progress in Shantung Province.

Young and old rejoice in a village of New China liberated from the yoke of feudalism.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY

THESE few facts bring out the importance of the history of the Chinese Revolution (its present phase as well as those which already belong to the past) for the youth and the peoples of all our countries oppressed by colonialism.

The important part played by the Chinese youth in the struggle of the Chinese people for its liberation from the imperialist and feudal yoke is of great import to us. The New China is a guarantee of our certain victory, because of the magnificent prospects it opens up before us. And the solidarity of the heroic Chinese youth, the glorious Soviet youth and the youth of the People's Democracies is our support and a constant encouragement to us.

United, all the youth—the youth of Colonial Africa as well as the youth of France who fight against the same oppressors—will certainly win the final victory, by following the path already blazed by their brothers in China and in the USSR: the path of struggle, the only way to victory.

Boleslav GEBERT

Secretary of the WFTU

Seamen and Dockers Chart their Course TOWARDS PEACE

In July, 1949 the Trade Unions International of Seamen, Dockers, Inland Waterways Workers, (Trade Department of the WFTU) was organised at a constituent conference held in Marseilles, France. This was an historic event in the life of the seamen and dockers of all lands, for it united them in a common struggle for the betterment of their living conditions, for increased work safety, for peace and democracy.

Eighteen months later the representatives of the seamen and dockers' unions of 13 nations (France, Italy, USSR, China, Australia, Greece, Germany, Finland, Rumania, Poland, Holland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia) as well as observers from seamen and dockers' unions of Great Britain, the United States, Belgium and Denmark, met in Warsaw at the enlarged meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International. From December 12 to 19 the representatives of these unions carefully reviewed the various problems which confront them within the different countries and on a world scale, and made decisions which will affect the life and struggles of Seamen and Dockers of every continent.

Many of these representatives are veterans and outstanding leaders in the struggle for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of their fellow men, in the struggle for the preservation of peace against the warmongers and their henchmen, the leaders of the International Transport Federation.

In the year and one half of its existence our International has proven to be a living organism, inseparable from the struggles carried on by the seamen and dockers during this period. They studied the experience of the Canadian Seamen's strike, which lasted from April to October, 1949, and the movement of solidarity which developed around

French seamen and dockers in the port of La Rochelle refuse to load war material for the colonialist war in Viet-Nam. On the placard: Nothing for Indo-China.

Dockers in Marseilles, gathered together in a big meeting, demonstrate against the "dirty war" in Viet-Nam, and refuse to handle arms sent for use against the Viet-Namese people.

it, particularly in Great Britain. They also examined the strike of the Finnish dockers in August and September, 1949 ; the Italian seamen's and dockers' strike in June and July, 1949 ; the victorious struggle of the Hawaiian dockers in 1949 ; the struggle of the London and Antwerp dockers in 1950; the general strike of the Argentine dockers ; the long standing battle of the Australian seamen and dockers against the shipment of munitions to be used to suppress the Asian peoples' fight for freedom and independence ; the struggle of the French, Italian, Australian and German dockers as well as of the dockers of other countries against the loading and unloading of American arms destined for the murder of peace-loving people and the destructions of their towns and villages.

Struggle for Peace Linked with Economic Demands

It is against the background of these developments that the representatives of the maritime trade unions, conscious of the gravity of the situation and their special responsibility, discussed the problems confronting them. They pointed out the general worsening of conditions of the working people, the lowering of wages and living conditions, the increasing taxation and mounting prices which result from inflated war budgets. The delegates from France, Italy and other countries recounted the experience of the dockers who, with determination, refused to load American war material destined for use in another world war. Faced with this situation, the American imperialists, in line with their mad drive toward world war, occupied the French ports of Bordeaux and La Pallice, thus establishing a base through which they will attempt to bring their means of destruction to Europe.

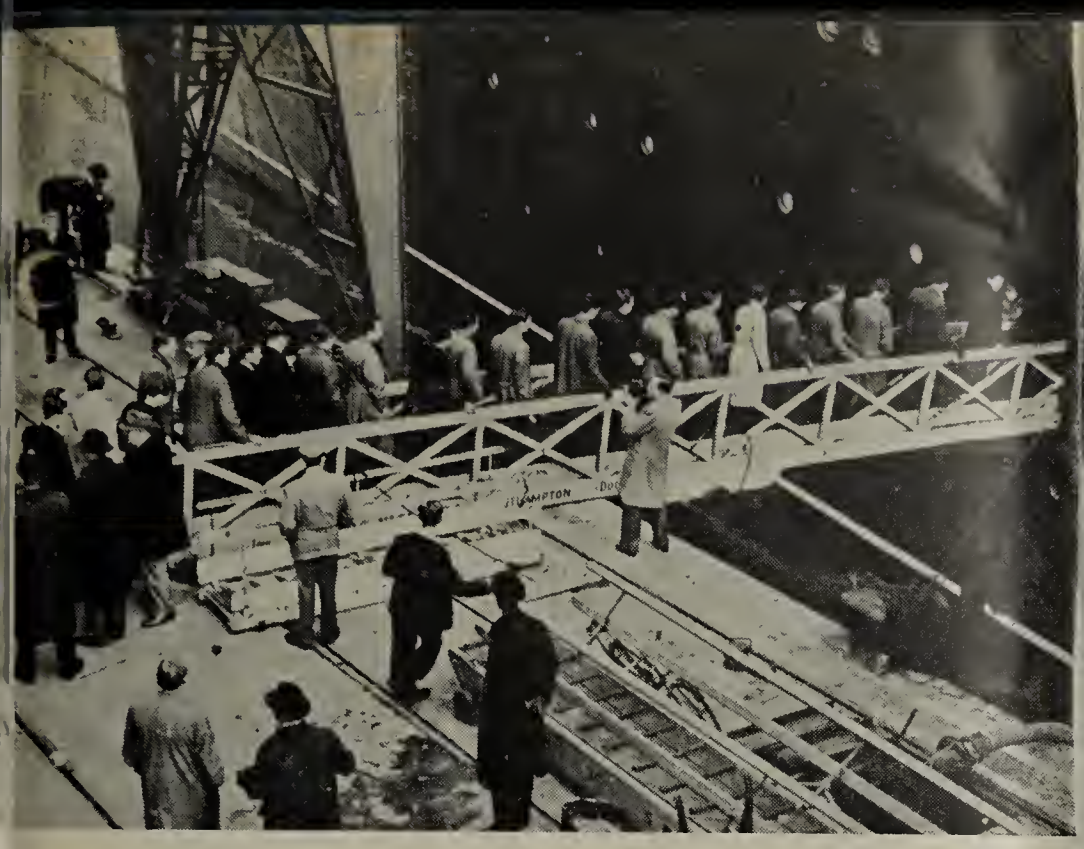
The resolution unanimously adopted by the Administrative Committee of the Seamen and Dockers' T.U.I. pointed out the betrayal of the seamen and dockers fight by the leaders of the International Transport Federation and emphasised the necessity for seamen of all countries to unite and fight together for the betterment of their living and working conditions. The sections of the resolution dealing with the seamen's demands correctly point out:

> "that the Merchant Fleets of the various capitalist countries constitute an essentially international industry and the shipowners of the various capitalist countries are becoming more closely linked together.
>
> "that freight and passenger rates are being fixed by the shipowners at their international conferences.
>
> "that the establishment of the 'Shipping Board' for the Merchant Fleet of the countries belonging to the Atlantic Pact further deepens and reinforces the community of interests of shipowners on an international basis."

The resolution calls upon the seamen to unite more closely together in the fight against exploitation and the attacks of the international shipowners.

It also calls upon the seamen in capitalist lands to demand the conclusion of collective agreements which clearly define the conditions of hired labour, work and living conditions on board vessels and strive for the immediate realisation of the following demands:

> "1. Full recognition by the shipowners of the trade union delegates on board ships and their right to act as elected representatives and spokesmen of the crew.
>
> 2. The right of seamen to carry on freely their trade union activities.
>
> 3. A standard of wages sufficient to assure a reasonable standard of living in each country and which enables a seamen to take home a wage not less than that of a skilled worker ashore.
>
> 4. Payment of a living wage to seamen awaiting engagement.
>
> 5. Hiring Halls to be controlled by the Union.
>
> 6. A 40 hour week at sea and in port with no reduction in the wage scale.
>
> 7. Annual leave or at least 21 days with full pay each year and with leave in proportion where the period of service is less than 12 months.
>
> 8. A clear definition of the duties of the various categories of seamen (deck, engine room, stewards, etc.) on ship and on shore to be included in agreements so that seamen in each category will know exactly what duties they have to perform.
>
> 9. Crew manning scales to be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the service and the safety of the vessel at sea. Overtime only to be required in urgent cases necessary for the security of the vessel, cargo or passengers.
>
> 10. So as to ensure hygienic conditions on board vessels and to provide proper sleeping and living accommodation, there shall be not more than 2 persons per cabin.
>
> 11. All categories on board vessels including officiers to be served from a common menu.
>
> 12. Crew meals to be served by stewards."



Maritime Solidarity: the crews of the two luxury liners « Queen Elizabeth » and « Queen Mary » come out on strike in support of striking New York longshoremen and Liverpool seamen.

The section dealing with the dockers calls upon them to unite and fight for the immediate realisation of the following demands:

"1. An equal distribution of work, union control over the number of workers employed in each port: a decisive voice by the unions in the hiring of labour through control of hiring halls and pick up places by the unions.

2. Reduction of the length of the working day without any reduction in wages.

3. At least three weeks' annual leave on full pay each year, and payment for all holidays—national and religious.

4. Constitution of an authority guaranteeing the payment of a "minimum wage" to all dockers in case of unemployment.

5. Payment of an industry—or old-age pension for dockers.

6. Employment in each port to be on a rotary basis and to be confined to those regularly following the calling or those newly admitted to the calling by agreement with the union concerned.

7. Improvement of the working conditions aboard the ships and in the ports, minimum standards for hygiene and provision of canteens to supply proper and adequate food for port workers.

8. To introduce rules for work security including the provision of companion ways into ship holds and to ensure that such rules are properly applied. To obtain necessary protection gear and work apparel at the cost of the employers.

9. The minimum number in dockers' teams on ship and shore to be fixed and the maximum load to be carried to be fixed at 60 kilos."

Fully recognizing the need for unity of all maritime workers to win these objectives, the resolution calls for the strengthening of the ties between all the seamen and dockers' unions, including those trade unions which are not affiliated to the International (in Great Britain. Belguim, Canada, the United States, Western Germany, Scandinavian and other countries), for the purpose of organising the common struggle for the realisation of these economic and social demands; for democratic and trade union rights of the seamen and port workers and the continued strengthening of the fight for peace.

In the French port of Nice, the population and the dockers registered vigorous protest against the loading of this ship with war materials for use against the Viet-Namese people and dumped some of the intended cargo in the sea.

The resolution also demands for the maritime workers:

"1. the right to organise and to conclude collective agreements through the intermediary of trade unions most representative of the workers concerned.

2. adequate compensation for workers and their families in cases of accident or sickness and also free medical care.

3. the introduction and improvement of family allowances.

4. the establishment of seamen's and dockers' clubs where they can meet and get a better understanding of their respective problems and strengthen their friendly relations, and encourage cultural, social and technical education for seamen and all port workers."

The resolution concludes with an appeal to all seamen and dockers to continue their fight against the preparation for a third world war against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies and to apply the resolutions of the Second World Peace Congress.

The I.T.F. as an Instrument for War Preparations

THIS important decision reached by the Administrative Committee of the Seamen and Dockers' T.U.I. will receive support from seamen and dockers in all countries, including those organised in trade unions which are at present affiliated to the International Transport Federation.

At the congress of the ITF, held in Stuttgart, Germany, the American general, C.P. Gross, praised the ITF in the following words:

"It is good that your International Transport Federation gives its whole-hearted support to the Atlantic Pact. I know that your Federation has told its members that it is its duty to transport ammunition sent from the United States. . . I wish you every success."

Trade unions and the very practice of trade unionism arise out of the need of workers for an organisation which will unite them regardless of nationality, race, political opinions or religious beliefs, in their struggle for the improvement of their economic and social conditions, their democratic and trade union rights. It follows, therefore, that they shall serve the class interests of the workers. However, the right-wing Social Democrats, Oldenbroeck and Becu, find it necessary to invite an American general to a trade union gathering to outline the policies and tasks of foreign imperialism. This fact is an indictment against the leaders of the ITF.

The Stuttgart Congress of the I.T.F. declared itself once more ready to join the reactionary forces, which they refer to as "democratic forces", for the purpose of "restoring" to their former regime those countries which have freed themselves from capitalism: that is, *they proclaim as their objective the reestablishment of capitalism in the countries which are building socialism.*

It is obvious that this is a betrayal of the maritime workers everywhere. It is an open declaration that they are ready and willing to serve the interests of the master class. It is in the light of this that we can best understand the meaning of the words of Mr. Oldenbroeck when he states that he is ready to "carry on a hand to hand fight" against those workers who do not agree with professed policies of betrayal of their most elementary demands, the betrayal of their class interests. It is clear to everyone that those who attempt to use their fists to convince those seamen and dockers who disagree with them, obviously have no argument to offer. No one has as yet been convinced by these methods and Mr. Oldenbroeck, regardless of his boxing decision, will certainly never succeed in making the maritime workers accept the idea of loyalty to the ruling class.

Transport Workers Throughout the World Want Unity and Peace

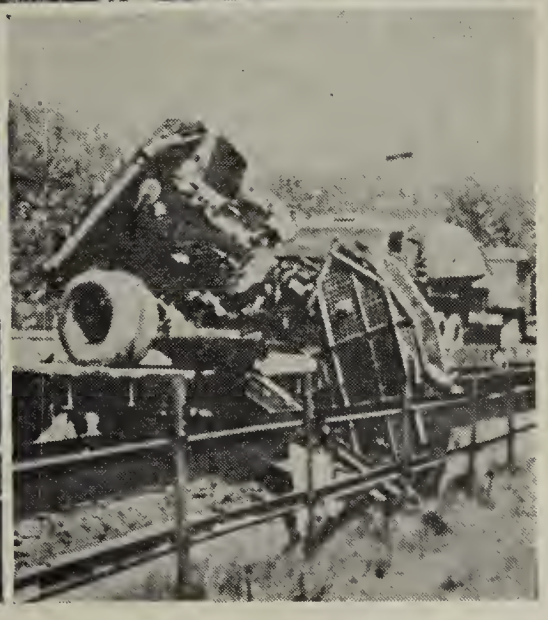
THE maritime workers the world over are for unity and solidarity of their ranks against their exploiters who are forcing them into the mad drive towards a third world war. The policy of Mr. Oldenbroeck and Mr. Becu, which includes support for the American invasion of Korea and the butchering of the Korean people, met with opposition even from some of those present at the Stuttgart congress. The opposition was expressed by some delegates from Great Britain, Sweden, Finland, Austria, etc. These delegates defused to vote for a resolution which approves the policies of American imperialism in Korea. After the Stuttgart Congress, the opposition became even more pronounced.

Mr. James B. Figgins, the general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, wrote an article for the union's official organ, *The Railway Review*. In this article, Mr. Figgins insists "that the atom bomb should not be used" and that "the Chinese People's Republic be admitted to the United Nations to participate in all discussions on international problems." Furthermore, he states that the "danger of a third world war is now obvious to everyone... there is no desire on the part of the common people to rush into another holocaust, *indeed, the exact opposite is the truth.*" Discussing the plans for the remilitarisation of Germany, Mr. Figgins declares "that rearmament would bring to the top the Nazis and all the forces of reaction."

The rearmament of Germany means not only that, but also that the American imperialists now have a vassal State in Europe which presents the danger of a repetition in Germany of the events in Korea. The European version of MacArthur has already been chosen. His name is Eisenhower. Mr. Figgins' point of view reflects that of the transport workers of Great Britain and other countries who see the dangers of such a policy.

The ITF at its Congress expelled the Canadian Seamen's Union and the Finnish Transport Workers' Trade Union for the strikes they have conducted for the improvement of their economic conditions, against the encroachment on social and economic gains by the shipowners.

The Administrative Committee of the Seamen and Dockers T.U.I. admitted to membership the seamen and dockers' trade unions of Australia, the dockers' trade unions of New Zealand, Brazil and Cuba, the trade union of seamen and port workers of Colombia, the Marine Cooks and Stewards of the U.S.; and the maritime workers of such countries as Great Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, West Germany, the United States and other countries are looking to the Seamen and Dockers' T.U.I. for assistance and guidance in their struggles.



Near the French port of Nantes, the workers take action against war preparations by stopping a train and overturning the guns on to the tracks.

The manifesto addressed to the seamen. dockers and port workers points out:

"The agents of the U.S. imperialists, such as the leaders of the International Transport Federation, are slandering the camp of peace. democracy and socialism, thus assisting the warmongers. There should be no place for these agents in the trade union movement.

"Seamen and dockers! Unite to expose and isolate from the workers these accomplices of the warmongers who want to drag the peoples into fresh disaster! Remember that the forces of peace and democracy are greater and mightier and growing daily. Peace will triumph over war!
"The mighty movement of the Defenders of Peace expresses the aspirations of all humanity.
"Give your full support to the concrete decisions of the Second World Peace Congress. Unite your ranks!

"Form Peace Committee on ships and in the ports! Remember that it is within the power of the peoples to prevent mass destruction. poverty, hunger and slaughter of the people anywhere.

"The seamen and dockers of all countries are traditional fighters for peace. Unite with the broad masses of the defenders of peace on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress! Demand an end to the imperialists' war of aggression in Korea and the other countries of South-East Asia and secure the banning of all weapons of mass destruction, the prohibition of all war propaganda and the reduction of armaments and armed forces of all nations.

"Seamen and dockers!

The fate of humanity depends on the determination and strength of the united struggle waged by the workers of all lands. Fight with all your might against warmongering capitalism.

Canadian seamen, in London during their great strike, protest against the hiring of foreign crews on Canadian ships, a strike-breaking manoeuvre attempted by the shipowners.

By your action and with all your courage defend the independence of your countries, and work to put an end to colonialism.

"The united action of all workers will destroy the plans of the warmongers and assure an era of peace, security and freedom for the workers of the world."

This appeal will undoubtedly find a response among the maritime workers who desire peace and friendly relations with all nations. They will do everything in their power to defend peace.

The Scourge of COLONIALISM IN FRENCH AFRICA

By

ABDOULAYE DIALLO

Vice-President of the WFTU,
General Secretary of the Trades Council of the French Sudan

I would like, in this first article, to describe the economic and social conditions of the workers in French Colonial Africa, and the oppression to which they are subject.

I would like also to show the difficulties they meet with from the colonial administrative authorities as regards the setting up and functioning of their trade unions. In a further article. I shall give a detailed description of the demands they put forward as a result of this situation and of the struggles they are waging to win satisfaction for these demands.

The conditions of the workers in Colonial Africa cannot be examined without taking into account the great differences between the territories which make up the continent of Africa. Nevertheless there is one common feature : colonial oppression. Indeed, everyone knows that Colonial Africa, as its very name implies, is the only part of the world which is still divided almost in its entirety among the Colonial Powers.

This oppression is expressed in particular by the fact that the economy of these countries is not developed, that 90% of the population is made up of peasants, that agriculture and industry are devoted to the production of raw materials which are needed by the colonial powers, that social legislation is non-existent or in its infancy, and that the national and democratic aspirations of the population are stifled.

Although industrial development as a whole is weak, there is nevertheless a rapid growth in certain centres. However, this development of industry is being made in the interests of the colonialists and not in the interests of the peoples.

For example, in Dakar, there are industries which make manufactured goods for export out of local materials and their by-products, as well as a growing building industry.

The mining industry is being increasingly developed, as well as the construction of roads, railways and ports for the exportation of products and raw materials which are drained off towards the colonial power (ground nuts, palm products, cotton, etc.) and for strategic needs *, but with few exceptions there is no industry producing for local consumption. The characteristic feature is that there is no industry manufacturing the means of production themselves (machines, tools), and this means that there is no industrialisation in the proper sense of the word.

The number of wage earners, although it is still comparatively small (2 to 4% of the population), is constantly growing together with the development of the industries devoted to the fulfilment of imperialist plans for domination and exploitation.

War preparations and colonial policy have an influence on the situation of all workers: peasants, small planters, small forest planters, as well as civil servants, factory workers and office workers in private enterprise. Their living conditions vary according to the area, but fundamentally they are everywhere the same: savage exploitation, increase in poverty, general illiteracy.

STARVATION WAGES AND HIGH COST OF LIVING

IN French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa and in the Cameroons, factory and office workers in private enterprise are considered as single men without children, whatever the number of dependents they have. Except in very exceptional cases they do not receive any family allowances. Their wages are insufficient to keep them and their families alive. Moreover in those areas, as in every other area, the proportion of their wages which has to be spent on food has gone up from one-fifth before the war to two-thirds at present.

* See our article *The Consequences of the London Conference for African Workers* in the June 1950 issue of this review (No. 6).

In Dakar, which however enjoys more favourable conditions than the territories of the interior, the minimum monthly wages are 3,848 CFA francs* for an African and 21,000 CFA francs for a European. The legal working week is 48 hours, that is to say 218 hours per month. In this town, which has a militant working class, wages are well below the minimum living rate demanded by the trade unions although they are superior to those prevailing in other areas. In the other towns of French West Africa, wages and purchasing power are much lower.

In French Sudan where meat costs as much as 50 francs a pound and rice 17 francs, one still meets with wage rates of 40 francs per day, whereas it has been recognised that in most of the towns in French West Africa the cost of living is no lower than in Dakar. In the Niger colony, at Niamey, which is in the first zone as regards Civil Servants' wages, that is to say the zone with the highest cost of living in French West Africa, and where rice costs more than 35 francs per pound in the market place, the minimum wage paid to labourers by the authorities is 45 francs per day. In other areas, wages can be as much as 20% lower. Woodworkers often earn no more than 125 francs per day with which they have to feed then families.

In Dahomey the price of meat and maize went up considerably while the wages of workers and office workers in private enterprise remain frozen. A large number of wage carners no longer manage to subsist with the small amounts of money they receive for the long hours they work. In December 1949, the Inspector of Labour in this territory calculated that the minimum that was necessary for subsistence was 105 francs according to the official price index. Several months later, after an increase in prices, he was compelled to correct his figures and to set the minimum living wage: one canteen to last three years, one basin for two years, one bowl, one plate, one saucepan, two glass tumblers for one year, one stool every two years, one pail, one water jug and two brooms for the whole year. The trade unions are demanding 800 francs per year for these utensils and the employers, with the support of the colonial administration and the inspector of labour, refuse to grant more than 275 francs per year. The employers contend that a stool, glass tumblers, a pail, a water jug and a broom are unnecessary and that the Mossi labourer must be satisfied with a loin-cloth and does not need any "comfort".

In the French Cameroons, order No. 680 of the February 23, 1950, issued by the High Commissioner, set the minimum wages to be paid in the various towns. According to this order, in the mines of Mayé-Darlé, in the Adamaoua area, the dailly wage must be 29 francs, in the Meiganga mines 26 francs and in other areas 25 francs. This order sets a wage of 16 francs per day in the north of the Cameroons. If one knows that meat costs almost 50 francs a pound, rice 35 francs a pound, cassava and macabo 3 fr. 50 a pound, one has a better understanding of the real value of these starvation wages and one understands that the workers are employed almost without pay and that in fact forced labour has not been abolished.

A decree was published in 1944, regulating "native labour" and offering no guaranteed wage. For example, the following is the text of article 18 of this decree which is still in force :

"The obligation of the parties under the collective contract are sanctioned by individual action on the part of the employer or the worker.

"Failure on the part of the wage earner to fulfil his obligations shall give rise to the application of the penalties mentioned in chapter X of the present decree."

Thus, according to the second paragraph, only the workers can be punished in case of failure to fulfil the contract, which is entirely in favour of the colonialist employer.

According to article 61 of the same decree, the native "can be the object of physical complusion."

In all these territories the workers live in shacks, mud huts or grass huts, where all the members of the family crowd together. Very often on the coast, particularly in Douala, innumerable taverns provide huge profits for the colonialists, while the workers spend what little money they earn in them. In these places one often sees children who cannot go to school and for whom there are no apprenticeship centres.

DIFFICULT LIVING CONDITIONS OF WORKERS IN STATE EMPLOYMENT

IN the various territories of French Colonial Africa, and particularly in West Africa, many "local" Civil Servants live in very difficult conditions. The following letter sent by a group of Civil Servants in French Togoland to the Governor gives an idea of the general situation of all these Civil Servants, postmen and post office supervisors, policemen, customs officiers, water and forestry workers, messengers, etc.

Lomé, 1.9.1950.

From the members of the minor staff of the Togoland Civil Service
To the Governor of the Colonies, Commissioner of the Republic in Togoland (Staff Department) c/o the General Secretary of the Trade Unions of Togoland, LOME.

SUBJECT: *Request for revision of zonal allowances now in force.*

Sir,

The situation prevailing for us, members of the local minor staff, as regards zonal allowances, is undoubtedly among the most unsatisfactory at present prevailing.

Indeed, on account of our productivity which has been minimised by every possible means, the legislative authorities have considered it necessary to set for us wage rates which are notoriously small, thus making our living conditions very insufficient.

But it is difficult to admit that, although we live in the same administrative area and are faced with the same living conditions as the members of the second category, we should receive zonal allowances so inferior to theirs.

There is no special market for us with prices specially set for the members of the minor staff, belonging to the third category.

Therefore we ask you very respectfully to review the situation of the members of the third category as regards zonal allowances and to bring them up at least to the level of those of the second category.

Yours very respectfully,

For the postmen:
John Hounkpati, Samuel Birama, Marc Tetevi, Dossavi.
For the policemen:
Michel Baouena, Emmanuel Ollando,
K. Robert Ossogba, Jean Ameganvi.
For the Customs Officers:
Jacot Tetevi, Georges Mensal,
Richard Adjalle, Tetevi Tonti.
For the Water and Foresty Workers:
Antoine Possian.
For the Messengers:
Ferdinand Abalo, Gnimavo Amazou.

The exploitation of workers in State employment is particularly noticeable in the post office. Let us take Togoland

* The CFA (French African Colony) franc is worth double the French franc, i.e., there are 490 CFA francs to the £ sterling.

FORCED LABOUR FOR PRISONERS

These prisoners, among them a 12 year old girl, are forced to carry water at the well of Magaria (French Nigeria).

Guards hurry along the drawing of water with knouts : prisoners at Magaria.

Mounted guards escort prisoners condemned to hard l a b o u r.

These round huts are set aside for the hospitalisation of Africans at Zinder (French Nigeria).

as an example although this is fairly general. At Lomé the post office and radio workers are not in sufficient numbers to fulfil the diverse and arduous tasks of mail distribution and telegraph work. They therefore work overtime. But as the authorities claim they have insufficient funds, overtime is not paid. It is supposed to be compensated for by time off, but the hours worked overtime are often longer than the time off granted.

The temporary workers who are on day rates do not get any pay for Sunday work, still on the grounds that funds are not sufficient, whereas higher ranking European civil servants receive large salaries.

THE EXPLOITATION OF SMALL PEASANTS

AS regards the small peasants, breeders and small planters, they are often savagely exploited. Their cultivation methods are archaic, their produce sells at ridiculously low prices whereas they have to buy manufactured goods at very high prices. The prices of ground nuts, sorghum, honey, rice, palm products and other agricultural produce are by and large set by the authorities and by the Chamber of Commerce, which are made up of representatives of the buyers and comprise no representatives of the producers. They also set a period in which purchases are to be made and this period always coincides with the period when taxes must be paid.

For example, in Bamako, sorghum is bought from the peasants by the big trading concerns during the tax paying period and the native traders who do not possess sufficient capital are thus unable to buy any. This sorghum is then

often sold on the market at twice the purchase price during the bad season. These same trusts sell to the natives the cloth, tools and other manufactured goods they need and sometimes make a profit of more than 40% above the official price; sometimes the peasant is compelled to exchange 20 pounds of sorghum for a yard of long-cloth or a matchet.

Compulsory reserve granary in French Nigeria

In certain towns in the Niger colony they are compelled by force to put part of their grain in the local silos. In the Sudan this system was abolished under the pressure of the masses, to the great satisfaction of the population. The Governor of the Niger colony where the silo system is still in force, declared that it is impossible to administer the country without these reserve granaries. Indeed, these granaries are used as a means of pressure. For example, when it is known that a political meeting is to be held by the peasants in a village, the authorities quickly issue the following order to the inhabitants of the village: "Everyone is to be at his post for the control of the reserve silos. Those who have not filled them shall go to prison." On these occasions there are many cases of victimisation and imprisonment. There has even been a case of a peasant condemned to a prison sentence for so-called destruction of a public monument. In fact, what had happened was that the mud support of one of the silos had collapsed.

In the Amban area, in the Cameroons, on the borders of the Spanish Guinea, the people who want to obtain a pass to go into the neighbouring colony are compelled to work for the authorities for several days. Moreover, the peasants are often dispossessed of their new-born kids and of their crops for ridiculously low prices by means of a requisition for a so-called cooperative. Forced labour is also practiced for the upkeep of the roads without any payment or even any food for the people who work on them. The following are extracts from a letter written by a member of the Progressive Party of the Union of the People of the Cameroons to the Regional Administrator, on July 5, 1950, to expose this shameful practice, as well as the theft of kids from the peasants:

A.—*Situation as regards passes into Guinea.*

The granting of administrative passes to Africans who wish to travel into Spanish Guinea is conditional upon a system of constraint on the travellers, who have to work for several days in Ambam, or else do not obtain satisfaction.

B.—*Requisitions of kids and foodstuffs.*

A great evil subsists in the Ambam area: The compulsory requisition by the authorities of kids and foodstuffs for the Ambam Cooperative. These requisitions are obligatory and the villages are forced to supply, at the end of each month, kids, chickens and foodstuffs. Failure on the part of a village to supply the quantities stipulated entails fines or prison sentences for the defaulting persons. Such proceedings which are not to be found elsewhere in the Cameroons, should not subsist in the Ambam area.

In contrast with French Nigeria, the granaries in French Senegal are not compulsory, but built by the Africans themselves for storing rice. The rice is smoked naturally by the smoke from the ground-floor kitchen and keeps for 6 to 7 years without danger from insect pests.

Harvesting cotton in the Tchad region

Ambam is a forest region (not favourable to cattle raising) and its cattle herd cannot subsist if requisitions of ewes and chickens are to go on. I state this with all the more certainty since on July 3rd, 1950, I saw one Ndem Zo'o of the village of Nsessoum, leading to the cooperative two youg ewes, one of which was already with young. In addition the prices offered by the cooperative cannot compensate for the cost of these animals which the villages sometimes buy for extraordinarily high sums, but which are sold in Ambam for ridiculously small prices, ranging from 300 to 500 francs. In order to make the lot of these unfortunate peasants lighter, we propose that the town receive a supply of beef cattle and that the cooperative be no longer run by the authorities who constantly treat the villagers unjustly.

C.—*Upkeep of roads.*

In the Ambam area, we note that forced labour has not been abolished. It still exists in the application of old methods which recall the days of Native Law. The roads are maintained by men and women. This does not differ in any way from the system we knew back in 1939 under the slave rule of Native Law and Forced Labour.

We stress that road upkeep is a separate item in the budget for which funds are allocated and that this work must be undertaken and paid for by the authorities which hold these funds. The present system by which notes are sent to the villages chiefs ordering them to have the roads maintained by the inhabitants of the village is a restriction of the freedom of work and must be abolished. Moreover we protest against the manner in which this work is carried out—without any payment. The villagers who are called upon to maintain the roads receive no retribution of any kind, wages or food.

TRADE UNION RIGHTS DENIED OR VIOLATED

THE workers meet with many difficulties in setting up their trade unions. In French Colonial Africa trade unionists have to produce an elementary school-leaving certificate or an equivalent certificate issued by the District Officer, in order to be allowed to become members of leading trade union bodies. This often prevents trade unions from being set up. Everyone knows that most wage earners, particularly agricultural and forestry workers as well as the masses of peasant breeders, servants, cooks and other categories of workers, are illiterate and the responsibility for this falls on the colonialists.

But in many cases the authorities, as for example in the Niger colony, utilise this formality to prevent the setting up of trade unions. For example, in Niamey, the chief of the Political Affairs Division who unfortunately is also Inspector of Labour, that is to say that he represents the Governor and, at the same time, has the duty of undertaking to conciliate the workers and the employers, used this legal measure to justify his refusal to allow the formation of a large number of trade unions (servants, cooks, gardeners, breeders, building workers, etc.).

But of course, in the meantime, this Inspector of Labour is attempting to set up docile trade unions, the leaders of which would deceive the workers.

Many other difficulties confront the workers who wish to organise. When they cannot be turned away from their objective, and made into docile instruments of reaction, the authorities strike at the right of assembly and undertake fierce repression.

In Bamako, the trade unions can no longer find meeting halls. The cinemas which used to rent out their halls, received instructions from Dakar no longer to tolerate meetings on their premises. Meetings on public thoroughfares are prohibited. Trade union leaders are dismissed, transferred or even imprisoned under various pretexts.

For example, in Markala in the Sudan, where a powerful

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Pineapple plantation in French Guinea. All the transporting is done by the African workers under the merciless surveillance of the white overseer who can be seen, stick in hand, giving his orders.

Typical dwellings and domestic utensils in French Africa.

trade union was set up among the workers employed in the local trusts, the General Secretary who was one of the very few persons fulfilling all the conditions imposed by the authorities to lead a trade union, was sentenced to two years imprisonment and exiled for six years.

Other trade unionists were dismissed from their jobs and Civil Servants were dismissed by Governor Louveau for having written newspaper articles. The authorities ordered many arbitrary transfers and dismissals in an attempt to disorganise the trade union movement.

The local press which helps to enlighten the workers by denouncing abuses and by calling on them to organise and to struggle is the object of frequent attacks. Newspaper editors and administrators were sentenced to suspended prison sentences and fined for publishing cartoons exposing arbitrary actions by the authorities.

Others had been prosecuted many times and condemned to heavy fines, the total of which is at present more than one million CFA francs.

This repression is widespread and we have only mentioned a few examples taken at random from various countries.

SIMILAR SITUATION IN AFRICAN COLONIES OF OTHER POWERS

IN the Belgian Congo, Africans and Europeans are not allowed to belong to the same trade union. In July 1950, in Elisabethville one can still see sops reserved for African customers and others for Europeans. In the boats which take people across the Congo river, there are reserved seats for Africans, and on arrival on the other side of the river the Africans must wait until all Europeans have alighted before they can hand in their tickets and alight in their turn.

In Nigeria, trade unions are the object of severe repression. The British colonialist government is doing everything in its power to prevent the workers from contacting the trade union organisations of French West Africa. I experienced this myself when I was expelled from Lagos on the order of the British Governor who, in so doing, prevented me from getting in touch with the Nigerian Labour Congress which is affiliated to our Federation.

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BUT the working people of these territories want to live a free and happy life. They see on which side are their friends and on which their enemies. The trade unions affiliated to the French General Confederation of Labour are, in the French colonies, the object of most violent repression. For this very reason the CGT enjoys tremendous prestige extending much beyond the number of workers actually affiliated to its trade unions. In a further article, we shall examine the demands for which the workers are struggling and organising.

IRADJ ESKANDARY

CONDITIONS of the Working People IN IRAN

IRAN, or Persia, with an area as great as France, Italy, Spain and Norway together, has little more than 16 million inhabitants.

According to the most recent official statistics, the rural population is estimated at 12,284,000 people living either in a nomadic state (about 2 million), or in the 47,000-odd villages which go to make up the total number of rural settlements of Iran. The remainder of the population, estimated at 3 million, is made up of city dwellers.

The industrial proletariat represents only 5% of the entire urban population, which indicates the low level of industrialisation in the country.

To this industrial proletariat, of recent development, must be added the workers in the declining handicraft industries (about 20% of the urban population) in order to get a fairly accurate idea of the total number of industrial workers.

This numerical data, however incomplete and approximate, nevertheless permits us to define the main characteristics of the Iranian economy: an economy based on agriculture, a low level of industry and a backward state of production.

Agricultural Workers' Living Conditions

We do not intend here to deal with the agrarian question as a whole and the different problems with which it confronts the Iranian people; but because in Iran only 2% to 5% of the rural population own any land and the rest of the population, i.e. 95% to 98%, work on someone else's land, we cannot get a very accurate picture of the situation of the working people if we ignore the conditions in which Iranian peasants live.

In Iran, big estates (Arbabi) are predominant and the number of small holders is negligeable. About 40% to 50% of cultivated land belongs to the big landowners and 20% to 30% to "average-sized" owners. The rest, namely about 20%, is made up of estates belonging to the state and to religious institutions (Waqf).

Ragged clothed peasants lack the basic necessities of existence and live in shocking conditions, without any medical attention.

Generally speaking, it can be stated that at least 80% of the cultivated land belongs to a small number of landlords, most of whom do not live on their estates.

During the brief period when the workers could exercise their democratic rights, they demonstrated in Teheran in support of the United Council of Trade Unions. In the background thhe edifice of the British-owned Imperial Bank of Iran.

The land is worked by share-croppers who, in the main, have roughly the same economic and legal status as the serfs in Europe during the Middle Ages. Taxable and liable to forced labour at the will of the landlord, the share-croppers are occupied throughout the year on the estates of the lords who live in luxury and inactivity in the big towns, leaving the management of their affairs to bailiffs or leasing the exploitation of their lands to a third person (generally a capitalist or money-lender) in exchange for a given sum.

The sharing-out of agricultural produce between the peasant and the owner is carried out, in principle, on the basis of a customary "law" in force for many centuries and entitled "the five elements." According to this archaic custom, the elements in agricultural production are five in number, namely: land, seed, water, draught animals and human labour. Each of these elements receives an equal share in the harvest, and since the peasant generally owns only his labour force, or that of his family, he can therefore only receive one fifth of the harvest.

The peasant's miserable share is subject to all sorts of levies and taxes—police force, Treasury, justices of the peace, money-lenders, priests, etc. In addition, the peasant must present the lord or his bailiff with certain levies in kind—eggs, chickens, lambs, etc., on the occasion of marriages, feasts or even deaths occurring in the family of the owner or his agents.

The poverty-stricken living conditions of the Iranian peasants have, furthermore, been exposed in two official reports submitted by an Enquiry Commission of the Ministry of Agriculture, but these reports were carefully shelved by this Ministry.

These reports were neither published nor taken into consideration by the Iranian Government, which is itself controlled by representatives of the feudal landowners and money-lenders.

Peasants Leave the Countryside

The war considerably worsened the situation of the Iranian working people. As the price of foodstuffs increased so the pressure on the Iranian peasants grew stronger. The landowners, anxious to profit from the "exceptional opportunity" provided by the war, burdened the peasants with all sorts of arbitrary taxes in order to divest them of the little they had left so as to sell it at exorbitant prices.

Faced with this disastrous situation, the Iranian peasants have revolted on many occasions over the last few years, refusing to pay land rents and driving the police from their villages. But as these were unorganised movements, they were brutally put down by the Government's forces who, after bloody massacres, reinstated the landowners in their estates.

It is therefore not surprising that, over the past year, the peasants have been leaving the countryside in large numbers and have been streaming into the towns where they hope to find some means of existence.

This is taking place even in the most fertile areas of the country, particularly in Iranian Azerbaidjan. Thousands of peasants from this province have been forced to leave the land and have gone to swell the army of unemployed and starving who stray in the streets of the big towns.

According to the *New York Times* of February 28, 1950, Mr. Kekmat, then Minister of State, declared that as a result of the cruelty of State officials, 120,000 Azerbaidjanian peasants have left the land and were living in deplorable conditions.

The same phenomenon exists in the regions of Kerman, Khorassan, Isfahan and many others.

The following letter, dated February 21, 1950, from the Prime Minister to the Ministry of Labour, is particularly significant and shows the extent of unemployment and poverty not only in the rural areas but also in the towns.

> *"Letter No.* 15,649—*Ministry of Labour.*
> *"According to the Ministry of War report No.* 25,715/32,371 *of* 20.1.50, *the inhabitants of Bandar-Deylam are emigrating into Bahrein and Kuweit as a result of unemployment and poverty, and it is to be feared that this port will soon become completely uninhabited. Please give an order for an attentive examination of the problem so that a solution may be found for the inhabitants of the port."*

The first solution considered was to drive the peasants back to the countryside by force.

Following the obvious failure of this attempt, a so-called "Aid Commission" was set up by the Government which imagined it had solved the problem by distributing 80 lbs of rice and 30 rials (3s.6d or 50 cents) to each peasant every four months.

On March 13, 1950, the Minister of Finance, replying to a Senator who reproached him with having divided up new lands among the landowners instead of handing them over to the peasants, cynically declared: "Iranian peasants are very poor. At harvest time, they are obliged to give up their share to the landowners in order to settle their debts. They have no

financial means for cultivating the land. If we were to give them land, they would sell it so as to become workers. This is why we distributed the lands of Khouzestan (South-Western province) among the landowners."

The system of big estates at present in force in Iran is not merely archaic but also prevents any form of technical progress in agriculture and any improvement in the conditions of the peasants.

This profound decadence is reflected in the appearance of the Iranian village—miserable huts crowded one against the other, all equally dilapidated. They are surrounded by monotonous fields haunted by human spectres and worked with the most rudimentary implements.

As for the Iranian peasant's home, it is sufficient to quote a passage from the book written by Mr. Sanojabi, Professor in the Law Faculty of Teheran University, on "Rural Economy and the Agrarian System in Persia."

> *"The villages situated on the plateau are the most miserable type of human dwellings. Built of dry mud and wood, very low, without windows, these village homes seem more like animals' dens than human dwellings. Air, light and sun penetrate only through small apertures in the roof which are also used as an outlet for smoke.*
>
> *"Human beings and animals are often in the same room, without any separation."*

It is useless to talk of any real public health or educational system for the peasants in Iran because, on the one hand, most Iranian villages are without doctors or medical supplies and the peasant who wishes to see a doctor must often travel scores of miles to the nearest town, which is beyond his means, and, on the other hand, schools are completely non-existent in the countryside. This is why 98% of Iranian peasants are illiterate.

The foregoing is a brief picture of the living conditions of Iranian peasants.

Living Conditions of the Workers

We have already said that there is hardly any industry in Iran. The main branches of industry in Iran are: textiles, sugar, chemicals, ceramics, cement and finally, the big oil industry (concession belonging to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company).

There are also a large number of individual craft workshops using hand-looms for the manufacture of cloth and carpets.

Apart from the oil and textile industries, almost all the other factories are the property of the State (62 factories). The total number of workers employed in modern industry is not more than 200,000. To this figure, to get an approximate idea of the total number of industrial workers, must be added approximately 50,000 railwaymen, building workers, printers, etc., and about 400,000 craftsmen.

Wages and the Cost of Living

The cost of living rose considerably in Iran after the beginning of the last world war and has followed an upward course ever since.

According to official figures supplied by the statistical service of the National Bank of Iran, the cost of living index is almost ten times as high as it was in 1936.

In the elements taken into consideration in the

Following the peoples' victory over fascism, over 100,000 workers demonstrate in the capital with banners hailing the democratic organisations of the people and the working class. The central banner carried side by side two photos of Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, and Reza Rousta, General Secretary of the UCCTU of Iran.

calculations of the Bank's statistical service, the biggest increases took place in rents and food, which means that the price rise affected the two basic elements in the workers' living standard.

At the beginning of 1950, rents were about 15 times higher than in the base year of 1936, while foodstuffs were 10 times higher.

The following table shows the trend of the cost of living and of the three most important elements in relation to the base year of 1936 (taken as=100):

YEAR	GENERAL INDEX	FOOD	RENT	CLOTHING
1936	100	100	100	100
1941	243	252	218	255
1942	476	522	360	500
1943	1,003	1,081	724	1,112
1945	882	768	1,111	916
1946	780	779	1,034	751
1947	832	818	1,162	826
1948	899	927	1,245	813
1949	1,023	1,071	1,520	767

Judging from official figures for the first quarter of 1950, the rise in the cost of living will by the end of the year, reach even bigger proportions than in 1949.

As for wages, official statistics endeavour to show that they have risen faster than the cost of living. But a cursory examination of wages and prices shows these allegations to be false.

Before the war, the average daily wage of a worker was 8 to 10 rials, according to the region. In 1946, when the Iranian working class, under the leadership of the United Central Council of Trade Unions, succeeded by taking action to obtain their demands in winning certain improvements in their living conditions, wages had increased by only four times. The situation is not the same today since, as a result of the repression of the trade union movement and because of large-scale unemployment, the employers, with the Government's connivance, have succeeded in wiping out most of the gains the workers had won by their struggle. The legal minimum wage had been fixed in 1946 by the Higher Council of Labour at the following rates: 34 rials for the Teheran, Mazanderan and Isfahan regions, 40 rials per day for the Khouzistan oil region.

But as the official figures themselves show, the cost of living was 8 times higher in 1946, and in 1949 was 1023% of the pre-war level.

The Oil Workers

According to the report of the International Labour Office Oil Commission in Iran, published in 1950, the minimum wage paid in 1949 by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to its workers was 40 rials per day, i.e. the same rate as in 1946. According to information published by the Iranian newspapers, the minimum wage rate had even been cut by 15% to 40% in Isfahan, Teheran and Mazanderan. In addition, the workers are not paid regularly. For example, last March, the employers in the Zayandé-Roud and Nour factories in Isfahan owed 3 to 5 months back pay to their workers.

The above-mentioned report of the International Labour Office Oil Commission claims that the average wage paid by the British oil trust to the Iranian workers is sufficient to meet "the basic needs of a family composed of a worker, his wife and two children."

In support of this assertion, the Commission gives a detailed table of the "basic needs of a model working-class family in Abadan and in the oil-fields in 1949" which contains: food, fuel, light, rent and clothing, without indicating their respective market prices.

We shall show with the *official* figures the inaccuracy of this assertion, by taking as basis for calculation the same quantities mentioned in the report, without discussing the quantitative inadequacy of what the ILO considers to be the "basic needs of a model working-class family."

The Iranian workers' main food is bread and cheese. Meat, butter and other foodstuffs of this type are almost excluded from the workers' diet. Tea is the only beverage consumed by a worker's family. In the northern areas, rice replaces bread.

Owing to the excessive heat of the summer, ice must be considered as a basic necessity, particularly in the Khouzistan oil region where the temperature rises as high as (140°) F in the shade.

Leaving aside several other articles mentioned in the report and taking into account only the requirements mentioned above, we arrive at the following table (prices are calculated on the basis of data supplied by the official statistics of the Iran National Bank *for wholesale prices*) :

Bread	148	lbs per month	335	rials
Meat	6.5	—	75	—
Sugar	4.5	—	44	—
Rice	15	—	35	—
Tea	1.25	—	30	—
Cheese	3.5	—	90	—
Ice*	330	—	300	—
		TOTAL.....	909	rials

* Since antiquity ice has been an important necessity for city life. The natural ice-stores in the high mountains of Iran (as well as the making of artificial ice in the big towns) still provide the ice needed by the population. The oil province of Khouzistan lacks natural sources of ice, and until 1946 artificial ice was reserved purely for Company agents. The great strikes of the oil workers in 1946 forced the Company to provide ice for the workers. The ILO report counts ice among the vital necessities of the working class of Iran.

The Democratic movement of the workers and peasants of Azerbaijan was crushed in bloody repression: more than 15,000 patriots were massacred. Our photo shows the hanging of 4 Democrat leaders, including the mayor, in the town of Maragheh.

If one adds to this figure the average rent for a small room (100 rials) and the cost of 42 pints of oil which is the usual method of lighting in Iran (56 rials), one arrives at the sum of 1,065 rials which is almost the whole of the monthly wage of an Anglo-Iranian Oil Company worker.

He would therefore have a sum of 135 rials (about 16s. 4d. or $2.25) left to meet the rest of his and his family's personal expenditure—clothing, heating, laundry, cleaning, etc. But in actual fact, he does not have even this sum left, for the worker does not buy at wholesale prices, and retail prices are far higher than those mentioned above. Moreover, a daily wage of 40 rials is quite exceptional in Iran, as we have just shown.

Unemployment

The end of the war was marked in Iran by a considerable increase in the number of unemployed. Since 1947, unemployment has taken on alarming proportions and by the end of 1949 and in 1950, the situation had become really catastrophic.

The influx of British and American war surplus stores and the competition of American goods, which was encouraged by the government's "open door" policy, brought ruin on national industry which was too weak to compete successfully with American products.

Following the fierce repression against the democratic and trade union movement in 1946, the employers, with government backing, turned the workers out into the streets without any compensation. Deprived of unemployment benefit, thousands of workers were forced to become beggars.

A large number of factories closed down during 1948 and 1949, and others are now on the point of closing down. In addition, the agricultural crisis, which is to a large extent due to the over-exploitation of the peasants and to the archaic landowning system, as we have already noted, threw tens of thousands of peasants on the labour market, thus aggravating the already serious general conditions of the workers.

The number of unemployed workers reached 600 to 700,000 by the end of 1949, which is an extremely high figure for a country like Iran and shows the almost total liquidation of national industry.

Starving crowds of people roam through the city streets looking for work. In Kerman, a town in the South West of Iran, the workers are obliged to sell or hire their children for a few rials in order to be able to subsist one day longer. There is no unemployment benefit for workers who have been dismissed.

The economic crisis, due to the imperialist policy of subjugating the Iranian people and systematically looting the natural wealth of Iran, did not spare the handicraft industry and its most important and world famous branch—carpet-making.

Before the war, this industry employed some 100,000 workers. M. Paul Van Zeeland, who was invited as an economic expert by the Iranian governement in 1949, wrote as follows in his report:

> *"Since* 1941, *this traditional industry has been in the grip of a serious crisis and skilled workers are leaving it on account of low wages.*
>
> *"The other traditional handicraft industries —silk and wool weaving, ceramics, gold plate,*

jewellery—are also in the grip of an extremely serious crisis and seem not to be able to withstand the competition of low-quality imported goods."

Further on in his report, M. Van Zeeland writes in the following terms of the difficulties in the application of the "seven year plan"—which incidentally was imposed by British and American imperialism:

"Some of the difficulties are of a social nature, for Iranian economy has for some years been undergoing a very serious crisis, particularly in agriculture. The Iranian press often mentions this, and declares that never before in the history of Iran has the peasants' poverty been so terrible. This poverty is causing a mass exodus of the population. The peasants swarm into the towns in the hope of finding a job and rapidly become transformed into unemployed. Similarly, many private industrial undertakings whose business had been excellent during the post-war boom found themselves in deficit on account of the crisis which is at present paralysing Iranian economy and have closed down. The result was a wave of unemployment in the main industrial centres in the country."

In addition, the problem of unemployment affects some 130,000 Civil Servants who are under constant threat of dismissal on grounds of "redundancy."

"Besides," the report adds, *"most of the State employees do not receive an adequate wage, and their continued employment is explained by the Government's wish to fight unemployment in an indirect manner, so that their wages must be considered as a concealed unemployment benefit without which they would be thrown into destitution."*

Working Conditions, Sanitation and Housing

Social legislation is almost non-existent in Iran. Moreover the victories Iranian workers won through their struggle (decree of May 17, 1946, on labour legislation, law on social insurance, etc.) has remained inoperative since the beginning of repression against the trade union and working class movement.

Whereas the Labour Code promulgated in 1946 states that working hours must not exceed 8 hours per day and 48 hours per week, Iranian workers are compelled to work 12 to 14 hours a day without any intervention on the part of the authorities to enforce application of the law. Children are still employed, even at the age of 7, in some private undertakings and particularly in the textile, carpet-making and silk industries.

The workers get no maternity, illness or old-age benefit. Security of employment and against accidents at work are generally ignored. Victims of accidents at work and pregnant women are ruthlessly dismissed by the employers, without any indemnity. The wage earners and their families are at the mercy of the employer who can treat them according to his whims and sack them without notice or indemnity.

Indecent assaults against girls and even boys in employment are so frequent that recently all sections of the Iranian press protested and the matter was discussed in Parliament.

Many who are disabled as a result of industrial accidents are entirely destitute and have to beg in the streets of the large cities.

Medical and hospital facilities are completely inadequate. Out of a total of 1,500 doctors registered in the country, 700 to 800 live in Teheran and the remainder of the population is left without any medical assistance.

Malaria, trachoma and typhoid are the scourge of industrial centres and rural areas alike and kill off thousands of people every year.

A Member of Parliament, Dr. Emani, declared on March 14, on the subject of an outbreak of typhoid fever: *"Nothing was done to avoid this outbreak, the main cause of which was the polluted water we have to drink (no town in Iran, including the capital, has a supply of drinking water. The population drinks the the water which flows in the open gutter). All the monies allocated for this purpose in the last 20 years have been squandered by corrupt municipal officials."*

The workers' housing conditions are scandalous. People who visited the Southern districts of Teheran and particularly the brickworks district (Kurepaz-Khane) were astonished to see human beings living in such dens. Thousands of men women and children shelter at night in hovels made of mud, without doors or windows.

Their furniture consists of one blanket and one sleeping mat on which all the members of the working class family lie down side by side. A tin samovar, an oil lamp and a small charcoal stove make up the rest of the family's belongings.

This single room, the rent of which is 100 rials or more per month contains no bed, no chair, table, chest of drawers or wardrobe.

Indeed, what would be the use of a table, since they have nothing to eat off it? What would be the use of a wardrobe or of a chest or drawers since there are no clothes or underwear to put in it?

A working class family eats its bread with a piece of cheese in the street or at its work-place, and drinks the dirty water which runs in the gutter, along the streets, through the town's heaps of filth and refuse.

Child mortality in working-class families is 600-700 per 1,000. The average work expectation of an Iranian worker rarely exceeds the age of 40 years.

Nevertheless, the British trust, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, with its annual output of 30 million tons of oil, is realising fabulous profits to the detriment of the Iranian people (£250,000,000 in 1949) and about 75% of the Government's budget is absorbed by the army, the police and the construction of strategic roads, ports and aerodromes, and by the preparation of Iran as a base for Anglo-American aggression against the Soviet Union, while only 6% and 2.2% are devoted to education and public health respectively.

The Trade Union Struggle

Faced with this shocking situation, the working class has reacted strongly on many occasions and, at the cost of heroic struggles and sacrifices, has succeeded in winning certains gains.

The trade union movement of Iran is relatively young, dating only from the first World War. As a resut of the bloody repression and brutal attacks by the police state of Reza Shah, it was able to develop only after the fall of his dictatorship when the Allied forces entered Iran in 1941. It was then that trade

union leaders, released from prison, succeeded in organising the workers of Iran on a new basis and in forming, after two years' hard work, the United Central Council of Iranian Trade Unions (May Day, 1943).

Thanks to the efforts of the UCCTU, between 1941 and 1946 Iranian workers were able to win certain gains, the most important of which were: 90-100% increase in wages as compared with 1940; shortening of the working day from 12 to 8 hours; paid holidays (1 day a week and a fortnight a year); official recognition of trade unions and the right to strike; and ratification of a decree on labour legislation and a law on social security.

The workers forced the granting of these gains by a series of strikes and as a result of constant intervention with the employers and the public authorities by the UCCTU.

The progress of the movement to win demands which followed the awakening of the class consciousness of Iranian workers and the increased prestige of the UCCTU reached its peak in 1946. The May Day demonstrations in 1946, in which 700,000 people took part (as even official reports admit), and which were followed by successful strikes in the oil fields of Aghadjari and Abadan (May 10—July 14, 1946), show strikingly the tremendous upsurge of the workers' movement under the leadership of the UCCTU.

It was from this very time that internal reaction, frightened by the breadth of the working class movement, set about dividing the trade union movement and forcibly suppressing the UCCTU, with the open support of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Scab organisations (Eski-Emka, the "Oil Workers' Unions") were created overnight by known government agents (Khosro Hedayat) and agents of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. (Eftekhari). UCCTU leaders were persecuted, arrested and imprisoned, and trade union offices were sacked and occupied by the police and the army.

Despite this brutal repression, the UCCTU continued its trade union activities, and all the manœuvres of reaction and the scab unions did not succeed in shaking the workers' confidence in it.

The Government therefore decided to end the Council's legal existence and, in February 1949, it issued a decree banning the UCCTU's activities. A Teheran Court Martial condemned to death the General Secretary of the Council, Reza Rousta.

Yet in spite of the difficulties of working underground, the UCCTU continues to lead the Iranian workers' movement.

The wave of strikes which have taken place in Iran in the last two years bear witness to the determination

ANGLO-AMERICAN "COOPERATION"

A few hundred yards from the marble columns of the Teheran Law Courts, these tattered-clothed children search for food in a rubbish dump.

of Iranian workers to defend their rights despite police repression and the banning of their representative trade unions.

The general strike of textile workers in Chahi (April 25, 1950), which was brutally repressed and resulted in 5 deaths, including that of a 16 year old girl; the strikes in the Zayandi-Roud, Kazerouni, Rahim, Zadeh, Vatan, Isfahan, Risbaf textile factories; the hunger marches and demonstrations organised by the unemployed in Teheran: all these have proved their fighting spirit.

However, the success of this mass action depends largely on the close link which should exist between the rank and file and the leadership of the UCCTU in carrying out systematic work for the preparation and organisation of campaigns for the workers' essential demands.

The UCCTU must strive to build even closer relations with the mass of workers. To succeed in this, it will have to fight against a certain sectarianism which prevents effective work among workers who have been by force or necessity incorporated into self-styled trade unions set up by the public authorities.

The main lines of action required to achieve these aims were clearly summed up in the WFTU Executive Committee's resolution on the activities of the WFTU in the fight for trade union unity, carried at its Budapest meeting (May 15-24, 1950).

It was particularly this close link with the masses that the Executive Committee had in mind when it stated in the resolution:

> *"This struggle must be taken among the working masses in the factories and must not be carried on in the silence of restricted bureaucratic meetings. This is what the splitters of the working class would like to see in order to ensure docile acceptance of all their orders."*

There can be no doubt that trade union militants in Iran will be guided in their daily work by the principles contained in this important resolution, which clearly shows the vital importance of labour unity in achieving their immediate aims as well as the final victory of peace and the liberation of the workers.

IN AUSTRALIA

Political Racketeers Attempt to Gag WORKING-CLASS WRITER

By Wilfred BURCHETT

THE persecution of the Australian author Frank Hardy and the attempts to suppress his book "Power Without Glory" reflect the inroads of fascism into Australian life, the growing "Americanisation" of this country. They form part of the new pa ttern of Australian life to stifle freedom of speech and to rob the working class of their political parties, their leaders and their spokesmen.

Hardy, a working class author, has written a novel exposing the political gangsterism which has been a feature of the Australian scene for the past fifty years. He has pointed an accurate picture of graft and corruption, of an unholy alliance between capital, social-democracy and clericalism. Many important personalities in the community pretend to recognise themselves in the portraits Hardy has painted of political thugs and racketeers who bought up judges, made and broke politicians and generals, corrupted the sporting life of the community, controlled governments and if necessary murdered those who stood in their way.

For his courage in exposing this, Hardy has been the victim of unprecedented attacks in the press and parliament, his life has been threatened, vicious attempts have been made to destroy the book; publishers, printers, binders and booksellers have been intimidated by the police; Hardy himself thrown into jail as a common criminal and released on an extraordinarily high bail of five hundred pounds on condition he and his distributor cease selling the book.

Frank HARDY

The attacks on Hardy cannot be separated from the general assault being made in Australia against people's liberties by the neo-fascist government of Mr. Menzies.

Traditional Australian liberties, freedom of speech and assembly, have been trampled under foot as Australia falls more and more into the American camp, and the persecution of author Frank Hardy is just one more glaring example of Menzies' neo-fascism.

A VIVID PICTURE OF CAPITALIST CORRUPTION

Hardy's book has as its central character a certain John West, who starts life as a bookmaker, cheating his clients, bent on gaining money and power by any means that come to his hand. The novel (670 pages) depicts the rise to power of this man by use of criminals, gunmen and later politicians, judges, leading churchmen, sportsmen, generals and police chiefs. John West gets his first clue as to the road for power under capitalism, when he bribes a policeman with a sovereign, to stop the latter from raiding his illegal gambling shop.

When the novel finishes with John West he has already bought up half the leading politicians in the country, and with the help of Catholic Action, he is controlling, from behind the scenes, the Australian Labour Party. Newspaper magnates, generals and premiers are at his beck and call. Hardy shows the moral degradation of the man, the effect of his evil lust for power on his own family, on his mother, his wife and children. John West carries into his family relationships the same ruthlessness and brutality that he uses in his day to day dealings with his racketeer friends and those unfortunates who have dared to cross his path.

West's wife, digusted and humiliated by the realisation that she has married a gangster, turns elsewhers for the happiness. She falls in love with a bricklayer and has an illegitimate child by him. West finds out and his reactions are typical and brutal. For years, Nellie West cannot even leave the house. West never speaks to her, treats her as an outcast, tries to turn the rest of the children against her.

The incident is dealt with in a few pages to throw light on the corruption of family life based on the type of power which West craved. But it is because of these few pages that Hardy has been thrown into jail and is now out on bail awaiting further hearing of his case. A Mrs. Wren, wife of John Wren, a millionaire sportsman and financier, has laid a charge of criminal libel against Hardy. It is typical of the character of the man West, described in the book, that he would crawl behind the protection of his aged wife to bring a charge against the author. Wren, who has played a dominant, behind the scenes role in Australian political and social life for the past fifty years, has been called as a witness by Hardy. But the present campaign aims to put Hardy out of harm's way, to silence him and put the lid back on the sizzling mess of corruption that Hardy has uncovered.

"Power Without Glory" links up financial scandals, murders, faked sporting events and hundreds of incidents well known to every Australian, with the life and intrigues of John West. To an Australian reader many of the characters are recognisable immediately and their connections with events described are readily acknowledged with the clues provided by Hardy's narrative. But the characters can also be recognised in any community where there are powerful men motivated by the lust for money and power, where social-democracy and clericalism walk hand in hand, where money can buy favours from politicians and dispensations from police and judges.

The book is an accurative analysis of society in the heyday of capitalism and the beginning of its decline. It is a first novel by Hardy but it represents a landmark in Australian literary history. He has held the mirror to the political life here and has not hesitated to penetrate to the lowest depths of gangsterism nor into a Cardinal's study to get the reflections right. The book has been criticised by some purists on grounds of crudity of style in parts, but Hardy himself is a son of the working class, he uses the direct, robust language of a worker; the supreme critic, the general public, **has accepted the book which has become the most sensational best-seller ever written in this country.**

SON OF THE WORKING-CLASS

Hardy is thirty-three years of age and left school at the age of twelve, at the beginning of the depression. His father was a factory worker and a left-wing Socialist. Hardy's political education began during the depression years when he worked as a seasonal farm-hand and was often unemployed. He graduated in a correspondence course in drawing and for a time held a job as cartoonist in a radio magazine. He was sacked for trying to organise a union on the staff and in 1939 he joined the Communist Party. During the war he was attached to the Australian Army newspaper "Salt" and had the distinction of leading the only successful strike in the Army for better conditions.

A landmark in Hardy's life as a writer was when he won a short story competition sponsored by the **Guardian,** published by the Victorian Communist Party.

He started working on "Power Without Glory" in 1946 and completed it in 1950. Hardy is a most painstaking worker and together with his wife spent years in research work, patiently digging out the relevant facts in West's period from personal associates, newspaper cuttings, and in some cases Police records. Hardy lived under an assumed name in haunts frequented by West and his contemporaries; he made friends with the criminal underworld; with "old-timers" who could remember details of events forgotten by this generation. Research took Hardy all over Australia, digging out the fragments which pieced together in a mosaic form the most powerful novel yet to come out of Australia.

When the manuscript was finished, no publisher would touch it. Printers at first were scared to set it, the thinly disguised villains in the book were too well-known, too powerful. But there were other printers who felt the book should go out, and the rank and filers were only too anxious to help.

The first edition was printed, but book-sellers refused to handle it. The press ignored it, but the book began to circulate amongst the workers. Hardy's name was known in trade union circles. The Communist bookshops stocked it. Within a few weeks of publication, despite the boycott by booksellers, "Power Without Glory" was a best-seller. The press was forced to "notice" it, the book-sellers began to clamour for it. The first edition of 8,000 copies sold out within a month. (Average good sales for a book in Australia in 12 months are 3,000.)

People read the book with bated breath. Here were the things they knew about, the personalities they had suspected — and many whom they had not suspected — exposed and linked up in a great conspiracy against decency and the public. Every word of the book rang true, enthusiasts prepared glossaries giv-

ing the true names of the judges, politicians, generals, police chiefs, right-wing trade union leaders, newspaper proprietors, financiers, prize-fight promoters, churchmen and the rest. The glossaries were sold "on the black" for half the price of the book itself. Everybody was talking about "The Book" and sometimes, "That book." But there was a strange silence from the racketeers, the Mr. Wests of the book.

TERRORIST METHODS TO GAG A WRITER

Hardy prepared a second edition. Of 55 printers approached only five agreed to help print. Of these two returned the MSS within a few days. Of the three that agreed to print, one ironically was the same printing house that published **Labour Call,** official organ of the Labour Party. And Mr. John West in the book and Mr. John Wren whose wife has charged Hardy with criminal libel is one of the chief backers of the Labour Party. A few days before the second edition was to come off the presses, things began to happen.

Hardy was visited by members of the police "homicide squad" and warned that his life was in danger. He received hints that certain members of the underworld had been told to "get" him. Friends among the Seamen and Waterside Workers' Union decided to send bodyguards to protect Hardy, his wife and their two children. Within two days of the police visit, Hardy was informed by friends at the **Labour Call** printery that "John West" had just heard the book was being printed there and had given orders for it to be seized and burned. The next morning some of Hardy's stalwart worker friends moved in with a two-ton truck and got all the copies away to an undisclosed destination.

The next day Hardy was arrested on a charge of "criminal libel" on information made by Mrs. Wren, who identified herself as the Mrs. West in the book. Hardy was thrown into jail immediately and released on the very high bail of five hundred pounds. (A man charged with robbery with violence was released on a twenty-five pounds bail the same day).

Press publicity over the arrest of Hardy sent orders for the book up to 23,000 within three days. Without any legal authority, police went to book-binders, printers and book-shops and warned them that they would be open to criminal charges if they handled the book. The book-sellers were not intimidated but the binders were. One after another, they refused to touch the job and eventually, Hardy had to turn to the workers again for help.

(Original cartoon, specially drawn for **World Trade Union Movement** by COUNIHAN.)

THE WORKERS COME TO THE RESCUE

Already "Hardy Defence" Committees had sprung into being, formed mainly by distinguished Australian writers and artists, headed by members of the Realist Writers' Group of which Hardy was a foundation member. A group of workers volunteered to learn the art of sewing, glueing and book-binding. Bodies of the books were shifted from shed to shed, house to house overnight, as threats to destroy the book came in.

Often enough the books remained unbound for days and night on end in trucks. Teams of amateur bookbinders worked away every hour of their spare time and the book began to circulate. Factory meetings, union meetings all over Australia pledged support for Hardy. Money was raised for his defence, and the Australian workers saw to it that Hardy could pay for the best defence lawyers. Workers joined together to subscribe for the book and demanded it in their trade union libraries. The booksellers this time were clamoring for books, but Hardy distributed them mainly through trade union organisations and saw to it that the workers and their libraries got the first copies.

On November 27, Hardy came before the Court and at the end of the first day's proceedings, something unprecedented in Australian legal history happened. Wren's counsel demanded that Hardy be refused bail and he was lodged in jail overnight. This has never happened except for a capital charge (murder, rape, or robbery under arms) during a preliminary hearing in an Australian court before. The following day Hardy's release was secured but only after he had been forced to promise not to sell any more copies of the book.

In the meantime, for weeks before the case opened, politicians who apparently recognised themselves in the book made use of their parliamentary privilege to attack the "filthy" book, to accuse Hardy in the most provocative and insulting terms of having slandered "government, church and judiciary." The politicians and cheapjack Catholic Action supporters screamed abuse at Hardy trying to prejudice the public mind before the trial started.

Although the press printed the abuse by the politicians, they refused to publish one letter written by Hardy in his defence. Counsel for Mrs Wren, Mr. Galbally, named two of the characters in the book as the Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Armed Forces, Field Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey who, he said, was charged in the book with having run a racket in brothels, and Mr. Justice Gavan Duffy of the Victorian Supreme Court, who, Galbally told the Court, was accused of having accepted bribes.

The case against Hardy has now been adjourned for several months because of a complicated legal argument as to whether a charge of criminal libel should be heard in a criminal or a civil court. In the meantime Hardy is at liberty but may not distribute his books.

CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

It is hoped that within the next few months a mass campaign will be started throughout the world by all lovers of liberty for the charges to be withdrawn against Hardy, for a resumption of sales of the book and for a restoration to the Australian people of those rights which have been taken away from them during the past few months.

A campaign is being started in Australia itself to restore some of the liberties of which we have been robbed. Trade Unions have swung into action because of an organised campaign by City Councils in refusing halls to the writer of this article to tell the people of developments in the Peoples' Democracies and to tell them of the work being done for peace in Europe. The Building Workers' Union in Victoria has called its men off all Melbourne City Council jobs, until the municipal halls are made available to the people.

The workers are prepared to fight for those who are fighting their cause, they are fighting for the right to read and hear their own spokesmen and the maximum support from the World Trade Union Movement, and from all progressive bodies all over the world is needed to help the Australian workers in their valiant fight.

Footnote: The address of the Hardy Defence Committee is: c/o Democratic Rights Council, 330 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, Australia.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

MALAYA

Wall Street's Record of "Peace and Progress"

"The theme of American propaganda is best epitomised in a pamphlet published by the United States Information Service (USIS) in almost every language under the sun, and bearing the ominously smooth title *Towards Peace and Progress.*

"As a piece of brazen hypocrisy, it surpasses anything the pharisees of old perpetrated . . . It pieces together odd scraps of utterances by various American statesmen from 1776 down to the Truman-Wall-Street dynasty. Its purpose is to show that:

"The first and most important objective of the US foreign policy is the achievement of a lasting world peace based on human welfare.'

"Let us see how the claims of the USIS masterpiece square up with the facts:

"*USIS*: 'Since its foundation as a Nation in 1776, a major aim of the United States has been to avoid war and to maintain peaceful relations with all other nations.'

"*THE TRUTH:*

1844, USA forces China to open treaty ports and to grant extraterritorial rights.

1846, USA wages war against Mexico.

1853, USA forcibly opens Japan for economic penetration.

1870-1900, USA intensifies carve-up of China.

1898, USA subjugates Cuba by war.

1898, USA subjugates Philippines by war.

From 1945, USA militarily intervenes in Greece.

1945-1949, USA militarily intervenes on mainland of China.

July 1948, USA flies arms against Malayan People's Liberation Movement.

1949, USA demands and secures use of naval bases in Indonesia.

1950, USA armed assault against Korea.

June 1950, USA forcibly occupies Formosa.

1950, USA sends military aid and naval units against Viet-Nam.

August 1950, USA sends military mission to Malaya.

August 1950, MacArthur and Matthews threaten to extend US domination 'from Vladivostok to Singapore'.

November 1950, US Senator Beveridge threatens to atom-bomb China, without US Government denial or adverse comment."

The Malayan Monitor,
November 1950.

USA

"Let's Get in Step With Humanity!"

"At this writing, the A-bomb has not been dropped on anybody in the current crisis and probably won't be—thanks to the unflinching opposition of the almost-quarantined peace people of this country and at least 90% of the rest of humanity . . .

"When our last-but-one Secretary of Defense, James V. Forrestal, committed suicide in May, 1949—during what his physicians diagnosed as paranoid delusions that the Russians were invading America—he was proposing a 'defense' budget of $45,000,000,000.

" The *Guardian* noted editorially at the time:

'This obsession about Russia did not originate with James Forrestal nor has it died with him. It is Winston Churchill's whole bill of goods: it created and nourished the criminal lunacy of Goebbels and his Fuehrer. It is the phobia of the industrialist rulers of the United States, Great Britain and their satellites, to whom the USSR represents not a physical threat but a moral one.

'The threatened 'invasion' is not one of arms, but of ideas. The campaign of fear waged by press, radio, government and other institutions falling under the influence of the industrial monopolists is truly a campaign against the people themselves of the whole Western world, Americans included . . .'

"Right or wrong?

"Today, the same bipartisan administration which coughed behind its hand over Mr. Forrestal's impolitic delusions is asking, not 45, but 50 billions. They demand it . . . not any longer under the pretense of defending our shores but for war thousands of miles away.

"The madness which sent Forrestal screaming down the street one night last year with spectral Russians on his tail is now the sole, solemn ingredient in the foreign and domestic policy of our government.

"And yet the Russians still haven't fired a shot, nor lifted a finger except in verbal argument. And their patient neighbors, the Chinese, suffered Forrestal's successors to carry 'defense' right up to and over their borders—6,500 miles from Washington—before they rose up in what our obsessed government is now trying to browbeat the United Nations into characterizing as 'aggression' . . .

"How long, how long before the American people get in step with the rest of humanity and insist on peace?...

"The primary task now, in our opinion as journalists and publicists, is to reopen the minds of wage-earner, consumer and youth to the possibility of economic wellbeing in an economy built on production for peaceful existence rather than for war on fears of war."

Editorial, *National Guardian*.
13-12-50.

GREAT BRITAIN

German Rearmament Makes Mockery of Nazi Defeat

Commenting on a voyage he made to Germany last year, James Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen states:

"The thoughtful German trade union leaders realised that any rearmament, in preparation for war, inevitably meant the return of the Nazi leaders to undisputed power.

"Think what all this means. Such would be a mockery of all that the Allies professed in the Second World War. Millions would have laid down their lives in vain.

"It is, therefore, incumbent on the

Labour Government to make a strong stand for peace.

"Their whole policy should be one designed to bring about reconciliation of the interests of the countries so that the programme put to the British people in 1945 of the building up of economic and political cooperation between the nations, and the establishment of enduring peace should be made realisable in 1951."

Railway Review, January 1951.

BULGARIA

Greek People Fight for Peace

"The Greek people, who are suffering American occupation, are also strengthening their struggle for peace. Despite draconian measures, the peace movement in Greece is not only an underground one and is becoming more and more a mass movement. Strikes take place every day. Banned democratic organisations and parties continue their activities. A network of peace committees covers almost the whole of Greece and through them the number of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal increases daily.

"At the head of this movement is heroic Athens . . . But the inhabitants of the outer areas of Athens are not the only ones to sign the Appeal. Among signers we find 63 writers, professors, journalists and artists living in central Athens.

"The peace movement grows daily wider in Greece.

"The Peace Appeal is signed by thousands of Greek patriots, by representatives of intellectuals thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Many officers and soldiers, clergymen and industrialists are signing for peace and protesting against the sending of Greek detachments to Korea. On the departure of the 529th and 583rd battalions of the 3rd monarcho-fascist Brigade, the soldiers' mothers cried out in protest: 'Give us back our sons!' On their arrival at Lamia (port of embarkation for Korea), the soldiers of these battalions carried out protest demonstrations. They were arrested and persecuted. Some of them deserted. Thousands of leaflets calling the Greek people to resist the sending of detachments to Korea were distributed among the population of the main towns of Greece.

"The fundamental characteristic of the fight for peace is the fact that broad masses of the peasants and artisans are coming over to the side of the working class. Soldiers are doing the same.

"In several parts of the country, detachments of partisans continue to defend the people's rights. They punish the monarcho-fascist criminals, expose the policy of the Athens Government, directed against the people, and collect signatures for peace."

La Bulgarie Nouvelle
(Sofia), 23-12-50.

AUSTRALIA

Unity Determines Life or Death for Peoples

"Some workers today still remain unaware of the vital importance and value of unity in their ranks.

"And in this lack of awareness lies the greatest danger to mankind. For it is no exaggeration to say that upon unity among workers today depends the issue of peace or war — life or death for countless millions.

"Capitalism's rulers know this. They know that unity among themselves is essential to their retention of disproportionate and undeserved power and privilege.

"They also know that against similarly undivided unity of the mighty working class they would stand defeated. That is why they devote their press, radio and films to sowing dissension among the people. That is why they spare no pains to seek out, buy, bribe and corrupt weaker, less militant sections in the trade unions and elsewhere.

"On the day the working people realise fully their strength, capitalism is doomed. By far the greatest force numerically, as well as in terms of importance to present society, in unity the working class is unbeatable, invincible.

"On the efforts of workers world prosperity and progress depend. Without their labour, without their effort, there would be no goods, no food, no homes, nothing. And without one section of the working class producing weapons, carrying guns, wearing uniforms, capitalism's rulers could not make war against other sections of the people.

"It's as simple as that."

Labor News,
8-12-50.

NEW ZEALAND

The Lost Houses

"The workers are organising for peace—to force the nations to settle their quarrels by other means than war. The waste through preventable war robs working people of a fuller life and of those amenities which the politicians say 'the country can't afford'.

"State housing, about which the employing class bitterly complains, is shown by the 1950 Government Budget to account for £57 million of the national debt. But the last war accounts for £201 million of the national debt, four times as much expenditure in five years as 14 years of State housing, and enough to provide adequate homes for all the present population of New Zealand.

"Organise for peace. The workers want better food, houses, recreation, conditions—not preventable war."

Union Record, 2-10-50.

ITALY

CGIL Plans Action for 1951

At a press conference in Rome, CGIL President Di Vittorio set out the 1951 programme of the CGIL as follows:

"1. The fight to maintain and improve the living standards of the working class, to raise wages and salaries, taking into account the practical possibilities in each sector.

"2. The broadening and sharpening of the struggle against unemployment, economic stagnation, and dismissals, and of the fight to stimulate industry, to increase productive investment, to absorb unemployment in useful work, both public and private, and to carry out the Plan of Work and social reforms.

"3. Resolute opposition to all war and rearmament policies; the dilemma of bread or guns with which Italy is faced must be settled in favour of bread and peace.

"4. The fight against intensified exploitation of the workers : establishment of a more humane organisation of labour, more efficient labour safety precautions and prevention of occupational diseases.

"5. Vigorous defence of democratic and trade union rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and firm opposition to all unconstitutional and repressive measures directed against the trade union and social struggle of the workers.

"6. Fight for the rapid achievement of social security reforms, so as to solve the urgent problem of granting an adequate pension to old workers and adequate allowances to people suffering from illness or accidents.

"7. The demand for the application of the trade union law, in conformity with Article 39 of the Constitution which recognises the legal existence of trade unions and authorises the signing of collective labour agreements by unitary and proportional trade union representation, with compulsory application to all persons in the category covered by the contract. The CGIL will furthermore oppose any law repressing trade union activities, such a law being in addition unconstitutional and an attack on the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

"8. The convening of a great national conference of Italian youth for the purpose of solving the grave problems facing young unemployed workers and students, who have no future ahead of them; the solution to be determined by all youth without regard for party affiliation.

"9. Development of solidarity and aid for those workers who are most hard hit by unemployment and poverty.

"10. Strengthening of the pro-unity character of the CGIL, and development of agreement and united action among workers of all opinions in order to strengthen the defence of workers' rights, to consolidate and generalise fraternal solidarity among all Italian workers."

Avanti, 27-12-50.

USSR

The Age of Stalin is the Age of Construction

"A new construction plan has been added to the great Stalin plans for the building of Communism. The decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR which has just been published concerns the construction of a navigable canal between the Volga and the Don and land irrigation in the Rostov and Stalingrad regions...

"The Soviet people are defenders of peace. All their thoughts are directed towards the construction by creative and peaceful labour of their radiant and happy future. The achievement of the great Stalin construction plans, including the Volga-Don Canal, is a further proof of the Soviet Government's peaceful policy and its constant concern for the well-being of the Soviet peoples.

"It is difficult to appreciate the full importance for the peoples' economy of the construction of a navigable canal between the Volga and the Don and of the associated irrigation systems. The Russian people's age-old desire to link up the 5 seas by a single navigable network will come true. Cargo transport will also be speeded up all over our immense country. Hundreds of thousands of acres of semi-desert and drought-ridden land in two great regions will be irrigated and water reserves established. The threat of drought will disappear for ever and a tremendous area will be transformed into rich fields of wheat and cotton, flowering gardens, vineyards, forests and fat grasslands. Thousands of collective farms on these lands will receive electric power. Electric tractors will work in the fields. The life of village workers will become finer and richer.

"The construction of the Volga-Don Canal will be completed in 1951. It will be about 65 miles long, with 13 locks, 3 barrages, pumping stations, wharves, bridges and other constructions at the Tsimliamsk hydroelectric station, with a reservoir containing 12,600 million cubic metres of water to regulate the level, a 160,000 kw hydro-electric station at the Tsimliamsk barrage to provide cheap electricity for agriculture and industry in the irrigated areas.

"In the spring of 1952, the Volga-Don Canal, and the Tsimliamsk hydroelectric station will begin working. During the period 1951-1956, a huge irrigation system will be constructed. A main canal from the Don, 120 miles long with 355 miles of auxiliary distribution canals will make it possible to irrigate nearly 2 million acres of land and establish water reserves in an area of nearly 5 million acres which will be primarily used for sowing wheat and planting cotton. The collective and State farms will be able to make an extensive use of electricity for fuller mechanisation of work needing considerable manpower in stockraising and other branches of production."

Trud, 28-12-50.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

January 1

USSR. — The Soviet Government publishes its answer to the Note sent by the United States, Great Britain and France accepting conditionally the Soviet proposal for a meeting of the four Foreign Ministers.

The Soviet Government reaffirmed that the demilitarisation of Germany is "the most acute problem for Europe" because of its importance for the consolidation of peace and international security. Referring to its Note of November 3 and the Prague Declaration, it accepts the proposal to hold a preliminary conference of the Foreign Ministers' representatives but states that "examination of the problems which have to be discussed at the session of the four Foreign Ministers itself will not constitute the task of such a preliminary discussion." The Soviet Government proposes for reasons of practical convenience that this conference be held not in New York but in Moscow, London or Paris.

MALAYA. — Repeating former protests at discriminatory measures taken by the British, the Government of the Chinese People's Republic demands that the British Government cease persecution of Chinese residents in Malaya.

FRANCE. — By 416 votes to 180, the National Assembly passes the 740 milliard franc military budget for 1951. Throughout the country opposition grows to the rearmament plan imposed by the United States, which is crushing the taxpayer and paralysing the economic reconstruction of peacetime industries.

January 2

USA. — As a result of Wall Street's war drive, corporate profits for 1950 are estimated to be

$23,500,000,000 *after taxes*. This is the largest figure in US history, surpassing the former peak year (1948) by nearly $3 billion.

POLAND. — As a result of the decreased cost of national production and the application of the recent currency reform, the Polish Government decides to carry out a big price cut for a certain number of current consumer items and capital goods. The cut ranges between 15 and 37 %.

FRANCE. — In continuation of the policy of hostility arising directly from the Atlantic Pact, the Government bans the entry and circulation in France of the Soviet publications "USSR," "Soviet Woman," "Soviet Literature," "Ogoniok" and "Crocodile."

January 3

USA. — As a direct result of the huge rearmament programme, the new tax bill signed by President Truman raises tax receipts to a new annual high figure, higher even than the record war year, 1945. The President warns that even this new bill will prove inadequate and that he will ask for more later.

BURMA. — The American Mission orders the right-wing "Socialist" Government of Thakin Nu to join the US blockade of People's China.

CHINA. — Representatives of people's organisations, the army, the factories, governmental institutions and the schools meet in Shanghai to welcome back delegates to the 2nd World Peace Congress and

January 4

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Cabinet appeals to the Executive Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers for 3 million extra tons of coal by the end of April 1951. On behalf of the Executive Committee, General Secretary Arthur Horner replies that the union cannot guarantee the fulfilment of any promise while the question of wages remains unsolved. The union has a claim in for increased pensions, two holidays with pay and double time for Saturday work.

PERU. — A dynamite explosion kills 120 workers and wounds 71 at the hydro-electric dam on the Santa River, at Condor Hill near Chimbote. Last October an avalanche at the same spot had already cost the lives of 20 workers.

January 5

USA. — In a speech to the Senate, Senator Robert Taft declares that President Truman acted illegally —"amply usurping authority, in violation of the laws and the Constitution"—in sending American troops to Korea without Congressional approval, and that the sending of troops to Europe without such approval would also be illegal. The debate on present US foreign policy and its consequences is deeply stirring American public opinon.

— The settlement of the wage and hour dispute for the railroad unions, announced between the carriers and the union leaders, backfired when the rank and file of all four operating railroad unions overwhelmingly turned down the proposed agreement and sent their leaders back to Washington to seek better terms.

January 7

UNITED NATIONS. — The UNO Secretariat announces that the representatives of the USA, Great Britain, Peru and Chiang Kai-shek on the Agenda Committee of the Economic and Social Council have voted against the recommendation to include on the agenda for the Council's 12th session the WFTU's report and proposals on the fall in the workers' living standards as a result of war economy. The representatives of France and the USSR were the only ones to vote for the WFTU's proposal.

GREECE. — Democrats are arrested en masse in the main provincial towns, in particular in Serres and Amaliade.

January 8

FRANCE. — Paris workers demonstrate strongly against the presence of General Eisenhower, the rearmament of Germany he symbolises, and the war preparation mission with which he is charged

in Western Europe. More than a thousand factories take part in the patriotic strike. Hundreds of delegations hand in protests to the "provisional" American HQ in the Astoria Hotel. The protest movement extends throughout France.

— The Government makes known the content of the French reply (sent January 5) to the Soviet Note (sent December 15) on the violation of the Franco-Soviet friendship agreement. The French reply does its best to excuse rearmament plans for Western Germany by calling them "defensive," and adds that France "will oppose the utilisation of Germany as a base for aggression."

USA. — Delivering his annual State of the Union message to Congress, President Truman concentrates on what has become the keynote of US policy: to ensure large profits for the big warmongering monopolies by stepping up US rearmament and enforcing that of its satellites.

January 9

INDIA. — A Joint Public Committee, representing 12 trade unions, is set up in New Delhi to collect signatures for a petition demanding the release of 17 Hyderabad peasants condemned to death.

January 10

USA. — In line with the present trend of Truman Government policy, Secretary of Defence General George Marshall recommends that the draft age be lowered to include men reaching their 18th birthday, and that the length of service under the draft be extended to 27 months from the present 21 months.

AUSTRALIA. — A 24-hour dock strike is called in all Australian ports to protest against a decision awarding dockers only 10s. 8d. increase in their basic wage as against £1 claimed by the Water-side Workers' Federation.

January 11

ALBANIA. — The people celebrate amid great enthusiasm the fifth anniversary of the People's Republic.

FRANCE. — The Government bans the circulation in France of the weekly "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy."

MALAYA. — The British authorities announce emergency measures for the control of schools, giving the Government power to close any school teaching allegedly 'political propaganda'.

CHINA. — On behalf of the All-China Railway Workers' Federation, its President, Li Chieh-po, protests to the Fukushima Court against the framed condemnation of 20 Japanese railway workers for alleged sabotage at Matsukawa.

ITALY. — The Executive Committee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) sends to the other two Italian trade union centres (Christian Workers' Confederation and the right-wing Socialist Italian Workers' Union) an open letter proposing joint action, nationally and internationally, for disarmament and the defence of peace.

The open letter also proposes that the three Italian trade union centres make a joint approach to the two existing international trade union organisations so that the Italian workers' proposal may be extended to other countries and that there may be a coordination of joint action for safeguarding peace among the peoples and creating an international situation favourable to general disarmament.

January 12

NEW ZEALAND. — A trade agreement is announced whereby New Zealand is to supply meat to the USA for the first time. This agreement is generally interpreted as a victory for the American meat monopolies over British interests in New Zealand.

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Certain articles published in WORKERS' ACTION MOVEMENT are reprinted separately. The following have so far been reprinted in English:

GREEK SEAMEN FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS
by Nicolas KALOUDIS,
General Secretary
Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
(from N° 13)

LONDON GAS STRIKERS SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT
by Dave MURPHY
(from N° 13)

A HUNGARIAN METAL WORKER WINS HIS PLACE ON THE CITY COUNCIL
by John TOMOR
(from N° 14)

MASS SOLIDARITY BACKS AUSTRALIAN GLASS WORKERS' STRIKE
by L.J. McPhillips,
General Secretary
Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia
(from N° 14)

CONDITIONS OF BRITISH MINERS
by Jock FITZWILLIAM
(from N° 15)

GANGSTER METHODS IN THE C.I.O.
by Rod HOLMGREN
(from N° 1, 1950)

POLITICAL RACKETEERS ATTEMPT TO GAG AUSTRALIAN WORKING-CLASS WRITER
by Wilfred BURCHETT
(from N° 2, 1950)

These reprints are free, and are at the disposal of workers in trade unions and conutries particularly interested in the subjects dealt with and who for various reasons do not yet know of or read the WFTU's Review. Copies can be ordered from the WFTU, 1 rue Vernet, Paris (8e).

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW ☆ FEBRUARY 5, 1951 ☆ No 3

The efforts of the warmongers and of those who seek to stamp out democratic liberties are meeting with the ever growing resistance of the peoples, for whom a stable peace, fraternal international cooperation and the failure of the plans of the reactionary forces are a vital necessity.

(Resolution on the General Policy and Struggle of the WFTU for Peace, the Democratic Rights of the Peoples and for International Trade Union Unity — 2nd World Trade Union Congress, Milan, June 20-July 10, 1949.)

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Special Announcement

by the

World Federation of Trade Unions

THE President, General Secretary and Secretaries of the W. F. T. U. have studied the situation created by the decree issued by the Minister of the Interior of the French Government and revoking the decree which authorised the W. F. T. U. to locate its head office in France.

There has been talk of the « disbanding » of the W. F. T. U. : this is out-of-place. No government has the power to order the disbanding of the W. F.T. U., which is an international organisation established by the free will of trade union organisations in 64 countries.

Faithfully complying with the general feeling of workers throughout the world, the W. F. T. U affirms that it will continue to carry out the task assigned to it since 1945 when it was founded in Paris. The world trade union organisation of the workers is more than ever necessary to promote social progress and welfare, to consolidate mutual aid and international solidarity among workers, friendship and co-operation among all peoples without regard for race, or political, or religious creed, in order to safeguard world peace.

Furthermore, the W. F. T. U. questions the legality of the decree taken against it on the grounds that the French Government's decision is contrary to France's international obligations since the W. F. T. U. has legal standing at U. N. O. The W. F. T. U. has therefore decided to appeal before the competent jurisdiction against the French Government's decree.

At the same time, it has decided to convene a meeting in Warsaw, for February 17 and 18, of the Executive Bureau of the W. F. T. U., this being the competent body to choose a temporary site for the head office of the W. F. T. U.

The Secretariat warmly congratulates the French C. G. T. for its effective assistance to the W. F. T. U. and heartily thanks the workers and people of France for the friendly hospitality they have given to the world organisation of the workers.

In view of this situation, affiliated trade union organisations are asked to send, as from today, all correspondence to the President of the W.F.T.U., Comrade G. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the C. G. I. L., Corso d'Italia, Rome, until the Executive Bureau takes a decision concerning the head office of the W. F. T. U.

MILAN, February 3, 1951.

THE "COUP DE FORCE" AGAINST THE W. F. T. U.

ON January 26, the **Journal Officiel** of the French Republic published the following decree :

« *Dissolution of the foreign association known as the World Federation of Trade Unions.*

» *The Minister of the Interior,*

» *Considering the decree (Order in Council) dated 12th April 1939 concerning the setting-up of foreign associations, amended by the decree dated 1st September 1939 ;*

» *Considering the decree dated 1st June 1939 ;*

» *Considering the temporarily applicable law of 27th July 1940, concerning the form of individual administrative acts ;*

» *Considering the order dated 19th April 1946 authorising the setting-up of the World Federation of Trade Unions, 1 rue Vernet, Paris ;*

» *On a proposal made by the Director-General of the Sûreté Nationale,*

» *Orders :*

» *Art. 1. — The order of 19th April 1946 authorising the setting-up of the foreign association known as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the headquarters of which are at 1, rue Vernet, Paris 8e, is hereby revoked.*

» *Art. 2. — The leaders of the dissolved association shall proceed to liquidate the property within a month from the notification of the present decision.*

» *Art. 3. — The present order shall be put into effect by the Prefect of Police.*

» *Paris, 24th January, 1951.*

» *Henri QUEUILLE.* »

As the W. F. T. U. pointed out in a press communique on January 26 :

« *The French Government's hasty decision violates the elementary rules of courtesy towards an international organisation, with which preliminary conversations should have taken place* ».

» *In taking this decision, the French Government has completely ignored a very important fact, the fact that the W.F.T.U. is an organisation recognised by U.N.O. and endowed with Consultative Status, Category A, (the most important category) in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.*

» *The Economic and Social Council, which has closely associated our organisation with its work, has thereby acknowledged the capacity of the W.F.T.U. to contribute effectively to the achievement of the aim of the United Nations as defined in the Charter.*

» *In these circumstances, we do not believe that the French Government means to permanently prevent the regular and legal functioning of an organisation which is part of the total structure of the United Nations.*

» *We think that the French Government will take into account these international obligations and the respect that it owes, as a member of U.N.O., to certain obligations to which it has solemnly subscribed.* »

⁂

THE W. F. T. U. immediately sent the following telegram to the Secretary General of the United Nations :

» *The* Journal Officiel *of the French Republic published on January 26, 1951, the text of a decree of the Minister of the Interior, dated January 24, annulling authorisation for the W.F.T.U. to function in France.*

» *This act constitutes a cynical violation of the obligations assumed by the French Government as a member of U.N.O.*

» *The Economic and Social Council, in granting the rights of Category A status to the W.F.T.U., recognised the capacity of our organisation to contribute to the achievement of the principles and aims of the Charter.*

» *By preventing our legal and normal activity, the French Government is obstructing the functioning of one of the organisations of the United Nations.*

» *The W.F.T.U. protests vigorously against the above-mentioned measure, and requests you to intervene with the appropriate French authorities.* »

FIRST PROTESTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

AS we go to press we can already report the first demonstrations in which, throughout the world, the working class immediately made its protest heard, and expressed its determination to defend the W. F. T. U.

Among these earliest protests were the following :

From Tokio, the Liaison Bureau of the Japanese Trade Unions ; the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C. T. A. L.); the Unified Trade Union Centre (E. V. C.) of the Netherlands; the General Union of Workers and Peasants of Mexico; the Transport Workers Trade Unions International ; the Paris building workers (C. G. T.) ; the National Committee of the French Railway Workers' Union; the Italian Transport Workers Federation; the General Confederation of Workers of Rumania; the Hungarian Trade Unions; the Confederation of Trade Unions of Oran; the Trade Union Federation of the city of Oran; the U. S. T. T. (Tunisian trade union centre); the Council and personnel of the Municipal Administration of Weimar; the Trades Council and Labour municipal councillors of Bologne; the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions ; the Masons' Trade Union of Copenhagen district; the Executive Bureau of the Miners' Unified Trade Union of Belgium; the Coordination Committee of the Confederated Trade Unions of Algeria; the trade unions of Morocco ; the International Organisation of Journalists ; the Confederation of Workers of Cuba.

And the protests continue. Every day, many more are received, from all parts of the world.

⁂

IN a message sent to the National Centres of Latin-America, Vicente LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U. and President of the C. T. A. L., described the Government measure as a « grave attack on the ancient tradition of French liberalism ». It was proof that « fear is increasing in imperialist and reactionary circles in face of the tremendous successes of the W. F. T. U. in the struggle to unite all the workers of the warld for the defence of their class interests and for the sacred cause of peace ».

GROWING WAVE OF PROTEST MEETINGS

In Copenhagen, workers' deputations called at the French Embassy where they handed protest resolutions.

In France itself, the workers were responding to the appeal launched by the C. G. T. for united action of all workers, in every enterprise and locality. It called on the workers to pass resolutions demanding the annulling of the decree, and to organise demonstrations, protests and work stoppages.

The seamen of Le Havre, at a general meeting on January 27th attended by 2,000 people, passed an unanimous resolution protesting against German rearmament and against the Government decrees.

On January 29, in answer to the call of the local federation of trade unions, workers in many enterprises of Le Havre downed tools for their demands and in protest against the Government decrees. The work stoppage was complete in a number of metallurgical and building enterprises.

In the ports of Calais, Boulogne and Dunkirk the dockers stopped work at 2 p. m. on January 31, and were joined by the workers of a number of enterprises. The merchant seamen of Dunkirk stopped work at noon. From 6 p. m. on, the population of these ports joined in important protest demonstrations. The metalworkers of the Gennevilliers electrical power centre downed tools for half an hour, and work-stoppage meetings took place in numerous factories and works of the Paris region.

The Executive Committee of the C. G. T. union at the big Renault automobile factory called on the workers to impose the annulling of the decree. A similar resolution was passed at a regional conference of delegates from textile factories of the Seine, Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne departments.

The miners of Montceau-les-Mines struck work for 15 minutes, and the building workers of Le Bourget for half an hour.

Others who downed tools in protest included the miners of Miliano in Algeria, and the miners of Redeyef in Tunisia.

⁂

THE French Government was also being deluged with protests against the decrees « dissolving » the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. For example, the Danish committee of the W. F. D. Y. sent a telegram to the Minister of the Interior, stressing that one result of this attack will be the strengthening of the struggle of world youth for peace and against the American imperialists and all who support their war policy.

TAKING THE LEAD

FOR LABOUR UNITY

TWO years ago, the leaders of the British TUC and the American CIO attempted to wipe out the WFTU. Then, a year later, in the wake of the reactionary leaders of the AFL, they created an international organisation which they baptised the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions". In this way, they faithfully carried out the instructions of the State Department.

This Confederation is entitled "free" because of its isolation and freedom from everything connected with the workers' demands and the workers' action to back up these demands.

When this organisation approaches the workers, it does so in order to fight them, in order to seek to defeat the action freely decided on by the workers themselves. The principle of the Scab International is not based on the idea that "the emancipation of the workers will be achieved by the workers themselves." On the contrary, it is based on the absurd idea that the emancipation of the workers will be carried out by an organisation which is permanently in opposition to the workers themselves. Nothing could be more fundamentally unnatural.

For the past year, the leaders of the Scab International have, by their actions, amply confirmed this estimation of their attitude.

Never before in the history of the international labour movement has there been such a continuous outpouring of hatred, lies, slander, forgery and distortions as since the time when the leaders of the Scab International made these shameful methods the pivot of their machinations against the WFTU.

In January 1949, they proposed in an underhand manner the disbanding of the WFTU. They plotted to achieve this aim and they met with defeat.

They then intensified their policy of disrupting the ranks of the working class. They had made an attack on the WFTU in order to smash it from within, but this undertaking was beyond their powers. They then engineered the split, and attempted to make it impossible for us to maintain links with the workers in a number of countries. Once again they failed. The WFTU

is stronger and more active than ever because it is more directly linked with the mass of workers, including those of the USA and Great Britain. The success of this Review plus the ever growing support from the workers for the WFTU's programme, testifies to the truth of this statement. It is not an argument put forward for propaganda purposes. The leaders of the Scab International are only too well aware of this, and it worries them. They are working out plans to intensify their attacks against the workers' world organisation.

***

BUT to attack the WFTU inevitably means to attack the working masses and their interests. They know this is so. Even when they intersperse their diatribes against the WFTU with a small dose of demagogic propaganda for demands, the real charactor of their reactionary policy does not pass unnoticed by the workers as a whole. They know very well how to detect it and events help them to do so.

For the workers, the situation is clear. In their eyes, the WFTU is the international trade union organisation whose entire policy is centred on unity of the workers without any discrimination or exception. In contrast, they see the ICFTU in the light of its diabolical resolve to disunite and divide the workers by sowing hatred among them, by spreading a spirit of discrimination, and by seeking only to create dissension.

For the workers, whatever country they live in, the WFTU is the **unity organisation** which knows only one enemy—the age-long enemy, the exploiters of the people.

For these same workers, the ICFTU is the **divisionist organisation** which aims its blows solely at the workers who control their own destinies in the USSR or in the People's Democracies, and at their brothers fighting, under a capitalist regime or in colonial territories, against the exploiters of the people.

This is why any action by the workers for their economic and social demands, for unity and peace; which is not accompanied by a warning against the real role and objectives of the leaders of the ICFTU would be from the outset characterised by a weakness harmful to the cause of peace, unity and the workers' demands.

The clear exposure to the workers, by means of revealing facts, of what the gang of leaders of the ICFTU really are—and there is no shortage of such facts—therefore means the guarantee of success for the workers struggle.

In exposing the Scab International, we must not use its own favourite method of argument, insult, nor must we use sonorous phrases which attempt to summarise the whole situation in one sentence.

The workers quite correctly demand something else in revealing the true nature of the Scab International. We must expose the vast scheme for deceiving the workers which the State Department put into application the day it ordered the creation of the ICFTU. This scheme must be laid bare by means of well-founded arguments containing concrete and significant examples.

We should remember that the actions of the ICFTU leaders, their written and spoken statements and interventions, provide a mass of perfectly clear evidence as to what the ICFTU really is. This mass of evidence must be brought to the knowledge of the workers together with information on the WFTU's activities, its programme, aims and decisions.

***

THE workers' verdict is certain. We must put our confidence in them and everywhere and always take the lead of the fight for their vital needs and for their just aspirations, seeking aid in this work from the international trade union policy laid down by our Congresses.

The leaders of the ICFTU could never do this because the last thing they were put in their posts for was to carry out such action, and because this organisation was not created to lead the labour movement but to undermine the ranks of the working class from within so as to divert it from its objectives.

The fundamental divorce between the workers' aspirations and desires, and the policy followed by the Scab International provides big opportunities for explaining our correct unity policy to the working masses. It is not only necessary to explain this policy to the workers; it must also be continuously applied and placed in the service of both their immediate and their more long-term aims.

The application of this unity policy, based on the natural understanding which exists among the workers, on the spirit of solidarity and international mutual assistance, must not be confined to the ranks of trade union organisations affiliated to the WFTU. **We must take it right into the ranks of the trade unions which are not affiliated to the WFTU. We must make it understandable to the immense mass of still unorganised workers in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.**

Let us examine the warnings given by the Scab International leaders against this unity policy whose application we are calling for everywhere. "This means the infiltration of our organisations," they scream. "We must take measures to protect them."

If these reactionary trade union leaders are forced to protect themselves against a policy of workers' unity, this means that they are forced to protect themselves **against the workers.**

***

WE have entered into a phase in which our unity policy must be intensified, not only to render it more effective in the action we must carry on in defence of peace and the well-being of the working people, but also because it helps to achieve a still clearer exposure of the splitters in the eyes of the workers.

The application of a unity policy, taking the form of concrete proposals for unity in clearly defined actions, must not be regarded as a manoeuvre aimed against the splitters. If this were the case, this policy would be one of unity in name alone. It must be considered as a means of expanding the workers' mass action, which is the essential thing. A policy can only be termed a unity policy when it unites in action workers of all opinions—

non-party, Communists, Socialists, believers and unbelievers. It is in this case alone that the unity policy, transformed into a policy of action, can reveal the reactionary anti-labour character of the splitters.

We would quote, in support of our affirmation, the example of the lead given by the Italian General Confederation of Labour in January This trade union organisation, which is by far the most powerful in Italy, did not hesitate to approach the two other organisations in that country and propose common action for peace. This proposal was based on a minimum programme perfectly acceptable to all Italian workers, irrespective of political and religious opinions.

Was this a manoeuvre? No, it was not a manoeuvre. The subject, the question of the preservation of peace, is far too serious. A lead had to be given because, peace, the common property of all, had to be defended. It is to the CGIL's credit to have made proposals for common action to all the members of the two organisations whose leaders had split the Italian trade union movement and are fighting daily—but without success—against the mighty CGIL.

What remains of the CGIL's proposals? They have preserved intact their entire value in spite of the refusal by the leaders of the other two organisations. The CGIL was not the one which manoeuvred around its proposal which is full of logic and humanitarian and proletarian common sense. It It was the divisionist leaders who were obliged to manoeuvre around and against the proposal.

All the Italian workers know perfectly well who is doing the manoeuvring and scheming, and concealing the truth in order to deceive them and reject concrete, effective and decisive action for peace.

The CGIL's authority in Italy has become greater as a result of the initiative it took. It had nothing to lose. The two dissident organisations would not have lost by agreeing either But their leaders did not want to. They, and they alone, are responsible for this. The essential point is that the CGIL is always ready to reach an understanding with them on this proposal for common action, while common action among the rank-and-file, in the factories, towns and villages has taken on fresh impetus in spite of the hostility of the divisionist leaders.

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*

IS this example valid solely for Italy? It could be valid for many other countries as well. It proves that we must not merely say that we are in favour of unity, but **we must be capable of taking the necessary initiative to prove to the working masses that we stand for unity.**

When one stands for unity, one must not, in pursuing this aim, consider the opinion held on this subject by a particular person whose divisionist or sectarian attitude is well known; **one must primarily and above all consider the mass of workers to whom the unity proposals are addressed and for whom unity is necessary.**

On the basis of this principle, the WFTU Executive Bureau made a number of recommendations in December 1950, in its resolution on the tasks of the trade union movement in Latin America.

The Executive Bureau considered that the primary objective of the

Latin-American trade union movement was the achievement of united action by the workers. It indicated that :

> "unity must be organised among the rank-and-file, in work places as well as in each branch of industry, and on the local and national level, to defend the essential interests of the working class. This unity of action must be organised around concrete and immediate objectives capable of rallying the broadest masses of workers."

The Executive Bureau went on to say :

> "it is also necessary to rid the trade union movement of sectarianism—which is an obstacle to common action—by strengthening the unity of all workers, whether organised or not, and regardless of their trade union or political affiliations or religious beliefs."

Current events have given additional force to these recommendations which are barely two months old. How open to censure appears the attitude of the Scab International in comparison with these unity recommendations! The Scab International is condemned by its own move to bring about a far-reaching split within the Latin-American trade union movement by calling a Conference in Mexico City, the aim of which, according to the correspondent of the "Agence France-Press," was "to disrupt and if possible replace the CTAL," and it did not come out of this Conference unscathed.

The fact that the Conference was a resounding fiasco, that it was the scene of violent skirmishes between the delegations present, and that the representatives of the ICFTU and the AFL used threats as their arguments, is due to the fact that in general, the Latin-American working class was not represented at this Conference. The Conference rapidly appeared in its true light, even to the least informed, as a manoeuvre by the agents of North-American imperialism to seize control of the activities of the Latin-American trade unions for the benefit of this imperialism.

The correspondent of the "Agence France-Presse" spoke of a third attempt to "**disrupt**" the CTAL, affiliated to the WFTU and "**hitherto covering the most important national trade union organisations of the continent.**"

This third attempt will meet with even bigger failure than the other two. This failure will be all the more overwhelming since the most important trade union organisations—those affiliated to the WFTU—will be capable of **applying** the unity policy which they approved at their joint meeting with the WFTU Executive Bureau.

There is no doubt that in this case too, the spirit of initiative shown in applying this unity policy is the surest guarantee of its success among the workers.

We mus therefore know how to take the necessary lead—which is the basis for future success. The more the leaders of the Scab International seek to smash the unity of the labour movement, the greater are our responsibilities in immediately or eventually rendering these divisionist activities ineffective; the greater must also be our lead in favour of unity, which must take the form of united action.

We must know how to take the lead in uniting the workers : this is the way to make the meaning of our unity policy understandable to the workers.

Louis SAILLANT

Big Business

in the

United States Government

This revealing document, showing in a glaring light the financial and business connections of Truman appointees to key Government positions in the United States, was prepared by the Research Department of District Five (Canadian Branch) of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

A few additions have been made in order to bring it up-to-date by including recent appointees, who have further strengthened Big Business' grip on the American Government.—Ed.

IN the United States, Big Business exerts a very powerful influence on government.

The forms of Big Business influence on government in Canada have never been thoroughly investigated, and are particularly complicated because the inter-connections with American big business are very difficult to trace.

The American picture has been much more fully explored, and we have been able to gather together in these notes information on a number of the key Truman appointees to government posts that indicates in part how big business control of government operates in the United States.

Here then are brief sketches of some of the men who are, or who have been, put in the most important positions in the American government under the Truman administration, based on information from Poor's *Directory of Directors*, the *Dictionary of Current Biography*, the *National Guardian*, *In Fact*, and various magazine and newspaper items and books. Many of the more dramatic events referred to are fully documented in the recent book *High Treason*, by Albert E. Kahn.

For convenient reference the men dealt with are listed below:

Dean G. ACHESON
Alexander I. ANDERSON
Warren P. AUSTIN
Colonel Sosthenes BEHN
Eugene R. BLACK
Robert S. BOGDEN
Everett CASE
Cyrus CHING
General Lucius CLAY
Lewis W. DOUGLAS
Major Gen. Wm. H. DRAPER
Allen W. DULLES
Bonner FELLERS
Jas. V. FORRESTAL
Dr. Raymond B. FOSDICK
Philip GAETHKE
Robert L. GARNER
Walter GIFFORD
Philip GLOVER
J. Woodal GREEN
Brandon GROVER
Robert A. HANES
W. Averell HARRIMAN
William Henry HARRISON
William R. HEROD
Peter HOGLUND
Phillip C. JESSUP
Louis A. JOHNSON
Eric JOHNSTON
Ben LOCKE
Robert A. LOVETT
General Douglas MACARTHUR
General George C. MARSHALL
Francis P. MATTHEWS
Chester McCLAIN
John J. McCLOY
Robert McCONNELL
Paul NITZE
George W. PERKINS
Kenneth STOCKTON
Mark STRUN
W. Stuart SYMINGTON
Alan VALENTINE
James WEBB
Sidney J. WEINBERG
Lawrence WILKINSON
Charles B. WILSON
J. D. WITTEMORE
General WOOG
Rufus WYSOR
Edward ZDUNEK

Over a period of time there have been a series of careful studies made of the structure of American business which have shown that there are eight major financial groups operating in that country, which among them directly control some 30 per cent. of the total assets of all American industry. Of these, by far the

largest is Morgan's, which controls, among other Companies, General Electric, Phelps Dodge and American Telephone and Telegraph (*e.g.*, in Canada Bell Telephone, Northern Electric, Amalgamated Electric), followed by Kuhn Loeb, Rockefeller, a Chicago group, Mellon (which controls Westinghouse), du Pont, a Boston group, and a Cleveland group.

These groups exercise their industrial control through a wide variety of channels. Most of us are familiar with the more public devices of interlocking directorates, majority of dominant stock ownership, etc. Still other methods are less well known. Banks are often dominated by the financial group, and in turn control the financing of business firms : such as Morgan's Bankers Trust, Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, J. Henry Schroder, associated with Morgan and Rockefeller.

Investment houses do the same thing: like Brown Bros. and Harriman Co. (A. Averell Harriman, Robert Lovett) and Dillon and Read Co. (Paul Nitze, James V. Forrestal, W. H. Draper). Firms of corporation lawyers serve the central group and the firms associated with it : like Sullivan and Cromwell (J. F. and Allen Dulles). There are also close ties of intermarriage, family relationships, etc. These less well known methods are often the ones to be watched in looking for clues as to industry's control of government.

Frequently too there are interconnections between these major financial groups themselves, and all of them have international connections through banking arrangements, cartels, directorships, etc., with dominant business groups in other countries, forming a whole world network of economic and political controls emanating from Wall Street.

It is nothing new for the spokesmen of these great financial interests to move into key government posts through which they can dominate the whole government machinery. That was the pattern under Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Most of them disappeared under the Roosevelt New Deal when these groups were openly fighting the President and his policies, but they began to move back in during World War II as the price they exacted for business participation in the war effort. And they have been moving back in at an increasing pace under President Truman.

At the same time there has been an increasing interrelation between key business and government posts and posts directly in the military machine. Wartime Generals and Admirals frequently " retired " to lucrative key jobs in industry. At the same time key financial and business men sought ranks in the army, navy or air force, particularly in the occupation zones of Germany and Japan where they stayed long enough to reestablish their pre-war cartel connections. Still others have been shifting back and forth between civilian, government and military posts, and have been welding a close tie-up of military Brass Hats, government administrators in key posts, and big business and finance.

Some of the recent key Truman appointments have been as follows :

IN PRODUCTION AND LABOR

Wage Stabilization Director

(in charge of wage freeze which Truman has power to order) :

Cyrus Ching (Du Pont), appointed 1950.

On leave from Du Pont's United States Rubber Co., where his title is Director of Industrial and Public Relations. Moved up from Director of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, previous government job under Truman.

In 1930's was one of a group of key financial and industrial men who set up a " Special Conference Committee," which was in fact the secret " general staff " of the big business campaign against Roosevelt and the New Deal. This " Special Committee " also included : Gifford (see below), General Electric's Owen D. Young, U.S. Steel's Edward R. Stettinius Jr.; from the Du Pont Group, General Motors' Alfred P. Sloan, E.I. Du Pont de Nemours Company's Lammont du Pont ; from the Rockefeller group, Standard Oil of New Jersey's F. W. Abrams, and from the Mellon group, Westinghouse's Fred A. Merrick.

National Security Resources Board Chairman

(in charge of manpower mobilization for war economy) :

W. Stuart Symington (Morgan and Rockefeller), appointed 1950. Previously Truman appointee as Air Force Secretary (1947-50), Assistant Secretary of War for Air Force (1946-47), head of Surplus Property Administration (1945-46).

Former president of Emerson Electric Manufacturing Co. Comes of wealthy family that owned Gould Storage Battery Co. among others. Married daughter of Republican Congressman James W. Wadsworth, a Morgan man in the House of Representatives for years and one of the group who " sold " the presidential nomination to Harding in 1920. Through Wadsworth linked to Payne Whitney family, associated with both Morgan and Rockefeller.

Symington became protégé of Charles S. Payson (also married into Payne Whitney family), who helped finance the fascist " hate " work of Mervin K. Hart.

Symington was brought into government job by another Payson protégé, Artemus Gates, president of Morgan's New York Trust Co. and on board of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune,* who was close friend of James Forrestal (see below).

★

National Production Authority Head

(in charge of material allocations, etc.) :

William Henry Harrison (Morgan), appointed 1950.

President and Director of Morgan's International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., international arm of American Telephone and Telegraph, of which he was formerly Vice-President. In Government in World War II in Office of Production Management, with army rank 1942 of Brigadier General and 1943 of Major General (temporary).

★

Economic Stabilization Agency Head

(in charge of prices, etc.) :

Alan Valentine (Morgan), appointed 1950. Recommended by Morgan man, Republican Congressman and banker James Wadsworth, to W. S. Symington, his son-in-law. Valentine was formerly President of the University of Rochester, is director of Bausch and Lomb Optical Company (prosecuted 1946 for cartel agreement with American Optical Co.), and of railway, bank and sulphur companies. Director of Rochester Chamber of Commerce and active in International Chamber of Commerce (its 1949 President was Philip Reed, President of General Electric), and in the big business Committee for Economic Development.

W. Stuart SYMINGTON

In late January 1951, Valentine was asked to resign his position as "Economic stabilizer," presumably because his policies were not in agreement with those of Chief Mobilizer Wilson. He was replaced by **Eric Johnston,** former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and currently chief representative for the Hollywood motion picture industry.

IN GENERAL FOREIGN POLICY

Secretary of State

(head of State Department) :

Dean G. Acheson (Du Pont, Rockefeller and Morgan), appointed 1949 as successor to General George C. Marshall.

Lawyer, member of Washington law firm that is general counsel for Ethyl Corp., jointly owned by Du Pont's General Motors and Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey, and personally defended the firm in an anti-trust suit before entering the State Department. Law firm also represented the Greek and Iranian governments and Rockefeller's Arabian American Oil Co.

His law partner is a director of the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, an American-British-German banking firm associated with both Rockefeller and Morgan (John Foster Dulles' law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell serves all three).

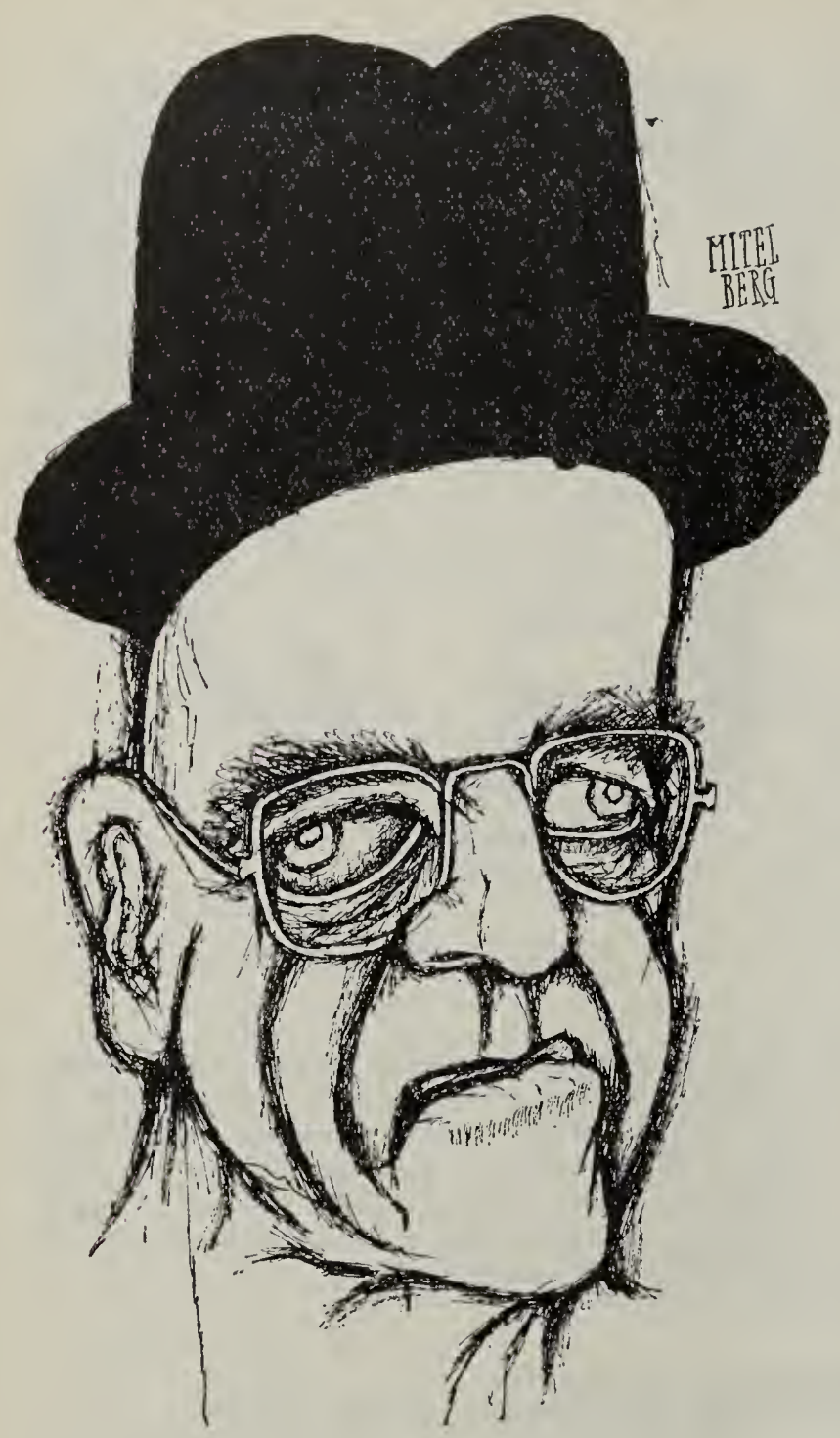
Acheson has been in the State Department in various jobs since 1941, and helped formulate the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, and formulated the North Atlantic Pact. Previously his clients had included some of the largest oil, munitions, radio and telephone corporations in the country and he had defended several public utility companies before the U.S. Supreme Court against President Roosevelt's W.P.A. projects (Works Projects Administration, aimed at relieving unemployment during the depression—*Ed.*).

★

Political Adviser to State Department :

John Foster Dulles (Morgan and Rockefeller), appointed 1950, also as U.S. delegate to the United Nations. In Far East along with General Douglas MacArthur, Louis Johnson, then Secretary of Defense (for more on these men see below), and with General Omar Bradley, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, just before the Korean war began. Had been U.S. delegate to U.N. and to various international conferences 1945 to 1948.

Senior partner in law firms of Sullivan and Crom-



John Foster DULLES

well, Wall Street, most powerful of U.S. corporation lawyers, serving Morgans and Rockefellers and also Schroders. Director of International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd. (Morgan and Rockefeller), Babcock & Wilcox Corp.

In 1920's worked closely with Herbert Hoover, was one of experts who developed the Dawes and Young plans that provided huge loans to Germany, used in large part for secret rearming and for building the Hitler regime. His associates there included General Charles G. Dawes, Chicago financier and U.S. Vice-President under Coolidge, Morgan's Owen D. Young of General Electric, J. P. Morgan, Herbert Hoover, W. Averell Harriman (see below).

In 1939 was in favour of appeasement towards Hitler. In early 1940's contributed financially to the pro-fascist "America First" movement and the incorporation papers for the New York chapter were drawn up in his offices. After the war worked with Herbert Hoover on scuttling U.N.R.R.A., rebuilding German and Japanese industry. Interested in regaining Rockefeller's oil markets in East Europe and Germany.

Through Sullivan and Cromwell had close relations with the I.G. Farben interests in Germany, and with the German law firm of Albert and Westrick, who handle the business of the German subsidiaries of International Telegraph and Telephone and Underwood-Elliott-Fisher. Dulles stated in 1940 that he saw no harm in Westrick's visit to the United States that year (Westrick was personal representative of von Ribbentrop and was consulting with the head of I.T & T., of Underwood, of the Texas Company and with General Motors and Henry and Edsel Ford). Westrick's partner, Dr. Albert, who, while German Commercial Attaché in Washington in World War I, had been the secret paymaster in the U.S. for the German espionage and sabotage ring, was a director of Ford's German subsidiary, closely tied with I.G. Farben, and a member of the German General Staff.

Allen Dulles, John Foster Dulles' brother, also a member of the Sullivan Cromwell law firm, was on the Committee of the Marshall Plan in 1947, and on a three-man committee to survey the U.S. intelligence system in 1948. In the diplomatic service 1916-1926, he went back into a government job in World War II as Chief of the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.) in Switzerland 1942-1944, where he met frequently with the Bank of International Settlements group that continued to operate there all through the war (Westrick was also a frequent visitor)—three directors from the Bank of England, Baron K.F. von Schroeder, Reichsbank President Walter Funk, I.G. Farben President Dr. Hermann Schmitz, and Thomas McKittrick of First National Bank of New York.

Allen Dulles in 1949 was at a special conference of top US financial and business men discussing reviving the German army, along with R.C. Leffingwell, senior Morgan partner, John W. Davis, Wall Street lawyer closely tied in with Morgan interests (and also director in Du Pont's U.S. Rubber). Davis himself has an interesting history. He was Democratic candidate for U.S. President against Harding in 1920. He was on the national executive committee (along with Irenee and Pierre S. Du Pont, Ernest Weir, etc.) of the American Liberty League which in the early 1930's spent huge sums to discredit Roosevelt's New Deal and subsidized many anti-democratic, fascistic, anti-Semite organisations. He was one of those that the man who contacted General Smedley Butler in 1934 (about heading up a militant veterans' organization like the Croix de Feu in France to stage a coup d'Etat and take over the American government) referred to as a source of financial backing for this proposed fascist putsch.

★

Department of State Policy Planning Board Head :

Paul Nitze (Morgan, Rockefeller), appointed late 1949.

Vice-President of New York investment firm of Dillon and Read, connected with both Rockefeller and

Morgan interests and with international cartels including Germany. Through his wife, connected with Standard Oil Co. (Rockefeller). Comes of strong pro-German family. In State Department since 1946.

★

Under-Secretary of State :

James Webb (Morgan), appointed early 1949, previously director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Vice President of Sperry Gyroscope Co., and protégé of the North Carolina Duke family (Doris Duke) who are tied in with Morgan's through the Morgan representative in North Carolina, John Hanes, a director of Morgan's Bankers Trust Co.

★

Ambassador to Great Britain :

Walter S. Gifford (Morgan), appointed 1950.

Chairman of Board and Director of American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Director of U.S. Steel Corp., First National Bank of New York. Director or trustee of various charitable and educational bodies, including Johns Hopkins University, New York School of Social Work.

In 1930's one of the "Special Conference Committee", the big business "general staff" against Roosevelt's New Deal (see Cyrus Ching above).

Succeeded former ambassador to Great Britain:

Lewis W. Douglas (Morgan) who was appointed 1947. Douglas is Chairman of the Board and Trustee of Morgan's Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, director of General Motors and Homestake Mining Co., trustee of Amherst College and the Princeton Institute of Advanced Study, former Vice President of American Cyanamid Co.

He married Peggy Zinsser, whose cousin Gussie married Dr. Konrad Adenauer, director of the big German Deutsche Bank (tied in with the German Steel Trust) and now Chancellor of West Germany. Her sister Ellen married John J. McCloy, (Rockefeller, Kuhn Loeb) now U.S. High Commissioner for Western Germany (see below), and her brother John Sharman Zinsser, is a director of Morgan's Bank, of the Zinsser Chemical Co., and President of the pharmaceutical company, Sharp and Dohme.

★

Special Foreign Policy Adviser to Truman

W. Averell Harriman (Morgan, Rockefeller) organizer of Marshall Plan 1948-50, Secretary of Commerce 1946-48. Ambassador to Great Britain 1946, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. 1943-46.

Partner in investment bankers firm of Brown Bros., Harriman and Co., formed out of a combination of a Harriman-Rockefeller firm with Morgan's Brown Bros. Associated with the German end of that firm's business, financing cartels etc. One of the authors, with John Foster Dulles, of Dawes and Young Plans for loans to Germany in the 1920's.

Chairman of Board of Union Pacific Railroad Co., director of five other major railroads, of Guaranty Trusts, Western Union Telegraph Co., formerly director of Morgan's New York Life Insurance Co.

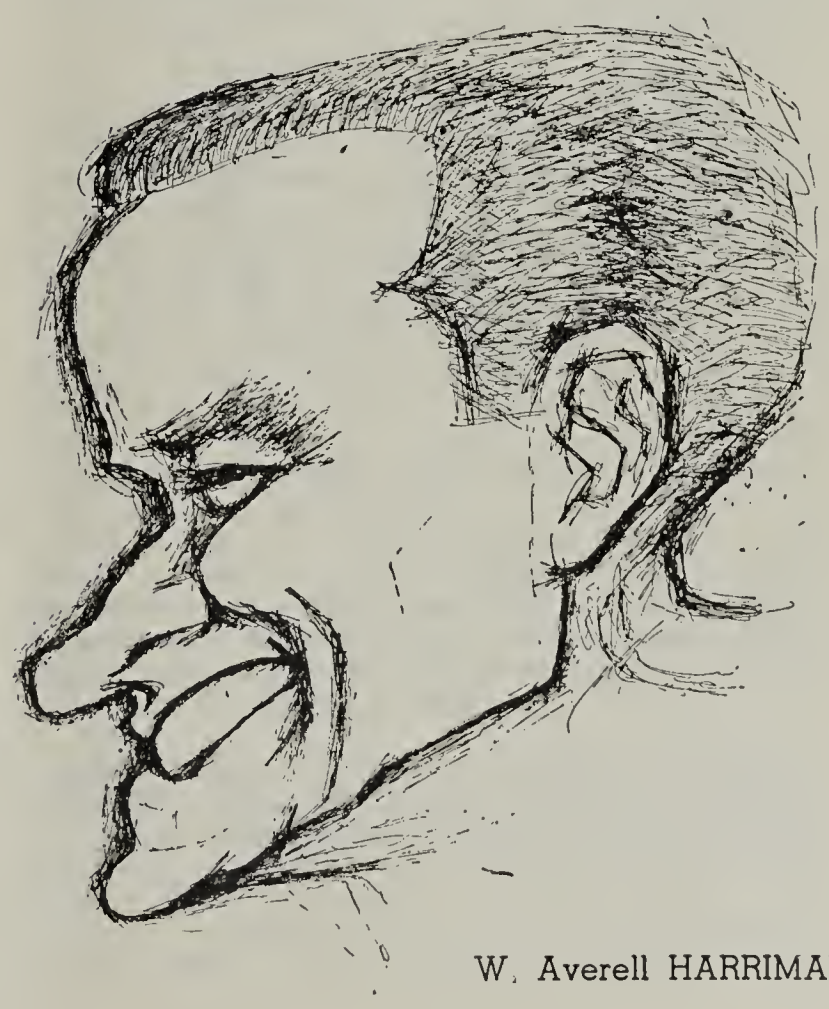
Harriman came of a wealthy family, inheriting along with his brother between 70 and 100 million dollars from his financier father. Harriman has interests in manganese, in East German copper (through Morgan's Anaconda Copper which has Rockefeller-Schroder director), in Cuban sugar (along with Rockefeller), in American Hawaiian Steamship Company with wide stakes in Far East (along with Morgans).

★

Chief U.S. Delegate to United Nations :

Warren P. Austin.

New England lawyer who negotiated large loans in China in 1916, his clients include most important business firms in New England. Seconded Hoover's nomination for President 1928, as Republican Senator from Vermont was one of the leaders in fight against Roosevelt's project "Tennessee Valley Authority", sponsored the National War Service Bill in 1943 which was then opposed by both the AF of L and CIO.



W. Averell HARRIMAN

IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

Secretary of Defense :

General George C. Marshall (Morgan, Rockefeller, and other financial groups), appointed 1950; the first break in the tradition that the highest U.S. defence post is to be held by a civilian.

Began as career soldier; in World War II, as member of Combined Chiefs of Staff for the United States and Great Britain, was involved in numbers of diplomatic conferences. 1945 President Truman's special representative in China.

Secretary of State, 1947-1949, succeeded James F. Byrnes. Was author of Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. Brought more and more professional military men into diplomatic posts and key jobs in the State Department until half the executive officers of the State Department, controlling U.S. foreign policy, were military.

Became director of Pan-American Airways, combination of Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon interests (its President married the daughter of a Morgan partner, and another Director is father-in-law of Henry Sturgis Morgan, present head of the House of Morgan). His appointment as Secretary of Defense represents a fusion of interests of military brass, Wall Street and government.

Succeeded **Louis A. Johnson,** Secretary of Defense 1949-50 (Rockefeller), who was in Far East along with General Douglas MacArthur, General Omar Bradley and John Foster Dulles just before the start of the war in Korea.

Johnson is member of a West Virginia law firm specializing in corporation law, and has been prominent in international financial circles, associated with Rockefeller interests through the Schroder banking combine. Formerly Director of Consolidated Vultee Corporation (aircraft) heavily backed by Schroder money, and Director and general counsel of General Aniline and Film Co., U.S. subsidiary of the German I.G. Farben chemical combine. Appointed by Alien Property Custodian as President of General Aniline and Film's subsidiary Company, General Dyestuffs Corporation. Counsel and Director of Union National Bank, Clarksburg, West Virginia. In 1932-33 saw national Commander of the American Legion, and the man who contacted General Smedley Butler to lead a fascist putsch in 1934 had been on his staff and said Johnson was in favour of the idea. In 1949 was involved in a major scandal in regard to U.S. government orders for B-36 bombers placed with Consolidated Vultee.

Johnson succeeded **James V. Forrestal** (Morgan and Rockefeller) who was first Secretary of Defense appointed 1947, previously Navy Secretary.

Forrestal also became president in 1947 of investment bankers Dillon and Read (Morgan and Rockefeller) who had floated large loans for Rockefeller oil interests in the Middle East and also for Royal Dutch Shell and Batavia Petroleum.

Forrestal was one of experts working on Dawes and Young Plans for loans to Germany in 1920's. Dillon and Read handled a large part of these loans. Had major investments in the Stinnes' coal and iron interests in Germany, in the German Steel Trust, and was associated with the German Deutsche Bank and Dresden Bank, all of which actively participated in building the Nazi war machine. Also arranged large loans for German and Italian trusts, and South American dictatorships.

Forrestal held key government jobs from 1940, when he was one of the group taken in by Roosevelt as price of business cooperation in the war, until his death by suicide in 1949.

★

Deputy Secretary of Defense :

Robert A. Lovett (Morgan and Rockefeller), appointed 1950.

Previously Under-Secretary of State (1947-49), brought in as key Morgan man in that Department when General Marshall was Secretary. Assistant Secretary of War 1945-47, and before that Assistant Secretary of War for Air.

Partner in Wall Street investment bank firm of Brown Bros. and Harriman Co., Director of Morgan's New York Life Insurance Co., Union Pacific Railway and other railways, banks and insurance firms.

★

Secretary of the Navy :

Francis P. Matthews (Morgan), appointed 1949.

Leading Omaha, Nebraska lawyer and corporation executive. Former Director of Northwestern Bell Telephone (Morgan), and Director of banks and insurance companies.

In 1944 was Director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Finance Department, and in 1946 chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Special Committee "On Socialism and Communism."

IN GERMANY

U.S. High Commissioner for Germany :

John J. McCloy (Kuhn Loeb, Rockefeller and Morgan), appointed 1949. Mr. McCloy is an excellent example of the interrelations of big finance and business, their international connections, and their methods of influencing key government policies.

Pre-war, he was partner in the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, De Gersdorff, Swaine and Wood, which handles the Kuhn Loeb law business, and was chief U.S. Counsel for the German I.G. Farben combine. Was specialist in corporation law, emphasizing the international aspects of the business.

1940-45 he was in Department of War, becoming Assistant Secretary. In 1945, as Assistant Secretary of War, visited U.S. Zones of occupation in Europe. Personally picked General Lucius D. Clay (see below) as head U.S. military man in Germany, and Major General William H. Draper (see below) as head U.S. economic man in Germany.

1945, left government (being succeeded by another man from Kuhn Loeb) to become partner in Rockefeller law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley and McCloy.

1947 was appointed President of the World Bank, and filled key jobs there by making Eugene R. Black vice chairman of the Chase National Bank (Rockefeller) the U.S. Executive Director of the Bank, Robert L. Garner, the Vice President of General Foods, the Vice President of the Bank.

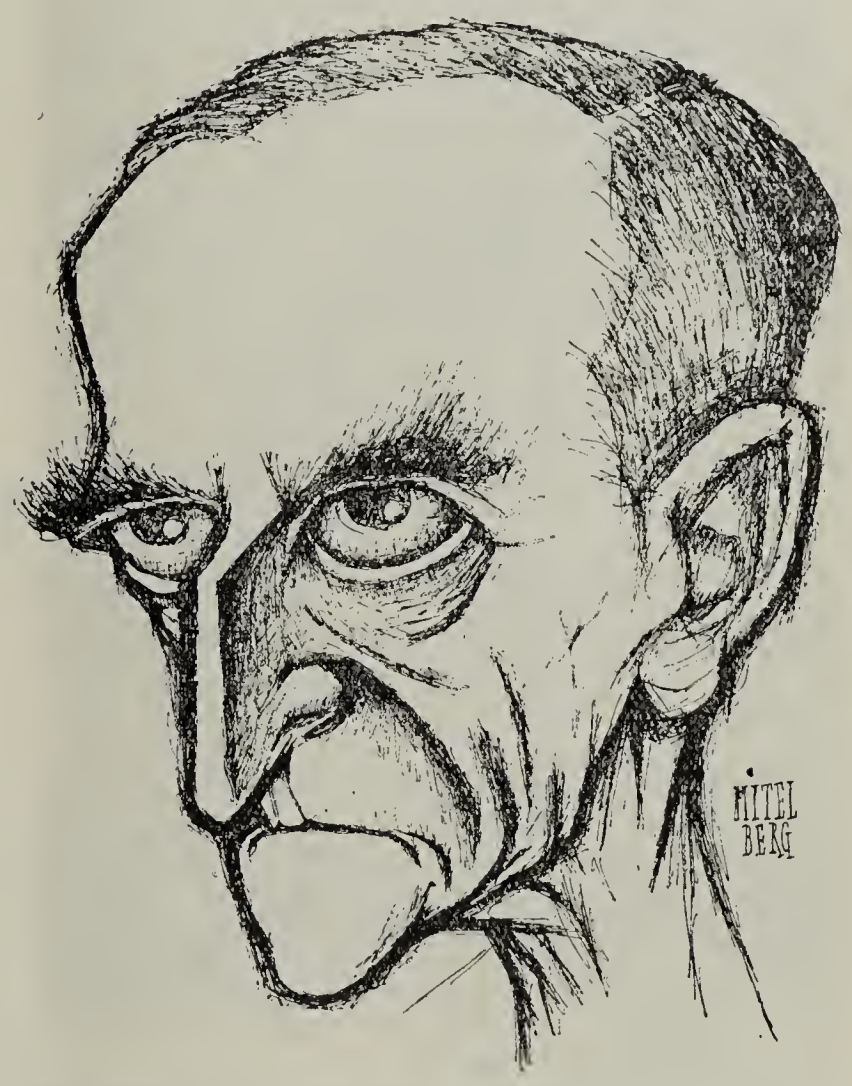
1949, was appointed U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. His associates there includo Chester McClain, an old Cravath (Kuhn Loeb) associate he put into the World Bank and now brought over to be in charge of "decartellizing" I.G. Farben (Cravath's former client): Robert A. Hanes, the ECA representative in Germany who is a brother of John Hanes, the Morgan man in North Carolina; ECA Counsel Alexander I. Anderson, another Kuhn Loeb man who has the dominant say in allocating ECA funds to Germany and other countries; head of the foreign exchange section of the American Military Government Robert S. Bogden, a former vice president of the J. Henry Schroder banking firm. McCloy's staff for work in Germany is all "screened" by the Cravath law office in New York, which also serves as counsel for the notorious Pinkerton Detective Agency.

McCloy also has close ties with Morgan interests through inter-marriage. His wife's brother is John S. Zinsser, Director of J.P. Morgan and Co. One of his wife's sisters married Lewis Douglas, former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (former president of Morgan's Mutual Life Insurance Co.).

McCloy's tie with German financial interests are of long standing, through his law work for cartels, his immediate post-war work in Germany, and again through intermarriage—his wife' cousin married Dr. Konrad Adenauer, present Chancellor of West Germany, and director of the Deutsche Bank (tied in with the German Steel Trust).

General Lucius Clay, notorious for his pardoning of Ilse Koch, was McCloy's personal choice in 1945 as chief U.S. military spokesman in Germany. While there in 1949 he named a commission to run the Ruhr steel industry made up of 4 men from Morgan's U.S. Steel, 1 man from the Cleveland finance group's Inland Steel, 3 men from the German Steel Trust, 5 men from other powerful German steel firms.

On his recall from Germany in 1949, he became chairman of the board of Continental Can (Morgan),



General Lucius CLAY

director of Morgan's Newmont Mining Company (with large interests in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia), director of the Chemical Bank and Trust Co., and president of a tobacco firm.

He is head of the New York State Civil Defense Committee, open exponent of rebuilding the German Army, and organizer of a "Crusade for Freedom Committee" to fight against the Stockholm Peace Pledge. On this committee his associates include Allen W. Dulles, Arthur W. Page (director of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, Mellon's Westinghouse and

Morgan's Kennicott Copper), Lawrence M. Giannini (president of the Bank of America and a big shareholder in Morgan's National City Bank, the two largest American banks), many other Wall St. and big business representatives, along with George N. Craig, the National Commander of the American Legion, Cardinal Spellman, William Green of the A.F. of L. and Phillip Murray and James B. Carey of the C.I.O.

Major General William Draper, personally picked by McCloy in 1945 as chief economic control officer in Germany, illustrates the ready shifting between business, government and army posts.

He was a former vice president of the Wall Street investment bankers Dillon and Read (an associate there of James V. Forrestal) tied closely to Morgan and Rockefeller interests and deeply involved in international cartels.

As his assistants in Germany he appointed **Col. Sosthenes Behn,** Kenneth Stockton and Mark Strudston of I.T. and T. (Morgan), Edward Zdunek and Peter Hoglund of General Motors (Dupont-Morgan), Brandon Grover and Philip Glover of Socony Vacuum (Rockefeller), Robert McConnell of General Aniline Film (I.G. Farben), Rufus Wysor of Republic Steel. (Schroder and the Wall Street firm Victor Emanuel), and Philip Gaethke of Anaconda Copper Co. (Morgan).

In 1947 he returned to the U.S. to become Under Secretary of the Army 1947-49, leaving to return to Dillon and Read.

To succeed him in Germany in 1947 General Clay picked **Lawrence Wilkinson** who left in 1949 to join Dillon and Read and who now works with General Clay in the New York Civil Defense setup.

★

Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs :

George W. Perkins (Morgan), appointed 1949. Former director of Morgan's National City Bank, and son of former top political lieutenant for the House of Morgan. Vice President of Merck and Co. (married sister of its president) which is financed by interests cooperating with Morgan and has director from the Morgan-Rockefeller law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell.

Perkins was active in the Marshall Plan setup, being Chief of the ECA Industries Division 1948-49.

IN THE FAR EAST

Department of State Special Committee on the Far East :

Phillip C. Jessup, appointed 1949.

Professor of International Law and diplomacy at Columbia University (where General Eisenhower was President until recently). Previously a practising lawyer, has done frequent work for the U.S. State Department, 1942-44 assistant director of special school at Columbia to train navy men for military administration of "liberated" areas, later U.S. alternate and deputy delegate to United Nations.

In his Far Eastern assignment his Committee associates were **Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick** (Rockefeller) and **President Everett Case** of Colgate University (Morgan, formerly an executive of General Electric).

Before making his early 1950 tour of the Far East he and Secretary of State Dean Acheson had special secret meetings with John D. Rockefeller III, G. Murphy of Morgan's Bankers Trust (one of the group involved in the 1934 fascist putsch plans—see Allen W. Dulles above), and

W. R. Herod, president and director of International General Electric Co. Inc. (Morgan) and director of a host of General Electric subsidiaries in the Pacific and South America. (See below Herod's recent appointment to the "defense production" of the Atlantic Pact).

Supreme Allied Commander in Japan :

General Douglas MacArthur (Morgan), appointed head of socalled "U.N. forces" in Korea 1950.

Married first into Wall Street in 1922, marrying Louise Brooks Cromwell (sister of James Cromwell, former U.S. ambassador to Canada and ex-husband of Doris Duke, the richest girl in the world), the stepdaughter of Edward T. Stotesbury, second in command of the House of Morgan. Father-in-law's pressure got him promotion to Major-General. Married second a rich Southern heiress, strong supporter of old Confederate slave-holding traditions.

Has extensive holdings in Philippines (where his father was the American general who led the campaign in the early 1900's to consolidate American control and wipe out all local resistance and where Douglas MacArthur started his military career), including the San Miguel Brewery (worth $10 millions or more), the Antomak Gold Mines, Acoje Chromite Co. and gold mining companies on the island of Palawan, the Manila Hotel, and plantations. Is associated with the two leading Spanish fascist families of the Philippines. Also holdings in Japan where he owns a large part of the shares of the big steamship company Nihon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha.

Guardian of Wall Street interests in Far East

generally; in 1935 as head of the American Military Mission to the Philippines, and post-war in Japan, Formosa and Korea as well.

For example, in Korea, the American Military Government took over the $1 1/4 billion Japanese monopoly that owned the mines, banks, and at least 50 percent of the farm lands of South Korea, renamed it the New Korea Company and named the Morgan controlled National City Bank of New York as its "fiscal agent". Similarly in 1946 Wall Street took control of the Japanese company that for 40 years had controlled the rich gold mines of North Korea, and other U.S. companies got control of Korean tungsten, Korean oil and Korean power.

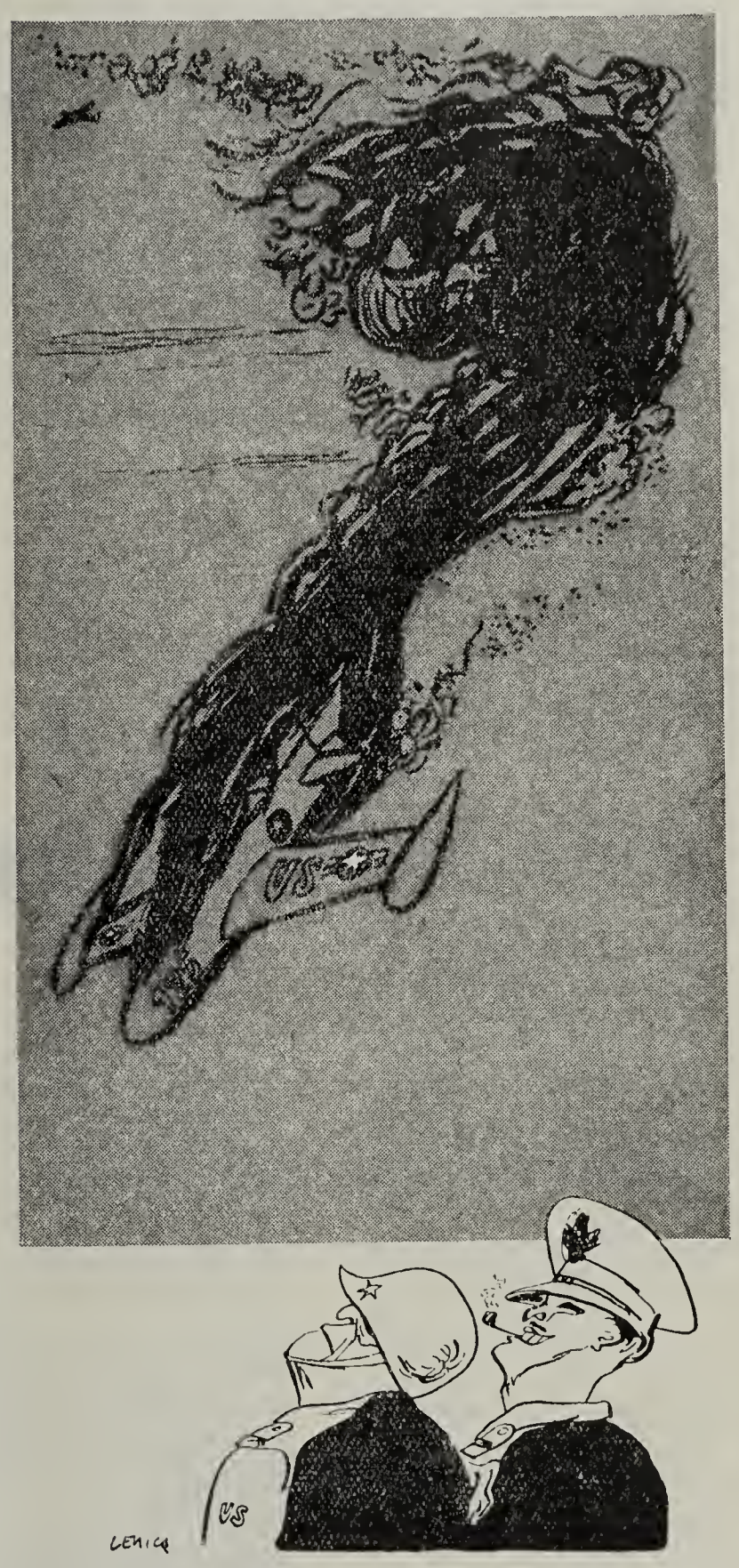
In Taiwan (Formosa), Westinghouse Electric (Mellon) controls all the electric power, and U.S. big business controls the aluminum, sugar refinery, fertilizer, oil refining, cement, camphor, paper and salt industries in close association with the discredited Kuomintang.

In Japan among MacArthur's close associates in key posts are **J. D. Wittemore,** vice president of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank; Bonner Fellers, pro-fascist militarist and close friend of Herbert Hoover; General Wood, Chairman of the Sears, Roebuck and Co. board and former head of the pro-fascist "America First" Committee; J. Woodall Green, close friend of Col. Robert McCormick, Chicago newspaper magnate; and Ben Locke, rich industrialist associated with Japanese monopolies.

American control of Japanese industry has in large part been consolidated by American loans from the Export-Import Bank, the National City Bank (Morgan) the Chase National Bank (Rockefeller), the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation and the Bank of America. American electrical companies have been very active in extending their interests in Japan, with General Electric (Morgan) acquiring 45 percent of the shares of the big Japanese Mitsui combine; Westinghouse (Mellon) along with Standard Oil (Rockefeller) acquiring the majority shares in the Mitsubishi combine; and International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. (Morgan) acquiring 35 percent of the shares of the Sumitomo Chemical Company.

MacArthur's military career included a period in the early 1930's as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, during which he was considered to be the most unpopular of U.S. military men. Under President Herbert Hoover's orders he used U.S. regular army troops in July 1932, in the midst of the depression, against the World War I Veterans demanding a veteran's bonus, breaking up their march in a very brutal way and burning their camps to the ground. A citizenship training manual issued to the army around that time shows his long-standing contempt for democracy: "Democracy results in mobocracy, demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy". A manual issued to the army under his signature August 1, 1935, gave detailed instructions on how to break strikes, including this advice to shoot to kill in a strike situation: *"Blank cartridges should never be used against a mob... nor should the volley be fired over the heads of the mob."*

General Smedley Butler, in exposing the plans for a fascist putsch in the United States in 1934, gave evidence that General Douglas MacArthur was the first choice of the Morgan magnates as leader of the coup d'Etat, and that they changed their pans only because of his personal unpopularity. (See Allen Dulles above.)



THE WAR IN KOREA

That's what I like to see! It reminds me the chimneys of my armament factories are smoking a g a i n.

(Cartoon by Polish artist LENICA.)

OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION

Since this document was prepared new appointments and a consolidation of economic power under a single Office of Defense Mobilization have further increased Wall Street's strangle-hold on U.S. economy.

Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, has been appointed to head the new centralized agency which gives him virtually unlimited control over the nation's economy, subject only to approval by President Truman. The General Electric Company is a huge monopoly combine with cartel relations throughout the world and huge investments in every part of the world, including Asia. It produces machine guns and atom bombs as well as electric light bulbs. The General Electric Company under Wilson has had an unsavory record in labor relations. It is also under investigation for violation of the anti-trust laws.

This company's control over rearmament was still further increased with the appointment of another of its top officials, **William R. Herod,** to the post of "defense production coordinator" of the Atlantic Pact "Defense Production Board". Between them Wilson and Herod, on behalf of this gigantic firm, influence the rearmament policies of all the Atlantic Pact Nations.

Wilson has appointed as his two assistants, **Sidney J. Weinberg,** senior partner in the Wall Street banking firm of Goldman Sachs and Co., which controls flour milling interests, and is a director of the Continental Can Company, and many other firms; and General Lucius Clay, chairman of the Continental Can Company, whose affiliations are described elsewhere in this report.

JIRI HRONEK

General Secretary of the International Organisation of Journalists

WHAT I SAW IN KOREA

II. — PEASANTS AND CHILDREN UNDER THE BOMBS

THE small village of Sunchengun Chasan, which we reached when the sun was coming up over the horizon and all travel had become impossible, spreads picturesquely over a series of pleasant hills dotted with acacias and little toy pines. Its central building is a small church, looking very much like dozens of churches I have seen in the suburbs of English towns. Very obviously, it was a memento of the presence of British missionaries.

The morning air was filled with sweet fresh scents and, after our hectic and, at times, dangerous journey, the atmosphere was strangely calm. But this calmness was only apparent. Shortly before dawn, as our motor-car had broken down, we continued our journey on foot and saw several deep craters by the side of the road.

No one in the whole world could say that the little village of Sunchengun Chasan is a strategic target. It contains no soldiers or war industries, nothing but peasants, children and the church. No one could say that Sunchengun Chasan is a bombing target—no one but the Ameriean airmen who haphazardly dropped their bomb-load around the village. They sueeeeded in hitting several houses. The other bombs fell a few yards from the telegraph poles. The poles were not damaged, but the bombs ploughed up the fields and destroyed the rice crop.

I was greeted by peasant Lim To Kun who, standing on the threshold of his house, bowed low, placing his hands on his knees He was only twenty-seven years old, but had been wounded in the right leg while in the army and had a pronounced limp, and therefore was not at the front. However, he was the eommander of a small group of territorial guards which was set up in this village as in every other Korean village. The territorial guard is on duty every night and its duty is to defend the area against attacks by parachute troops and saboteurs.

Lim To Kun expressed sincere joy at entertaining a guest who had come from so far away. I did not have to tell him what Czechoslovakia was. He knew about my country: he knew that our workers, along with the working people of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, stand by the Korean people. We took off our shoes and went into a very clean little room, the walls of which were covered with white paper. The soil was covered over with rice-straw matting. There was a modern radio-set on a stand by the wall. An eleetric light bulb was hanging from the ceiling. Apart from these, the room was bare, according to Korean custom. We sat down on the matting with our legs erossed and Lim To Kun's wife brought a small low table on which she put bowls of riee, hot water, and vegetables mixed with small pieces of meat.

"Strategic" objectives in Pyong-Yang—the people's homes.

Enemy planes were flying over Sunchengun Chasan, but on that day, for a change, they did not drop any bombs or shoot up the peaeeful population. The throbbing of their engines alone reminded us of the ever-present danger.

I asked Lim To Kun to tell me his life story. Under Japanese rule, he had been a tenant farmer on the estate of a rich landowner who sat all day long in his house drinking Korean brandy and playing eards. The others, the farmers, did the work. Lim To Kun had leased 2,000 pyang of land (1 pyang equals 4 square yards), including 1,000

In Pyong-Yang, under daily attack from the American air force, the people are nonetheless at work clearing up in preparation for reconstruction.

pyang of rice fields. "Did this land enable you to live decently?" I asked him. Lim To Kun waved his hand negatively: "Of course not," he said. "As a tenant farmer, I had to hand over 50 to 60 % of my harvest to the landlord. And this was not all. When the rice fields were being flooded, I had to work for him at least twenty days, and during the harvest another ten days. In winter I had to do another week's work for him, picking up dry wood for heating, and my wife had to wash his linen. And there was more still: at the end of the year, the tenants had to give him presents—rice cakes, poultry, fruit. His name was Im Chan Chu."

"What became of him?"

"He did not fare too badly after all. He was given a plot of land and he is still living in the village, moaning and complaining about the situation. His son fled to the South, to join Syngman Rhee."

I told him about the struggle being waged in my country against the rich villagers who attempt to prevent the progress of socialism in the countryside. Lim To Kun smiled.

"Who would have believed it!" he said in astonishment. "Your country is so far away, but the same things happen there as in ours. Well, the capitalists behave in the same way wherever they are. Our landowner also does his worst. He will not join the territorial guard and he refuses to attend meetings. He skulks about the village, criticises everything and whispers his propaganda in people's ears. But we know how to prevent him from doing any harm."

"And how are things going now?" I asked.

"Now?" replied Lim To Kun. "You can see yourself. We have a radio set, electric lighting... But we have more than that. Our government gave me some land, 4.000 pyang of good land. Our government gave me a house—and all that for nothing. I did not have to pay anything. I pay my taxes which represent some 25 or 27 % of my crop per year, and that is all. As for the remainder, it is mine. I have a cow, a pig and 10 hens. And our government looks after us. My wife, my child and myself are getting on well."

The case of young peasant Lim To Kun, of the small village of Sunchengun Chasan, is only one example out of many. The Korean People's Democratic Government distributed land to more than a million agricultural workers and tenant farmers who, overnight, became masters of the lands on which until then they had toiled for the benefit of the wealthy landowners.

In the liberated territories of South Korea also, the agrarian reform was carried out immediately after the liberation, so that 1,163,000 agricultural workers, tenant farmers and landless peasants were given land.

"Our life was very hard under Syngman Rhee's fascist rule," Kim Hynh San, a peasant in the South Korean village of Pul Kwang Li, told me. "Often it was easier to die than to live. But men must keep alive and therefore, we struggled as best we could. By ourselves we were weak, but one day, our People's Army came and distributed the land. I can hardly believe it even now, I am always wondering how such a thing was possible."

Such a thing is indeed possible. The People's Democratic Government distributed the land to the landless peasants of South Korea. It took this first step to ensure a decent and happy life for these people. Nevertheless, the American imperialists decided that the Korean peasants must not lead a decent life. The People's Democratic Government distributed land to the South Korean peasants after its victory and installed electricity in the villages of North Korea. On the contrary, the Americans when they reconquered lost territory in South Korea brought back the former leeches, the big landowners; and their bombers are endeavouring to put out the electric lights lit by the People's Democratic government in North Korea. When one sees all this, one understands the Korean peasants' deep and terrible hatred of the foreign invaders. For these peasants are fighting for a country of which they were made the masters by the People's Democratic government.

A Youthful Republic

The most striking feature in Korea, the feature which one notices at once, is the youth. This may be because the Korean army is itself so young, or because the Koreans have a youthful air even when they are middle-aged. With its young soldiers leaving for the front to fight the invaders, its young girls in uniform or at work in the factories, Korea seems to be a Republic of Youth. Kim Ir Sen, the revolutionary and

courageous fighter for the rights of the working people of Korea, is himself a young man, only 38 years of age, who spent 15 years of his life in stubbornly fighting against the Japanese imperialists.

Korean youth have played an important part in the building of the People's Democratic Republic of North Korea, and have taken an exceptionally great part in impulsing the revolutionary struggle in South Korea. Li Shvan Si, secretary of the South Korean Youth Association, said to me :

" Our organisation was set up in April 1946 as a result of the amalgamation of two already existing youth organisations. Our motto was the struggle for better living conditions for the workers and peasants, and the creation of a democratic and unified Korea.

" In September 1946, the South Korean youth organised a rising against the American occupants and their fascist puppets. The railwaymen, factory workers and peasants came out on strike. Syngman Rhee's supporters and the Americans sent armed police bands and tanks against the striking railwaymen. Out of 2,000 railwaymen, 1,700 were arrested, more than 100 wounded and three killed.

" Following these events, the government banned the youth organisations, and since then we have been working underground. But our work went on. In 1948, the Americans ordered a so-called election. We immediately undertook a campaign against this mockery which was meant to hoodwink the Korean people, and in spite of all the terror and violence, the vast majority of the Korean people did not take part in the " elections," the results of which were moreover falsified.

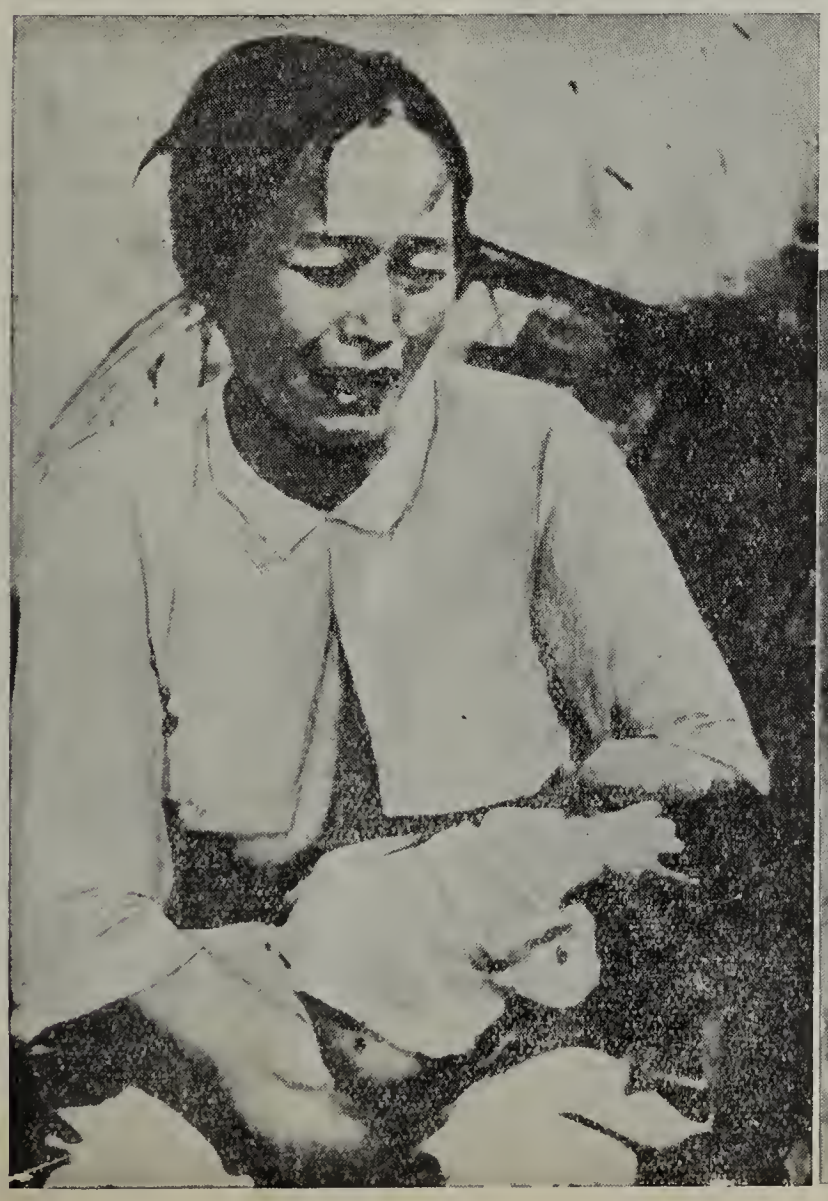
" But our activities were not limited to this campaign. When free elections were held in North Korea on August 25, 1948, we organised the underground participation in these elections in South Korea under the slogan of " *Unification of Korea.*" 77.52 % of the electorate took part in these elections. In Chejudo island, for example, 100 % of the electorate voted for the unification of Korea. Syngman Rhee sent a punitive expedition into the island, but simultaneously and for the first time in South Korea, groups of partisans made their appearance in Chejudo island. This was the beginning of the partisan movement which, later, spread rapidly to the whole of South Korea. The youth were in the forefront of the partisans' struggle.

" Syngman Rhee's fascist government dealt more and more brutally with the civilian population, and in the period from 1945 until the liberation, 250,000 people were murdered in the most barbaric manner. As soon as they identified a partisan, the fascists massacred his whole family. Six hundred thousand people were thrown into prison, and 70 % of these were young people. In Chejudo island, 295 villages out of a total of 400 were burnt down. But we did not yield, for ceasing the fight would have meant a surrender. And the progressive youth of Korea does not surrender."

Li Shvan Si lit a cigarette and, as I insisted, told me about his own experiences.

" I was sent to prison in 1949, but I was comparatively lucky. First, because I was arrested by the regular police and not by Syngman Rhee's so-called political police. The political police used to murder people without any kind of a trial, while the regular police used to put people in prison first of all. I spent 6 months in a Seoul jail, until our troops arrived.

" Even then I was lucky. Several of our tanks drove on as far as the prison gates. No one expected them, and all of a sudden there they were. Otherwise things would have been very unpleasant, for Syngman Rhee's henchmen used to murder the political prisoners before the arrival of the People's Army, whenever they had time to do it. To cut



(Left :) This Korean mother has learnt by bitter experience the full meaning of "Western respect for human life."

(Below :) When the youth defend their national independance, they become a target for the aggressor's bombs.

a long story short, I escaped with my life, and I was able to go back to work with my comrades. In Seoul alone, 110,000 young volunteers went into the People's Army and 6,000 young girls into the Red Cross. Altogether, 1,300,000 women went into the People's forces before the general mobilisation."

Those who are not yet old enough to bear arms, boys and girls below the age of 18, work with all their might for the front. I saw them in the factories, I saw groups of very young boys and girls at work on reconstruction—there are some 9,000 of these groups in Korea.

The history of these tens of thousands of young heroes will never be written, for the simple reason that it is physically impossible to write down so many examples of heroism for posterity. I should like at least to mention one typical case. It is the case of Yun Myung Ji, who is twenty years old and drives a military truck. The Americans had destroyed a bridge on the Han river, but the Koreans built a temporary bridge in record time, and got hundreds of trucks across carrying artillery ammunition. American planes then attacked this new bridge. The driver of one of the trucks was killed and his truck set on fire, threatening to blow up. The explosion would have destroyed all the trucks which were on the bridge at the time as well as the bridge itself. So Yun Myung Ji jumped out of his own truck, took over the wheel of the burning truck with lightning speed, started the engine and drove the vehicle towards the edge of the bridge. The truck bore its driver down into the river. The bridge was saved, the transport of munitions for the battle-front assured, but the young driver Yun Myung Ji lost his life.

He is characteristic of Korean youth. Any country possessing such young people can never be conquered or enslaved. The youth will be the ones who will finally liberate the country and ensure a free and happy life for the new generation of beautiful Korean children.

One of MacArthur's murder squads with two Korean patriots.

The men who sow death

It was a dull Sunday morning at Fenyang. A light autum rain had begun to fall. The sirens sounded the alert, preparing the population of Fenyang for another air attack. We went out into the street and scanned the horizon in the direction of the sinister sound.

"They're bombers," said some-one. "No, they're jet or fighter planes", replied some-one else. The Americans themselves settled this argument. Out of the grey clouds appeared three jet planes. They came down low and circled over the town. Perhaps they were looking for a target, if for once, the Americans were bothered about seeking one. It looked as if the target this time was the bridge, a beautiful one spanning the river Taedong, so far spared by the Americans although they bombed Fenyang every day. The houses at each end of the bridge, modest workers' homes, had been destroyed, but the bridge had not yet been damaged.

The American planes circled nearer. The hitherto silent anti-aircraft guns came into action. One of the planes was hit and turned over on one wing, disappearing behind the houses. We heard an explosion and saw a column of smoke rising from the spot where the plane had crashed. Around us we heard the sound of applause. The people were laughing and shouting joyfully.

There were still some planes up in the air, but we set off to look for today's victim. Finally, far behind the bridge on the other side of the river, we found the debris of the plane which had crashed into a house, the rear part of which, made of wood, had caught fire. The firemen had already arrived and were fighting the fire. Behind the house there was a big hole into which had plunged the completely destroyed plane which, a few seconds before, had been sowing death in Korea.

The pilot had perished in the debris of his plane. With the aid of a grapple, a Korean soldier rescued the remains of a charred body... no longer resembling a human being. We thought about the number of innocent human lives this pilot destroyed before being shot down. He flew over Korean soil, and came down to house-top level, probably imagining himself to be a superman with power of life or death over the innocent human beings who, down below, hurried into the shelters when they saw the death-bearing planes approaching.

"If I press the button of the machine-gun you'll die. If I don't, you won't die," was perhaps the thought in the mind of the young airman from Nebraska or Oklahoma who probably went to Korea because the American air force pays $450 to $600 per month, and this is a much better "job" than being a clerk or a travelling salesman in America. Many such men have been captured by the Koreans, who treat them decently in accordance with international law. When one talks with them, one notes

The bearers of "Western" civilisation know only one method of persuasion...

that not one of them knows why he is fighting in Korea. These American supermen, fed on gangster films and comic strips, do not even know what the Security Council is. They shrug and make no reply when reproached for the fight they are carrying on against the civilian population. Obviously, these American "culture bearers" could not care less. They are not overburdened with scruples. The only thing they are worried about is that their families should be informed that they are in captivity and that they are quite all right. They do not give a single thought to the families they have deprived of a father, to the children they have deprived of a mother, or to the mothers they have deprived of their children.

Murderers of children

In the small village of Man Chon, ten-year-old Yong Yu Fo brought me a rather unusual present. It was a belt still containing the cartridge cases fired by the machine gun of an American plane.

The small village of Man Chon is idyllically situated in the mountains and surrounded by rice, cotton and maize fields. On the outskirts of the village, in one of the cotton fields, an enemy bomb had dug a deep crater and it was as a result of this that the little boy, Yong Yu Fo, brought me the present of part of a machine-gun belt from an American plane.

We started a rather difficult but original conversation with the aid of a Russian-Korean grammar. I learned that Yong Yu Fo no longer goes to school because it was destroyed by American bombs. He described with a great wealth of gestures how the American plane came down over the school, the noise it made and how it opened fire on the children who ran in all directions like a flock of sparrows. He counted on his fingers to explain to me how many children had been victims of the attack, but I wasn't able to distinguish whether they had all been killed or only wounded. The words for such things were not to be found in the conversation grammar.

In the small town of Ku-son, an American plane opened fire on a passenger bus, killing a sixty-year old woman and her grand-daughter aged sixteen. Not far from Chel San, on the sea-shore, the enemy planes fired on a fishing boat. The fishermen threw themselves into the sea in order to get away. The Americans, who were firing from a low altitude, could have seen that they were not soldiers, but nevertheless, they opened fire on the fishermen swimming in the water and killed every one of them.

The Americans fired on some children bathing in a river. I saw the two Korean towns of Wonsan and Kinnam completely destroyed by American planes. I travelled along hundreds of miles of Korean roads, and I saw scores of towns and villages and I can testify that the Americans are bombing without respite towns and villages which are not and never could be strategic targets, and which contain no war industries.

MacArthur obviously gave a free hand to his butchers and provided them with unlimited quantities of petrol and ammunition. When the Korean Government one day collects and publishes all the cases of American aviation's wanton destruc-

Captured civilians are stripped to the skin and forced to hold up their hands...

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tion and barbarism, it will be a lengthy indictment. But even today, all those who have witnessed these inhuman acts have been filled with rage and indignation against the inhuman capitalist system which is seeking to solve the problem of its troubled existence by ordering brutal and conscienceless robots to murder innocent people with no risk to themselves.

The murders committed by the imperialists and their air-force mercenaries concern the whole of mankind and cry out for protest from every decent person. They incite each one of us to devote still greater efforts to the cause of peace.

For these imperialist gangster murderers will be stopped only by the forces of peace. These air-born hordes have it all their own way where the people are defenceless. But where they resist, this is not the case. We saw this on a small scale in Fenyang. When the anti-aircraft guns brought down the American jet plane, the two other planes which were accompanying it immediately fled, and not another American plane showed itself above Fenyang that day.

Soldiers of the People's Army stop to talk with survivors in a liberated village.

SECTARIANISM MUST GO !

by Henri Martel

President of the Miners' Trade Unions International, Secretary of the French National Federation of Miners

I do not intend, in this article, to make a theoretical demonstration and to lay down the law on sectarianism. Betters writers than I have already done this.

My contribution to the fight against this important obstacle to action by the broad masses of the people will be a more modest one. I intend to illustrate this article by means of examples taken from the rank and file, as I think that what goes for those who are in permanent contact with the workers in their actual workplaces—that is to say in those places where capitalist oppression hits hardest and where the necessity for unity is most strongly felt—is all the more true at the higher levels of the working class movement, in those places where trade unionists are often, against their wish, too far away from the direct application of the slogans, resolutions and decisions which can bring into action the masses for whom they are meant.

IF, basing ourselves on the universally known slogan : "Workers of the world, Unite," we conclude on the correctness of another old and battle-tried slogan: "To fight efficiently, we must all unite", this leads us at once to condemn sectarianism in general and every sectarian in particular, because they are an obstacle to action and a defeatist element. For, as far back as I can remember, I have never seen a sectarian rally around himself the majority of the population of his district, or of the workers in his place of work.

Sectarianism can be nothing but a hindrance in the present grave situation, when, because of the war policy followed in all capitalist countries by government rulers subservient to big business, the working class and all working people are suffering increasingly difficult conditions, brutal police dictatorship and savage repression, when they can see the danger of war and are seeking a means of dispelling it, of breaking their chains and of preventing war.

Can Sectarianism Be Defeated?

TAKING into consideration the example of the miners, I am certain that sectarianism can be defeated.

I shall mention first of all an example of a general nature. After the heroic miners' strike of 1948 in France, we had to struggle against a very powerful tendency towards sectarianism. This strike, which lasted 8 weeks, was one of the toughest in mining history. After 5 weeks of 100% united action, extreme poverty, the division-mongers' manœuvres and the tremendous repressive apparatus set up by the government and the employers succeeded in making a breach in the miners' front. During the 6th and 7th week, some starving miners went back to work. They were mainly men with families, who would not have yielded an inch before the armed special police or the tanks; but they yielded when the government stopped paying them family allowances for their children.

Instead of taking this fact into account, a great number of those who remained on strike until the end harboured resentment against those who had gone back to work before them and accused them of being responsible for the failure. Socialist workers who had been on strike for 5 to 7 weeks were accused of being responsible for the anti-working class actions of Jules Moch, the notorious "Socialist" Minister of the Interior. There were cases of brothers refusing to speak to each other because one of them had gone back to work before the other. For weeks, the hardest fighters, those who had stayed out until the end, would not have anything to do with the others. This attitude was prevalent in all pits and services of all coalfields in France.

A unity demonstration of miners in a small township in North France.

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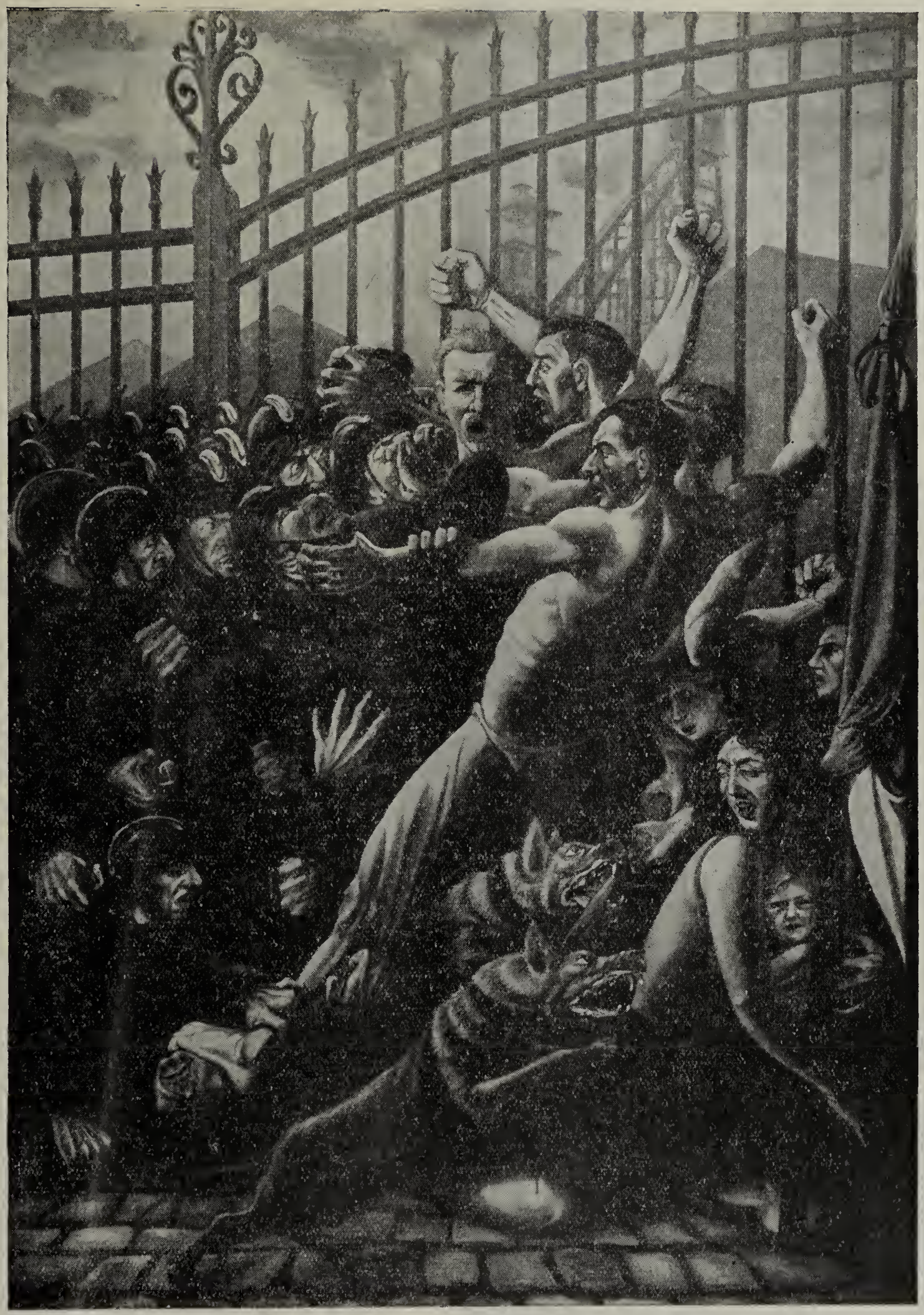
Armed police attack a miners' demonstration in Béthune during the 1948 strike.

"All Out Against Sectarianism"

THIS was the title of an article by Auguste Lecœur, president of the North and Pas-de-Calais Regional Federation of Miners, which was published as a leaflet and distributed in 200,000 copies. This article explained that the strike did not end in defeat and exposed the people really responsible for the blows struck against the miners by the capitalist repressive apparatus. It demonstrated that our cause was just and that united action was more than ever necessary to win satisfaction for our demands.

Auguste Lecœur demonstrated to our valiant strikers, who had held out for 8 weeks, that "the enemy is not within the working-class," that "sectarianism is the weapon of the weak, and we are strong," adding "you must hold out your hand to your Force Ouvrière or C.F.T.C. (Christian Trade Union) comrades. If they spit on it, wipe it and hold it out again."

This was hard to accept for thousands of rand and file workers and leaders of the CGT, but this courageous and far-sighted article enabled us to open a discussion, to intensify the fight against sectarianism all over France, and to bring about many struggles for the miners' demands in which united action swept aside all rancour and false conceit. Those who had declared that they would never again shake hands with the miners who had first gone back to work and that they would not allow them "to spit on them" were the first to hold out their hands and were happy to inform us that reconciliation had taken place in action.



DEFENCE OF THE NATION.

(Painting by André FOUGERON, recording an aspect of the great strike of French miners in 1948.)

Meeting of the Central Strike Committee during the 1948 strike. Henri Martel, National Miners' Secretary, is third from left: on his right, Auguste Lecoeur, President of the North and Pas-de-Calais Regional Federation of the miners.

Some Examples Taken On the Spot

1.—*At No. 7 pit in Auchel*, in the North of France (where the miners went on strike against the closing down of the pit), on the very first day of the stay-down strike CGT, Force Ouvrière, Christian and unorganised workers organised unity groups. A few days later, it was impossible to distinguish between the workers. When the miners came up to the surface, their hearts were beating in unison, and they were fraternally united in the joy of a magnificent fight waged together, as proud soldiers of a just cause who are certain that, hand in hand, they will be victorious.

2.— *In the other Auchel pits,* this example had failed to convince the sectarians, especially in those places where solidarity had not been well organised. A C.G.T. branch secretary said to me, a week after the end of the strike in No. 7 pit: "I won't meet the Force Ouvrière Secretary or the others, they're bastards." Two weeks later, the so-called "bastards", who together with our C.G.T. friends had been transferred to another pit, 25 miles distant from their homes, marched down to the Regional headquarters of the C.G.T. in Lens, behind the red flag and with their bugles, singing the "International" at the top of their voices. They had united and come out on strike together against persecutions in their new pit. Together they were expressing their confidence in the C.G.T.

3.—*A miners' delegate from Auchel.* At a meeting of miners' delegates held in November, when we were discussing the subject of unity of action to win wage increases and after several miners' delegates had declared that this unity was impossible, still on account of the " rotten bastards," with whom nothing could ever be done, the Auchel delegate told the assembly that he also, two weeks earlier, thought similarly of the Force Ouvrière Secretary in his pit.

He could not bear the idea of speaking to him about united action, as this Force Ouvrière man had denounced him to the police during the strike and even threatened to have him beaten up.

"Nevertheless", said the delegate, "one day I decided to go and see him. I had no sooner left home than I felt I could not go any further—I could not bring myself to do it. A few days later I reasoned with myself and decided that *I must go and see him!* But still I came back without having done so. I was so certain that I was not doing my duty that I could no longer sleep. Then after a few days, I thought of the miners, of their poverty and their general conditions—and I went to see the man I considered to be my enemy. We talked and we agreed on a common struggle for our demands. I am now very happy to have put the miners' interests above my pride and my personal rancour.'' This delegate received much applause.

4.—*The Secretary of a haulage branch in Aniche,* at the other extremity of the coalfield said on the same day: "I had also sworn never again to hold out my hand to the Force Ouvrière and Christian leaders in my section. For on February 17, 1950, after we had succeeded in organising a 100% strike, the police came in, and these leaders were the first to climb onto the engines, thus smashing the strike movement. Nevertheless I decided to contact them. I also had to make the decision several times before I finally went to see them. Then one day, I said to myself *'Go on, do it'*, and I had a talk with them. We agreed and we presented a common list of demands. Our unity defeated the employer—we won satisfaction of our demands. The miners are satisfied and I am proud of having won a victory over myself.''

A group of Auchel miners back on the surface after their month-long stay-down strike against the closing of the pit.

At a recent cadres meeting in Lens, in the North of France, a surface workers' delegate explained to us, in his own way, how he also conquered his own sectarianism, went to see the Force Ouvrière and Christian trade unionists, on the basis of the determination of the workers to take action. This worker, who obviously was not used to public speaking, was listened to with greater attention than the other speakers, and received more applause than they when he ended after declaring: "For several days I said to myself, 'I'm going to speak to them,' then 'No, I'm not.' Finally I did go, and I'm glad that I did, because we're going to win satisfaction of our demands." This proved to be correct, and to-day Milan (this was the delegate's name) can point to a whole list of demands which have been satisfied, although the management refused to grant them before the workers achieved unity of action.

I could quote dozens of similar examples. I shall quote only one more, that of Decazeville, a small community in the Aveyron district in the Centre of France, the Mayor of which is the rightwing "Socialist" Ramadier. In this locality, C.G.T. workers are in the minority, and our comrades considered every Force Ouvrière worker as another Ramadier. We were losing ground, and the miners' conditions were steadily worsening. Our comrades were conducting an endless polemical discussion with the Force Ouvrière men in the local press. When we advised united action, our local comrades replied: "It is not possible ever to reach an agreement with such people."

At the close of their united strike against the closing down of their pits, Auchel miners demonstrated in complete unity through the streets of the town.

And yet, in December, the Force Ouvrière trade unionists denounced vigourously the State machine which is their employer, as well as its anti-working class methods, and they proposed united action to the C.G.T. of their own accord.

A programme of common demands was drawn up and presented to the management, and supported by a strike which had been organised by the C.G.T. and Force Ouvrière leaders who visited together every department to announce the strike. The result was that the strike was unanimous.

On January 12, elections were held to name delegates to the Pit Committees. A joint list of candidates had been set up, including candidates belonging to the C.G.T., Force Ouvrière and the C.F.T.C. (Christian). This joint list was published together with a joint declaration mentioning all the demands made by our National Federation of Miners, exposing the State employer and appealing for united action.

The declaration reads as follows:

"The C.G.T., Force Ouvrière and C.F.T.C. trade unions point out that these elections will take place at a time when the workers of Decazeville and the whole of France are victims of the wrong social policy of our rulers and of growing hostility on the part of the increasingly reactionary employers, at a time when the workers are living in poverty-stricken conditions and receiving low wages, when workers are being down-graded, over-exploited and dismissed to cut down the number of personnel employed, while this gives rise to the risk of accidents such as the one which occurred on December 19."

The declaration then states

"This situation cannot go on, there must be

A unity delegation (CGT, Christian, Force Ouvrière) of Auchel miners, led by Henri Martel (centre), visits the Minister of Industries and Commerce to press home the urgency of re-opening the pit closed down.

a change. Only unity of all workers can defeat this policy and these methods of work.''
And the declaration concludes:

"The fulfilment of this programme does not depend on the members of the Pit Committees alone, but on United Action by all the workers.''

This declaration was signed by Guibert for the CGT, Vabre for Force Ouvrière and Lafarie for the C.F.T.C.

Our sectarians no longer say now that nothing can be done, on the contrary they are enthusiastic. This has been a wonderful lesson for them, and they are now sorry for having delayed these results by their sectarianism.

THOUSANDS of similar events have occurred in all the coalfields in the capitalist countries. Our Belgian comrades are now satisfied, although they had doubts about unity. Agreements have been concluded—against the lengthening of the conscription period, in Braquignies and Seraing; against the closing down of pits as a result of the Schuman Plan, in the Borinage district; against poverty-stricken conditions, in several coalfields: Liége, Limburg, Borinage; and in numerous pits against King Leopold's return and against the murderers of the Communist member of parliament, Lahaut.

There have been examples of united action also in Scotland, Luxemburg, Chile, Mexico, Africa and North America.

It is permissible for trade unionists, some of them in high places in the world trade union movement, to continue to think that all the working class leaders whose point of view is different from theirs are definitely incapable of accepting the idea of united action and even organisational unity? Leaders who hold this view are indeed out of touch with the workers. Sometimes such leaders are conceited people whose smugness prevents them from seeing the truth, from seeing that the workers *want* unity, that they are clamouring for it so loudly that even the most deaf among the division-mongering leaders will have to listen to them or be swept out. And sometimes these sectarians are incapable leaders who cannot keep up with the mass movement and with events, and who conceal their own weakness and incapacity behind their sectarian reasoning. Instead of leading and organising the movement, they act as a brake and prevent action. They are dried-up bureaucrats, capable of cooling down the warmest flush of enthusiasm.

I hope that the few examples which I have quoted from the rank and file, from living reality, may help them to note, when they have thought them over, that whenever sectarianism is throttled, the working class fights and wins.

Let them say to themselves, as miner Milan said: "Am I going to do it, or am I not?" and let them, like Milan, get to work with confidence. The results will be their reward, and the working masses will follow them.

To act in any other way is almost a betrayal, since unity brings victory in action. UNITY and SECTARIANISM are two eternal enemies.

Let us not forget that in our song, the International, although the first line is "Arise, ye starvelings, from your slumbers," the words which the workers sing with the most gusto are "Comrades, come rally".

In order to rally, we must be in close contact with the workers, and therefore *sectarianism must go.*

SOVIET Scientific and Technical Aid

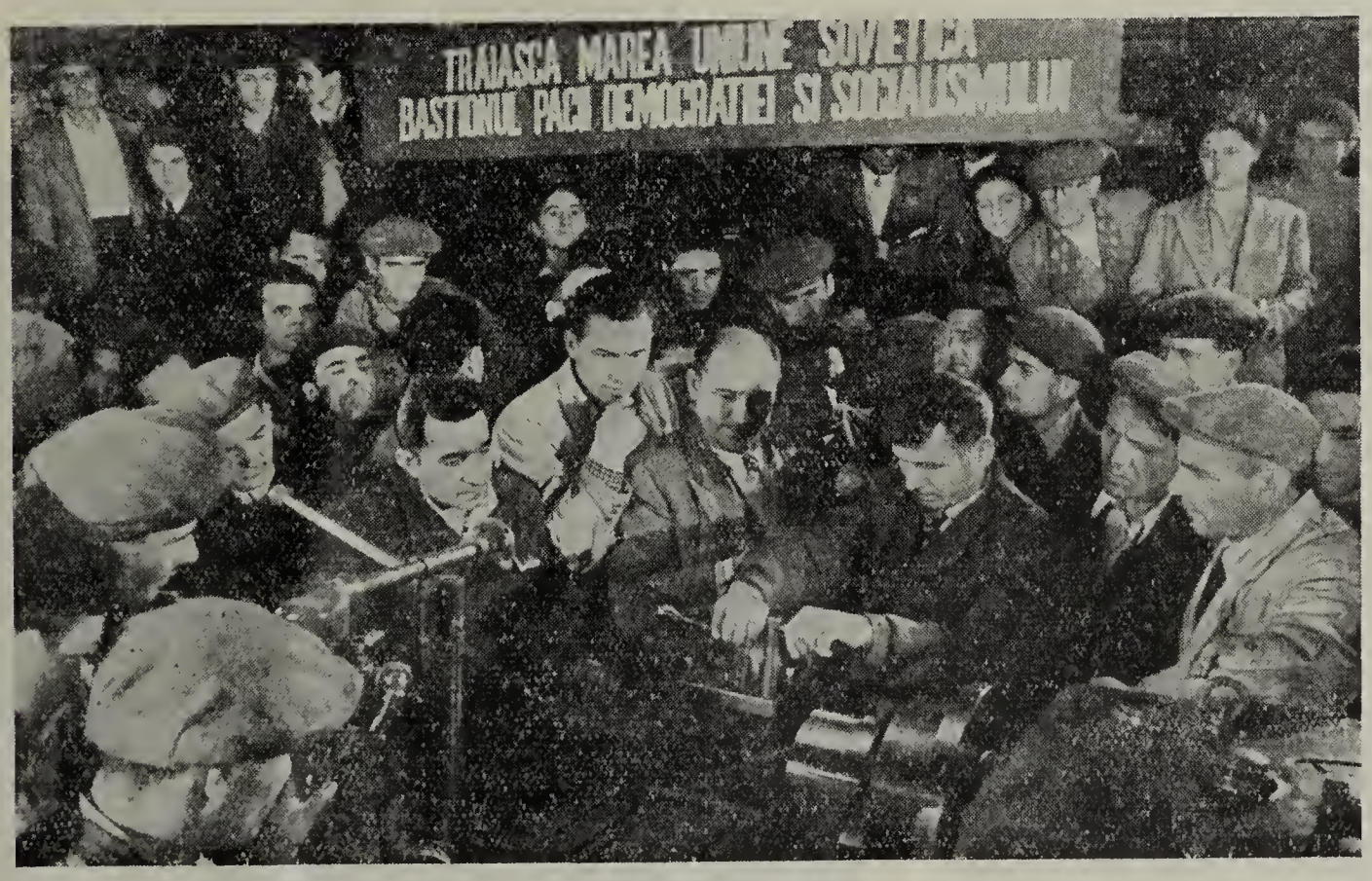
by M. RUBINSTEIN
Doctor of Economic Science

SOVIET science is making an immense contribution to the peoples' fight for peace, democracy and socialism. The scientific and technical aid which the Soviet Union gives to the People's Democracies is of particular importance. This aid allows them rapidly to attain the level of advanced modern science, technique and culture necessary for the building of socialism.

After completing the reconstruction of their war-ravaged economics in an extremely short period, the People's Democracies have begun to lay the material basis of a Socialist society. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding the role of the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the Stalinist theory of Socialist planning, the People's Democracies have drawn up and begun to achieve five- or six-year plans whose purpose is to lay the foundations of Socialism.

Taking advantage of the lessons of the great historical experiment in building socialism in the U.S.S.R., they have made Socialist industrialisation the pivot of these plans, and in particular, the creation and development of their own means of production, thereby assuring the attainment of a higher technical level in all spheres of the national economy.

This technical progress in the national economies of



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Soviet turner P.B. Bykov, Stalin prize-man, demonstrates his work methods to Rumanian turners at the August 23rd Factory in Bucharest.

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Soviet foreman N.A. Rossiisky examines machine parts made by a Rumanian foreman following Stakhanovite methods.

the People's Democracies is carried on more easily and quickly thanks to direct economic aid from the Soviet Union in the form of long-term loans, the supply of raw materials and modern machinery needed by these countries and, among other things, the complete equipping of entire industrial undertakings.

AN ELOQUENT CONTRAST

WHILE the United States supplies the Marshallised countries with quantities of arms and munitions for war against the colonial peoples and in order to prepare another world war, and at the same time subjugates these countries and turns them into tributaries of the American monopolies, the Soviet Union sends the People's Democracies, on the basis of broad economic collaboration and mutual assistance, tractors, excavators, machine tools, cranes, dredging-machines, engines, trucks, electric power station equipment, etc., which are used for the rapid development of the national economies of these countries and their attainment of a modern technical level.

The Soviet Union brings the entire power of its advanced technique to bear in helping the peoples of the New Democracies in the achievement of their peaceful construction.

Of very great importance to the People's Democracies in their assimilation of modern technique is the assistance given by Soviet planning organisations which undertake the creation of new plants on the basis of the most recent achievements of Soviet technique. An example of this work is the powerful group of combined metal plants being built in Poland, near Cracow, which will almost double the country's steel production.

Another example is the Danubian metal plant, the powerful electric power station at Inote, the Budapest underground railway and other construction work now going on in Hungary, outstripping by far anything capitalism had ever created in that country.

With Soviet technical aid, Bulgaria is building big cement works, groups of combined nitrate fertiliser plants at Dimitrovgrad, a series of engineering plants, electric power stations, etc.

In Rumania, with the aid of Soviet science and technique and with the use of Soviet equipment, new oil refineries are being built, the manufacture of tractors has been begun and the Danube-Black Sea canal is being built to bring life to the Dobrudja.

On the basis of the scientific and technical experience and assistance of the Soviet Union, Rumania has drawn up and begun application of a plan spread over ten years to electrify the country. This plan will not only permit the unprecedented development and technical reconstruction of industry, but will also make it possible to irrigate four or five million more acres of dry land.

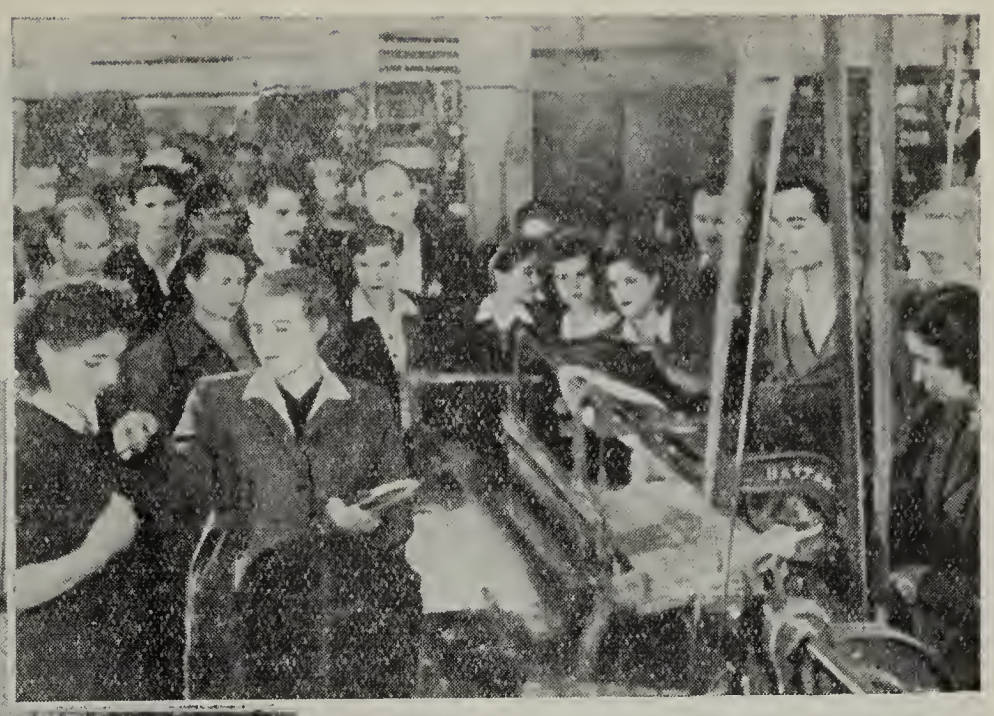
Soviet economic and technical assistance has helped all the People's Democracies to develop their own machine industries, the manufacture of motor tractors, machine tools, turbines, mining equipment, etc. The creation of a modern producer-goods industry make it possible to extend the new technical methods to all parts of the national economy—light industry, transport and agriculture. In agriculture, the Lenin-Stalin co-operative plan which was carried out with success in the Soviet Union and which brought about a fundamental change in rural areas, serves as an example to all the People's Democracies which have started along the road towards the building of Socialism. The visits

A Soviet trade union delegation watches the work of Bucharest turner Nikolae Radulescu who is following Soviet Stakhanovite methods.

(Right :) Soviet Stakhanovite weaver A.M. Chtyrova shows Bulgarian weaving workers her methods of controlling several looms at the same time.

☆

(Below :) Stalin prizewoman L.F. Kononenko discusses her experience with Rumanian workers in a Bucharest textile factory.



made by peasants' delegations from the People's Democracies to the Soviet Union have helped many peasants to convince themselves of the superiority of collective farming.

FRUITFUL EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE

AT the request of the governments of the People's Democracies, Soviet engineers pass on to the workers of these countries the great wealth of technical experience accumulated by the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet Union supplies the People's Democracies with free blue-prints of technical installations, the description of technological processes, new production methods, discoveries and inventions.

Of very great importance in transmitting the scientific and technical experience of the U.S.S.R. to the People's Democracies are the visits made to these countries by Soviet Stakhanovites who give lectures and courses on their achievements, explaining their methods of work in the factories themselves. These visits by Soviet Stakhanovites meet wide response in the People's Democracies and facilitate the training of many pupils and followers.

The experience of Soviet Stakhanovites which spread most rapidly throughout the People's Democracies are those relating to the accelerated smelting of metals, high-speed cutting, the simultaneous working of several machine-tools, industrial building methods, the accumulation of skills, the drive to economise raw and other materials, to speed up return on capital invested, to teach all workers advanced production methods, etc. There is also a considerable expansion in the People's Democracies of the mass movement of inventors, rationalisers and innovators in production and the spread of Soviet experience in the collaboration between science and production.

Soviet experience and direct assistance is of very great importance in the People's Democracies. This is particularly evident in the field of Soviet agro-biological science which is the most advanced in the world. In all the People's Democracies, scientific research associations and institutes have been set up to study the doctrine of the transformation of nature expounded by the great scientist Michurin, and to introduce the achievements of Soviet science into their own country's agriculture. By carrying out Spring swing and by using Soviet methods of artificial pollination and plant crossing, etc., the scientists of the People's Democracies are contributing to the increase of output per acre and to raising the level of formerly backward agriculture.

The Stalin plan for the transformation of nature had immense repercussions in the People's Democracies. In Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania where, for centuries, agriculture suffered from drought, plans are being drawn up and applied for afforestation and irrigation, the construction of great water reservoirs, hydro-electric power stations and the electrification of agriculture.

The links between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the scientists and newly-created Academies of Sciences in the People's Democracies are becoming increasingly close. Scientists in the People's Democracies are studying thoroughly dialectical materialism and are using it in their research. Comrade Stalin's brilliant studies in the question of linguistics have aroused very great interest in the People's Democracies.

Thus in the Hungarian People's Republic, special meetings of the Jubilee Session of the Academy of Sciences in December 1950 were devoted to the examination of these studies by Joseph Stalin. In a whole series of conferences and contributions made by scientists, it was stressed that Stalin's work had greatly aided Hungarian linguists, had clarified complicated

and confused questions regarding the development of the Hungarian language and had contributed to revealing and correcting erroneous opinions. Other scientists pointed out that Stalin's studies on linguistics had enriched science as a whole and had drawn the attention of scientific workers to the most important problems in scientific research.

The scientists of the different countries unanimously recognised in their contributions that advanced Soviet science had become an example to them. They therefore called for the strengthening of the ties of friendship and mutual assistance between Soviet Science and the growing science of the People's Democracies.

In December 1950, the Stalinist scientific sessions of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Academies of Agricultural Sciences took place. During these sessions, Stalin's studies were examined and their importance was demonstrated for the development of the different aspects of Bulgarian science.

Thus in the fields of science and technique, the People's Democracies have joined the drive to build socialism through the construction of a new life founded on the victorious doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

AID TO PEOPLE'S CHINA

SOVIET science and technique is making a big contribution to the economic and cultural development of People's China. The basis of Chinese industry was created by the imperialist powers and comprador-capitalists* with the purpose of realising super-profits in a colonial regime. It was typified by the almost total absence of the manufacture of its own means of production, by the extremely backward state of technique, and by extremely restricted training of technical staff and skilled workers. The Chinese workers, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, achieved very rapidly great successes in the reconstruction and development of heavy and light industry in application of the general programme adopted at the September 1949 session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. They have also taken the first steps towards bringing the country's entire economy under planned development.

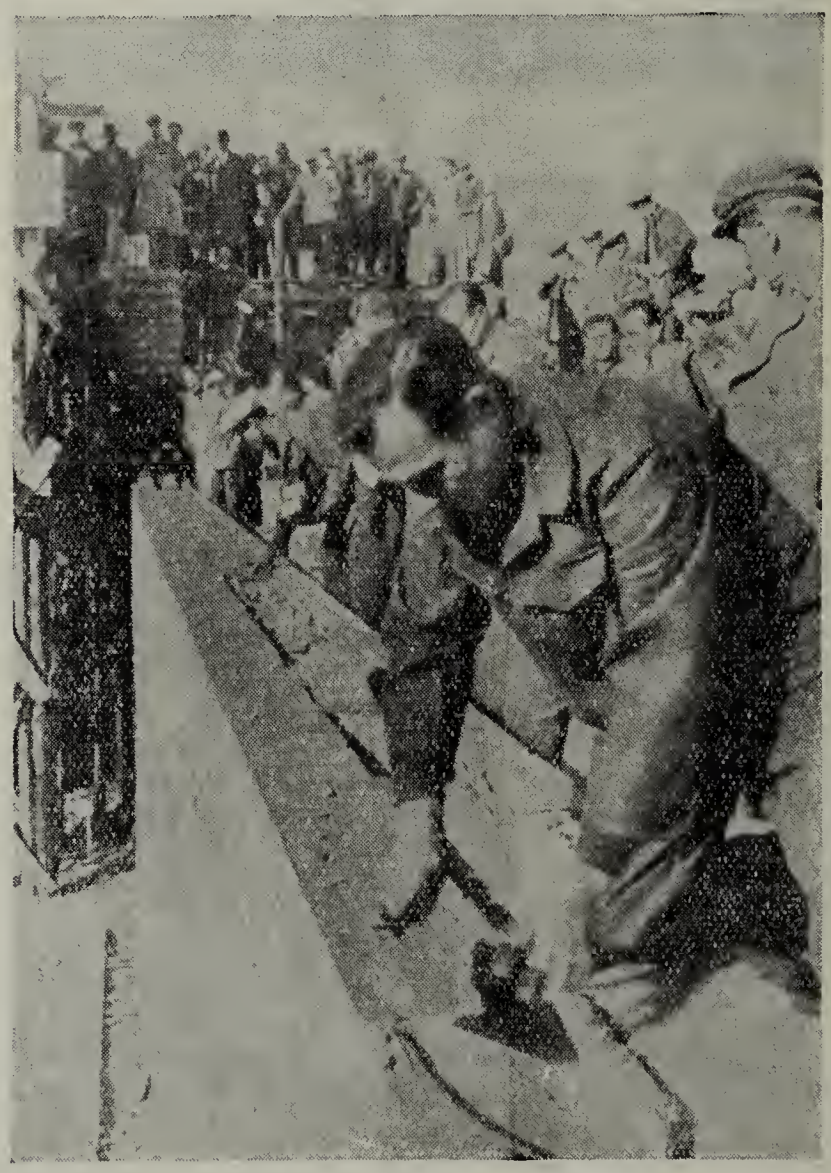
The disinterested aid given the Chinese People by the Soviet Union has been of very great importance in the development of the national economy of China. Soviet engineers and technicians have directly helped in bringing into operation both the plants under construction and those already built. They have shared with the Chinese workers and engineers all the technical experience accumulated during the years of building socialism. Soviet planning organisations are contributing to the building in China of a whole number of plants based on the latest technical achievements.

* Middlemen through whom commercial transactions between Chinese and Europeans were carried on. (Ed.)

The Academy of Sciences of the Chinese People's Republic was created in November 1949. More than 500 scientific workers are engaged in the central body of the Academy and in its 25 Scientific Institutions. These workers make a systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, closely follow the advances made by science in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and send groups of scientific workers to the USSR for training along new lines and to study its experience in the organisation of scientific work.

Following the example set by Soviet science, Chinese scientists pay very great attention to the link-up between their scientific research and the practical needs of the national economy, and they have already obtained successes in this sphere. For example, the biologists in Peking found a method of fighting cotton pests. The Peking Physics Institute has made a number of high-quality optical instruments. Peking doctors have obtained excellent results in the preparation of penicillin.

The Agricultural Institute has reorganised its entire activity on the basis of the Michurin doctrine and has done a great deal of work in plant-crossing. At the beginning of 1950, the Michurin Society attached to the Sinziachuan Agricultural Institute was set up, and in one year alone, it reached a membership of 3,000.



Soviet Stakhanovite and Stalin prizeman V.V. Korolev, mason working for the Mosjilstroi State building concern in Moscow, shows Bucharest building workers his work methods.

Apart from professors and agronomists, students, workers and peasants belong to the Society. Branches of the Michurin Society have been founded in several areas in North China and far-reaching researeh and experiments are being carried out on the peasants' fields.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences drew up a vast plan for future development of scientific research work, particularly as regards the foundation, on the basis of the old scientific institutions, of Institutes of Physics, Technical Physics, Physical Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Physiology and Biochemistry, Experimental Biology, Botanics, Geophysics, Geology, Mathematics, Psychology, Geography, Contemporary History, Archeology, Languages, Sociology, an Engineering Institute, an Observatory and other scientific institutions.

Soviet engine-drive. V.G. Blazhenov passes on his experience to Rumanian railway workers.

Thus with the direct assistance of Soviet science, science in People's China is making its contribution to the great struggle of the 475 million-strong Chinese people to develop and consolidate the country's entire economy, and to increase the material well-being and cultural level of the masses of the people.

In his speech to the 2nd World Peace Congress, Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, drew a very striking comparison. He said:

"The Soviet Union puts peaceful proposals before the United Nations General Assembly while the USA uses UNO to perpetrate aggression.

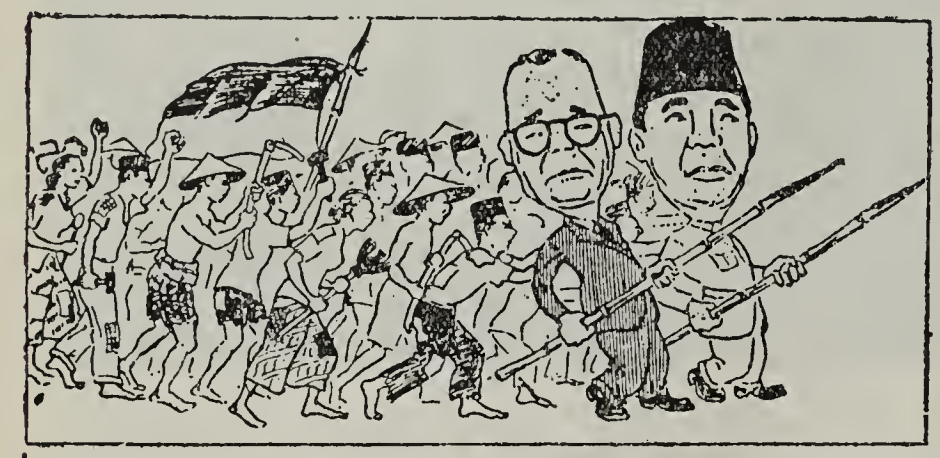
"The Soviet Union is transforming nature with the aid of atomic energy whereas the USA menaces the whole of mankind with the atom bomb. The Soviet Union is building powerful hydro-electric power stations at Stalingrad and Kuibyshev and the Turkmenistan canal, the longest in the world, whereas the USA is increasing the number of its military bases throughout the world. The USA is lengthening its so-called 'line of defence' beyond the Atlantic Ocean towards Western Europe and beyond the Pacific towards the territory of our country. The Soviet Union spreads the doctrine of Michurin and brings us perennial wheat, while the USA threatens to use the hydrogen bomb and bacteriological warfare.

"Does not this comparison speak for itself ?"

BETRAYAL OF THE INDONESIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

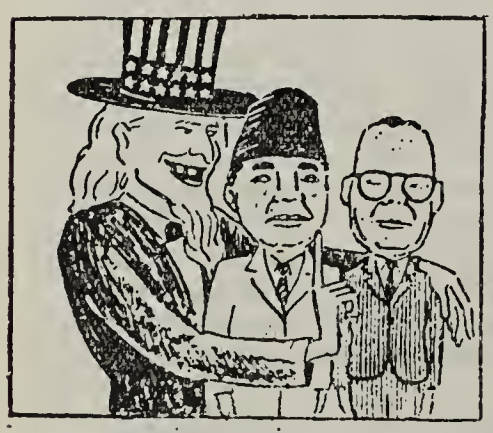
(As seen through Indonesian eyes)

The following series of cartoons was printed in a publication issued jointly on August 17, 1950, *Indonesia's Day of Independence, by four workers' papers under the supervision and coordination of the Central Committee of the SOBSI (national trade union centre, affiliated to the WFTU). The editor of this special publication was subsequently brought to trial and charged with "insulting the President and Vice-President of the State".*



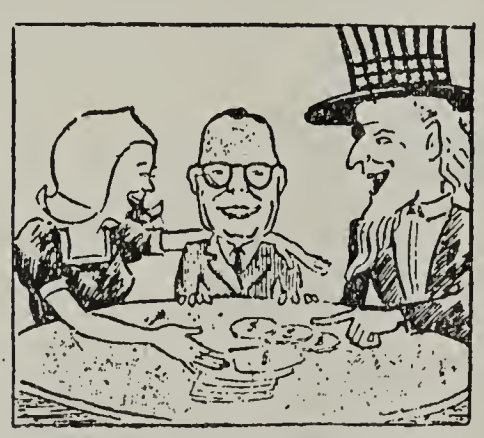
1. With the end of the Anti-Fascist War, Soekarno and Hatta, under overwhelming pressure from the people's liberation movement, saw no other way out than to give way and sign the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945.

2. The people fought heroically against the British and Dutch troops — supported by the USA, hungry for raw materials and markets — and Soekarno was obliged to declare: "If the Dutch launch a second military aggression, I myself shall lead the guerilla warfare."

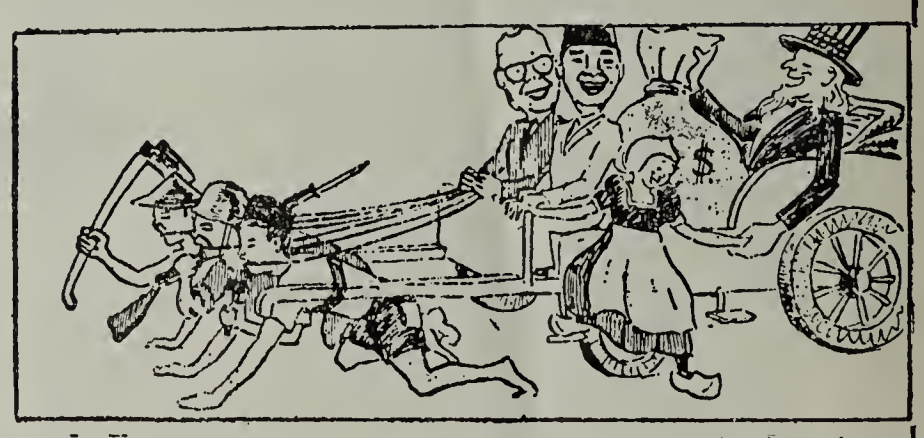


3. But following the Serangan Meeting with the American Cochran, Soekarno and Hatta let loose in September 1948 a reign of terror in which 20,000 patriots were massacred while imperialist-instigated pro-Dutch rebellions were given kid-glove treatment.

4. With the ground thus prepared, the Dutch launched their second military aggression. While the people fought on in the towns and in the mountains, Soekarno ran off, under American "protection", to present the white flag of surrender.



5. Under the complacent eye of American imperialism, Soekarno and Hatta called on the people to lay down their arms and sat down to a Round Table Conference with the Dutch, preparing the Colonial Statute and imperialist recognition of their "National" Government.



6. Today they are the happy agents of their American master and his Dutch handmaid, trying to yoke the people of Indonesia to the American machine for profit and war making. But the people have already stopped them from aiding their master's aggression in Korea, and worker, peasant and soldier are forging their unity for a *people's* liberation.

A WEAPON AGAINST THE WORKERS-

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION IN AUSTRALIA

by **L. J. McPHILLIPS**

National Secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia

THE boost frequently given to the Arbitration system used in Australia to deal with wage and other industrial disputes leaves some workers in other countries with the impression that workers in Australia are able, through this system, to obtain high wages without struggle.

This is not correct. On the contrary, every major advance in wages and working conditions has been won by Australian workers as a result of action in one form or another taken by workers themselves outside of the Arbitration Court.

The Arbitration system is used in fact for the purpose of suppressing the level of wages, controlling the price of labor power and guaranteeing that it very seldom, if ever, rises above its "value".

The system is also used to control the Unions and to impose penalties—fines and jail—upon workers and their Unions and to tie them to the machinery of the State. Some very recent decisions by the main Arbitration Court of the land seek to reduce the Unions to mere appendages of the Court itself.

The machinery for operating this system consists in the main of Arbitration Courts. These exist in four of the Australian States and on top of these is a Commonwealth Court. This latter Court is the most important and its decisions affect the greatest number of workers.

It consists of four Judges appointed by the Commonwealth Government from amongst the practising Barristers plus a number of laymen called Conciliation Commissioners.

These latter are also appointed by the Government and when the Labor Government, about two and a half years ago, increased the number of Conciliation Commissioners it appointed several right-wing Trade Union leaders to these posts.

Their appointment, however, has in no way altered the role and purpose of the Arbitration system nor rid the Australian workers of the need to fight by strike and other actions, for wage increases and other demands.

Control by the Arbitration Courts over the level of wages and the exercise of this control to the detriment of workers is ensured by the very method used by the Court in assessing wages.

WAGE MARGINS AIM AT DIVIDING WORKERS

THE wages structure long since established by this system consists of what is called "a basic wage" plus "margins". These two items constitute the ordinary weekly wage for the overwhelming majority of adult male workers in this country.

The "basic wage" as its name implies is a base rate and it is the basis for all award (i.e. Court granted) wages.

This wage is periodically assessed by the Court upon application by the Unions or the employers and is automatically adjusted quarterly by means of a formula related to certain statistical data concerning retail prices collected by the Government Statistician.

Declared as a minimum wage for all adult workers, the basic wage *becomes in fact a maximum wage* unless it can be shown that there is something about a particular job which warrants the payment of more than this so-called minimum rate, the "basic" wage.

If this can be shown, then "a margin" is paid to the worker or workers performing that particular job.

Margins are paid for various factors, including skill, responsibility, heat, cold, wet, laboriousness, danger, work which is unhealthy or heavy on clothing.

Of these main factors the highest margin is paid for skill.

Hence an engineer gets a higher margin than a laborer and where you can establish a combination of these factors such as skill, plus responsibility, you get a higher margin again.

These margins are not determined en masse but

are separately assessed on the basis of evidence, argument and actual job inspections by the Judges or Conciliation Commissioners. For the semi-skilled and unskilled workers—and these constitute the vast majority of workers in Australia—these margins vary as between different countries but for the craftsman these margins are practically identical in all industries.

Once determined, margins are not altered except in "changed circumstances" and as the technical development of industry reduces and eliminates the factors for which margins are paid the "changed circumstances" inevitably lead to a drop in the general level of margins. This tendency is arrested only by strikes and other actions by workers in support of their demands for "marginal" increases such as occurred in 1946, 1947 and 1948 in the metal industry.

The wage structure in Australia, i.e. a basic wage plus margins, encourages the chase after margins and special rates, *thus creating divisions amongst workers.* For instance, this is the basis for tradesmen being encouraged to have little or no interest in the rates paid to laborers).

The result of this is that every worker seeks to prove some special circumstances about his job entitling him to be "classified" with a marginal rate and is thus encouraged to be concerned only with his own particular job and unconcerned about the main general wage.

In some awards there are hundreds of individual classifications, each carrying separate marginal rates, but the total number of differing marginal rates in an Award with hundreds of classifications amounts to only 20 to 30. For instance, in the Award covering the steel works at Newcastle, the main steel works in Australia owned by the wealthy monopoly Broken Hill Proprietary, there are 523 classifications, each with a separate marginal rate, but the total number of different marginal rates is only 24 and these range from 6/- to 90/-, with over half of the classifications receiving a marginal rate ranging from 6/- to 23/- and four-fifths of them on margins of 35/- a week and less.

The farce and actual dishonesty of this form of wage assessment is shown by the fact many margins differ by only six pence and one shilling per week. This means that the Judges and others claim to have accurately measured the difference in the value of various jobs as finely as to differ by only a few pence.

This division amongst workers and the concentration upon the chase after margins serve best the interests of the employers and assist in diverting the struggle for improved wages away from a full-scale frontal attack by the workers upon the wages structure and the wage-robbery in the form of the basic wage as practised in this country. It will be readily seen how by handing out some small increases in margins the employers can bribe some workers and divert them from the main wages struggle.

BASIC WAGE ORGANISES LOW LIVING STANDARDS

THE main wage factor is, however, for all Australian workers the basic wage.

A brief examination of some of the less obvious aspects of this wage will show that this importance is in no way exaggerated and that the fight to obtain a substantial basic wage increase, together with an altered method of assessment and adjustment of the wage, remains the most important wage fight at present confronting the workers of Australia.

It is the one wage which equally affects all workers in every given area, whether they are skilled or unskilled, clerical or manual workers.

The importance of this wage is increased by the fact that the rates paid to apprenticed and unapprenticed juniors and to women workers are at present based upon a percentage of the basic wage.

The wages structure in Australia, adhered to by practically every wage-fixing tribunal—even though the awards of some of these tribunals are not expressed in a manner which reveals the fact—consists therefore of a basic wage plus margins. For all workers covered by awards, except perhaps in some isolated circumstances affecting mainly the higher-paid professional workers, the basic wage constitutes the major portion of their prescribed award rates. This means that the basic wage is the main wage factor determining the living standards of workers. As a result of this more detailed attention is given by the Courts, the employers and the Governments to the basic wage than to any other wage question.

All this, plus the direct conflict between the workers, through their Unions, and the Governments, gives to the basic wage a political importance and to the fights around it a political content greater than that applicable to other wage questions.

It is no accident that in the public contest around this question of the basic wage, that is, in the Court proceedings, Governments, employers, and in some cases, the Court itself, bring forward seemingly "weighty" economic arguments and their heaviest guns in the form of University professors, economists, research experts, accountants, business advisors, etc. to oppose the claims advanced by workers for a higher basic wage and for any change in the present method of assessment and adjustment of the basic wage.

It is no accident either that the Court always gives very favourable consideration to this type of information and the evidence of the so-called "experts", for in determining the basic wage the Court is in fact determining a rate which will somewhere nearly reflect the "value" of labour power, or at least a base rate which, with other special rates added to it, i.e. margins, shift rates, and penalties, will give a weekly rate expressing in money terms the "value" of labor power. And as the facts show, it will keep the total rate at no more than the level determined during periods of prosperity and below it during depression periods.

A STATE APPARATUS FOR WAGE-ROBBERY

A study of this wage, its place in the wages structure, its method of assessment and adjustment and the manner in which it is used in the Arbitration system will help show that the basic wage is a swindle, a form of wage-robbery, a deliberate design for the purpose of keeping the level of wages suppressed and its method of adjustment, as practised by the Arbitration Court, a further measure used to help guarantee this result.

Seen in relation to the whole system of Arbitration, the wage structure becomes more obviously a deliberate design calculated to guarantee that whilst other privileged sections of society may be free to quickly and automatically take advantage of favourable

market conditions to raise the prices of commodities they have for sale, whilst monopoly control of the manufacture and/or distribution of the commodities may be used to force a price rise of some or all of them and in some circumstances to delay a reduction of such prices, the workers will be and, in fact, are prevented from doing this or penalised if they try.

This attempted prevention and application of penalties is part of the law of the land and is contained in the procedural rigmarole, delay, and lengthy hearing of cases, together with the penalties imposed for strikes and other actions taken by workers in support of their wage claims.

It will be seen from this that the Arbitration Court is a piece of State apparatus used to interfere with the operation of certain economic laws, e.g. supply and demand, in relation to the sale of labor power and this to the detriment of the workers.

These contentions as to the nature and importance of the basic wage are proved by a brief study of the manner in which this wage is assessed and periodically adjusted.

In connection with these two matters there are two widely held but ill-conceived views even amongst workers in Australia. One is that the wage is based upon the living costs of a certain sized family, in some cases it is believed to be five and in some cases, four. The other is that the periodical adjustments of the basic wage are made in accordance with the measured fluctuation of the "cost of living" of a particular sized family.

Neither of these views is correct.

In Australia there are four Arbitration Courts which fix the basic wage—the Commonwealth Court and the State Courts of Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia.

THE SWINDLE OF "INDUSTRY'S CAPACITY TO PAY"

So far as the Commonwealth Basic Wage is concerned, it is not assessed in relation to any family unit nor in relation to any standard of living nor in relation to any scale of living costs. The 3 State Courts allegedly assess their basic wage determinations upon a certain prescribed standard of living for a family unit, but, despite this, the basic wage in those various States never varies very much from that made by the Commonwealth Court which is not assessed in relation to any family unit or any scale of living costs.

The first basic wage determined by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court was assessed as a living wage in 1907 and was described as being a standard meeting the "normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilised community" and as an award "sufficient to provide food and shelter and clothing and a condition of frugal comfort estimated by current human standards."

Since 1907 the Commonwealth Arbitration Court has not investigated living standards or living costs and, generally speaking, did no

A short essay on the well-known impartiality and lack of bias of Arbitration Court Judges. (Original cartoon, specially drawn for "World Trade Union Movement" by YAKKA.)

more until 1931 than merely adjust the 1907 standards. Even this practise was but a pretence.

In 1931 the Court dropped all pretence at relating the wage to living costs and determined what they called an "economic wage" allegedly based upon the "capacity of industry to pay". The effect of the adoption of this standard and the fact that the Court's determination of the basic wage on this standard as an "economic wage" completely ignored any question of family units, living standards, or scale of costs, is revealed by statements contained in the judgments of the various Arbitration Court Judges.

The Court adopted this measure "capacity to pay" in the early years of the last general depression, and at the same time reduced all wages by 10%, in some cases by 20 %, after a very brief hearing of an employer's application.

Although the capacity of industry to pay has considerably increased since then, the Court had until recently only twice raised the basic wage. In 1937, 6/- was added and called a prosperity loading and in 1946, 7/- was added after a rail and tram strike.

Whilst claiming to determine the basic wage in accordance with "the capacity of industry to pay" the Court does not—and cannot in fact—*measure this capacity.*

In a case recently before the Court the Judges agreed with a submission made to them that the Court does not make any such accurate measurement but merely makes some guess at the "capacity of industry to pay" based upon the data concerning the Nation's economy placed before it, and of course, their interpretation of this data and the conclusions they draw as to the "capacity of industry to pay" reflect the views of the bourgeois so-called "economic experts"

Thus the wages structure and the Court's methods of basic wage assessment today cynically disregard the rights of workers to a calculated living wage. In effect they say: "All he earns will work out to be enough to keep him alive!"

From all this it will be seen that by the very method followed by the Arbitration Court in assessing the basic wage there is a deliberate plan to ensure that labour power is paid for at less than its "value" and this result is more or less guaranteed by the wages structure itself.

This basic wages is adjusted every 3 months up or down according to a formula adopted by the Court and *in the construction and application of which the workers have no say.*

To ensure that the basic wage as assessed by the Court does not improve in between periods of assessment, the quarterly adjustments are made in a manner which perpetuates and aggravates the original swindle of the base wage assessment.

These quarterly adjustments are frequently referred to as "cost of living" adjustments.

MANIPULATION OF INADEQUATE STATISTICS

THE actual cost of living increases by very much more than the sum by which the basic wage rises. Frequently the blame for this is attributed to the Commonwealth Statistician.

This unfortunate gentleman is in no way to blame.

The figures which he collects are not intended to, nor does he claim that they do in fact reflect rises and falls in the actual cost of living. They are intended to do no more, even at best, than reflect a general trend in retail prices and are known as the "Retail Price Index Numbers".

The Statistician obtains from already established sources information relative to the rise and fall in the retail prices of a certain limited range of articles known as a regimen. This regimen is based upon a list of items prepared as an "indicator list".

Whatever may be the value of these figures for the Statistician's purpose, their use by the Arbitration Court for purposes of adjusting the basic wage is an injustice and another part of a formula for suppressing the level of wages per medium of the law. The list of items which are priced by the Statistician for purposes of his Retail Price Index Numbers does not include many food and other items purchased regularly by working class families. Fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, fresh fish and lamb, are among the food items which are *not* included in the items on the price of which the basic wage is adjusted, and these are by no means all the items not included.

The result is that no matter how high the price of these items may rise there is no increase in the basic wage to meet the increase in living costs.

Recently the prices of these particular four food items have risen to record high levels. Despite the "Crocodile" tears of the reactionary papers for the housewife, they lead the campaign against any alteration to the Court's method of adjusting the basic wage.

The Statistician's figures for house rents which he includes in the Retail Price Index are based upon very old dwellings. House rents have been pegged and controlled by law in Australia since early in the last war years and as a result the rents for these particular houses have remained almost stationary. But these particular houses are not available for letting and the shortage of houses in Australia has, despite rent control laws, created a terrific black market in domestic accommodation; and rents actually paid by workers exceed by far the amount contained in the Statistician's figures.

A recent survey made by some unions showed that houses built by the New South Wales State Government were let to workers in Sydney at rents averaging 37/- to 40/- a week.

The Statistician's figures show rents as being only 25/- a week.

The Court of course accepts the Statistician's figures.

These facts about the method of adjusting the basic wage are well known but despite this the method is continued.

A 7/- increase in the basic wage was won in 1946 following a strike by Government Railway and Tram-

When Ironworkers' National Secretary McPhillips told workers action would be necessary to ensure a favourable judgment on wage claims by the Arbitration Court, and was charged for this with contempt of Court, Ironworkers in Sydney struck work for 24 hours and packed a stadium in a big protest meeting.

way workers in the State of Victoria. The Arbitration Court Judges in a recent judgment admitted that the basic wage lagged behind price rises in actual living costs but declared that this 7/- has more than taken care of this lag since 1946.

Such statements are utter nonsense and the workers know this.

The facts are that Australian workers are able to meet increasing living costs only as a result of additional earnings by way of overtime and a continued boom making it possible for all members of the family to retain full employment.

But it takes all these earnings to meet a family's living costs. Some workers, by taking advantage of favourable economic conditions, i.e. full employment, have been able to force the payment of wages higher than those awarded by the Arbitration authorities.

RIGHT-WING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS UPHOLD ARBITRATION LABYRINTH

HOWEVER, Austrian workers realise that these conditions will not last forever and they have begun to take steps to raise their ordinary and "legal" weekly wages.

The legal atmosphere and remote circumstances in which the basic wage is decided has made it difficult to arouse workers to the need for action to end this legal wage swindle.

In addition, the Unions have not been united on the need to attack this system. The right-wing Union leaders, by preaching a policy of adherence to compulsory arbitration as the sole or main means of determining wage disputes, have helped to hold workers back from fighting against this system, to confuse them and to lead them to believe in the existence of some smooth and legal way to achieve justice in wage assessment.

This is assisted by the role of the Australian Labour Party which loudly and proudly proclaims its adherence "to the policy of Arbitration".

One of the favourite expressions of these right-wing leaders is that "bad and all though Arbitration may be, it is better than the law of the jungle". For them, strikes and other forms of direct action by workers against the employers, are "the law of the jungle". The facts are that *every worthwhile advancement in wages and working conditions in this country has come only as a result of such actions.*

The real issue for workers of course is not "for or against arbitration" but "for or against higher wages and better working conditions".

Despite the grip which this arbitration system has upon the thinking of Australian workers, more and more of them are awakening to the real issues.

The Unions presented claims to employers in January 1949 for a £10 basic wage, an altered method

Ironworkers outside the Courthouse in Newcastle (N.S.W.), where they counted out Arbitration Judge Cantor.

of assessing and adjustment of this wage and for payment of the same basic wage to men and women workers. These claims are associated with others for higher margins and for increased wages for apprentices and unapprenticed youth.

The basic wages claims have been before the Arbitration Court Judges since February 1949. During this period the militant and progressive forces in the Labour Movement have taken full advantage of the opportunity to direct workers' attention to the facts about this system of wage assessment.

A group of Unions, by special pamphlets, leaflets, a special newspaper and a nation-wide series of meetings has brought these facts sharply to the notice of workers and many more are now aware of the facts than previously.

Tired of waiting for the Court's decision and wearied by the burden of constantly rising living costs many workers pushed their claims for higher margins. This movement developed first amongst metal workers, taking the form of stop-work meetings, overtime and shift work bans and some strikes.

The Court finally brought down its decision in October last. Whereas the Unions had claimed an increase in the basic wage which would amount to approximately £5 a week, a sum which was undoubtedly necessary to enable the workers to cope with tremendously increasing living costs, the Judges generously granted only £1. This increase, however, was granted in such a manner that many workers would not get an increase of £1 a week, and some wage-rates they were receiving were off-set against the Court's £1 increase decision.

The decision called forth great indignation from amongst the workers, and whereas the right-wing Union officials who slavishly support Arbitration held their heads and moaned with grief and confusion, the militant Unions set about explaining to the workers the real swindle of the Court's decision.

ARBITRATION MEANS STATE CONTROL OF UNIONS

IN the course of these actions,, another important and not always easily discernable role of the Arbitration system has been openly revealed. This is the control over Unions and their members exercised by the Court.

This control is exercised in a number of ways.

To have access to the Court, to obtain legal awards and generally for the purpose of full and formal legal recognition, a union must be registered with the Court. This gives the Court its original control over the Union.

The Arbitration Act compels Unions to have certain rules. In 1943, the Ironworkers' Union sought to register rules providing for Socialism as one of its objectives and for the payment of a weekly sum to members during a strike. Both these rules were disallowed.

The Court is also empowered to cancel ballots held to elect union officers, conduct such ballots itself and even appoint persons to office pending a ballot.

In addition to this control, the Courts can de-register a Union and thus deny it legal rights under the Act. *Individual Unions are frequently de-registered because of strikes in which their members participate.*

During periods of de-registration employers refuse to negotiate with such Unions and in some periods refuse to recognise the wages awards of the Union. *Only the organised strength of a Union prevents these consequences.*

In such periods also employers and other reactionary forces sponsor and support the formation of break-away Unions which seek the Court registration and undermine Union organisation by dividing the workers.

On top of all this the Court is empowered to jail and fine workers and Unions.

Effigies of Arbitration Court Judge Cantor were hung on poles and burnt in public places by angry workers in New South Wales. RIGHT : Outside the Australian Bronze Works in Sidney. BELOW : Cantor is denounced as an agent of the wealthy Broken Hill Proprietary monopoly.

In the past twenty months the chief Arbitration Court has handed out the following punishments:

— Jailed myself for 30 days because of public criticism I made of the Court.

— Jailed 8 Union leaders for 12 months during a Miners' strike because they refused to hand over to the Court their Union funds.

— Fined the three Unions to which these leaders belonged £1,000-£2,000 each.

— De-registered two Unions because some of their members were on strike for higher pay.

— Cancelled Annual Leave due to Sydney Wharf labourers because they went on strike.

— Fined five of the metal Unions £100 each because they would not order certain of their members to remove a ban they had placed on overtime work or alternatively expel them from the Union.

— Fined one of our biggest Unions two sums of £500 because members in one steel works placed a ban on overtime when the monopoly concerned refused to grant a £1 a week wage increase. When the Union refused to pay the fine the Court appointed a Receiver empowered to "wind up" the Union.

— Fined my own Union for holding a 24 hour work stoppage in order to discuss the Menzies Bill

and wage claims. We have refused to pay the fine.

The Commonwealth and New South Wales Arbitration Courts have issued statements that **"it is an obligation of Unions to submit all their industrial claims to Arbitration Authorities and to accept and compel their members to accept the decision of those authorities and where the members refuse to honour this obligation the Executives of the Unions are obliged to expel them, even if this means completely dissolving their union".**

ATTEMPT TO OUTLAW RIGHT TO STRIKE

THESE Courts also declared that **"the supervision and control of Unions is vested in the hands of the Arbitration Court".**

Failure to carry out these dictates of the Court means fines on the Union and individual members, jail sentences and de-registration of the Union.

This attack by the Court on the freedom and independence of Unions coincides with and fits into the attack upon the whole working-class and upon democratic rights by the labor-hating war-mongering Menzies Government, by its infamous Communist Party Dissolution Bill.

This legislation, which bans the Australian Communist Party, provides penalties for persons "who act or are likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of the laws of the Commonwealth".

The Arbitration laws are "laws of the Commonwealth" and any worker who resists or defies these is acting "in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance" of those laws and is liable for punishment under Menzies' vicious Bill.

Unregistered Unions are, under this same legislation, open to be declared "unlawful associations", disbanded and sold up if they "act in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of the laws of the Commonwealth".

So if the Arbitration authorities refuse to increase wages or reduce them and the workers go on strike about it and their Unions do not act in the manner demanded by the Court, this Court will raid their funds by fines, de-register the Union and the Government will do the rest.

WORKERS' OPPOSITION BECOMES ORGANISED

FROM all this it is obvious that the system of compulsory Arbitration in Australia is very far from being the "great boon" to workers which its champions claim.

The main and most ardent advocates of this system are the employers, the capitalist press, the politicians, the Judges and the right-wing Union officials.

None of these advocates of the Arbitration system depend upon the Courts for their wages.

It will be seen then that the Australian Arbitration system is a piece of State machinery which is effectively used by the ruling class in this country, supported by some sections of the Labor movement, to control and suppress the general level of wages and to control the Unions for the purpose of preventing their use for effective struggle in support of higher living standards and against the system itself.

These facts are becoming increasingly obvious to workers and as a result of widespread and effective propaganda many more of them are seeing the Courts in their real role.

Despite the continued adherence of the Unions to an official policy of Arbitration, workers do not accept the Courts' decisions as final and are frequently on strike not only directly against the employers but also against decisions of the Arbitration Courts.

With rising living costs outstripping wages and the Arbitration system failing to meet the demands of workers, such strikes will increase in size and in number.

VICTORY FOR UNITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

George THOM

AFTER one of the most significant strikes of recent years in Great Britain, marked throughout by the complete solidarity of the workers concerned, the management of Duples, foiled in their attempt to smash workshop organisation, were forced to climb down, and the strikers resumed work on their own terms after a triumphal march in the area

The strike, which lasted from October 19 to December 15, 1950, took place in the main factory of Duples' Motor Bodies, Limited, of Hendon (London).

Approximately one thousand workers are employed in the factory. There is virtually 100 per cent. trade unionism, and Shop Stewards function in every department. The workers are organised in seven different trade unions: the vast majority—say, approximately 700— are members of the National Union of Vehicle Builders, roughly 150 are in the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers, and the remainder in the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Electrical Trades Union, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists, and the Blacksmiths' Society.

MILITANTS ARE FIRST FIRED

THE strike came as a climax to repeated attempts by the management of the factory over the past two or three years to introduce changes in production methods and to speed-up output.

Every one of these previous attempts had failed in face of the solid opposition of the workers, although it required a three week's strike in June, 1950 to force the bosses to go back on a decision to sack every member of the Shop Stewards' Committee.

In this situation the only solution left to the employers was to carry out mass sackings, get rid of the Shop Stewards and militants, in the process break up trade union organisation on the factory level and re-open with a largely re-constituted personnel.

The two month's strike began when, under the pretext of "redundancy," the firm began to provoke the workers by dismissing certain of them in such a way that a factory agreement between the Shop Stewards and the management providing for "last hired, first fired" was violated.

The first attack involved some 30 workers, and although the matter was taken up vigorously by the Shop Committee, they failed to get satisfaction.

After two weeks, a further 35 were similarly dismissed by the management; and included amongst these were the Shop Stewards' convenor and a number of other leading Shop Stewards. On the very day these dismissals took place, a mass meeting of the workers decided to withdraw their labour in order to resist the attacks being made by the management.

The demands of the strikers were:

1. Withdrawal of notices and full inquiry by the Ministries concerned as to the reasons for the sacking.
2. Maintenance of existing rates and conditions of work.
3. If, after a proper inquiry had been conducted, it was revealed that a certain number of dismissals were inevitable, then those who had been dismissed would have the first opportunity of re-engagement.

The management stubbornly resisted all of these demands although it was clearly the management which had been responsible for the development of the strike in as far as it had actually broken the local procedure agreement in regard to redundancy.

UNITY BRINGS WIDESPREAD SOLIDARITY

ON the basis of these facts the unions involved either gave official sanction to the strike (as in the case of the N.U.V.B. and the Sheet Metal Workers), or gave it tacit recognition by paying a strike benefit (as in the case of most of the other unions).

From the very beginning of the strike the united Strike Committee, **composed of workers of every political and religious belief,** got down to work in a businesslike way. Picketing became a routine job with this 100% strike, and the workers were almost all drawn into some kind of activity through sub-committees dealing with hardship cases, press,

propaganda, contact with other factories, etc. Propaganda in kindred and nearby factories, appeals for solidarity, the sending of speakers to other trade union branches or organisations, and other forms of publicity were quickly organised and maintained throughout the whole period.

As the solidarity fund developed, first of all the Committee equalised strike payments on the highest rate paid by any one of the unions. The surplus funds left over after this were distributed according to the amount of money available.

The total amount of money subscribed to the solidarity fund was at least £10,000, contributed primarily by workers in other factories doing the same kind of work and by engineering workers in general. There are some outstanding examples of financial aid. For example, the workers in the Park Royal Coach Works raised £477.5s.10d. as a result of a levy of one hour's pay. Standard Motors in Conventry, in one week alone, contributed £189 with the promise of more. Other factories subscribing were: Electrical and Musical Industries Ltd., £113; De Havillands, £82; High Duty Alloys, £83; British Light Steel Pressings, £65; and so on.

It is noteworthy that the highest contributions came from the workers in those factories which had in the more recent period been themselves engaged in strike action.

DIVISION — DESIRES AND REALITIES

VERY. early in the strike there was a serious danger that weak leadership on the part of certain of the national leaders might bring about defeat. While the men in the shops were refusing to accept sackings, some of the trade union leaders conceded the point that the existence of surplus workers could, of course, be accepted as a fact.

On this basis the attempt could easily have been made to bring about the unconditional resumption of work, or at least a resumption of work without previous reinstatement of the men who had already been dismissed.

As a matter of fact, Duples' management were so confident that a division had been created between the union leaders and the workers that they proposed that the Ministry of Labour should send the case to arbitration.

During this whole period the workers at Duples had made it clear that they were not in agreement with referring the case to the National Arbitration Tribunal.

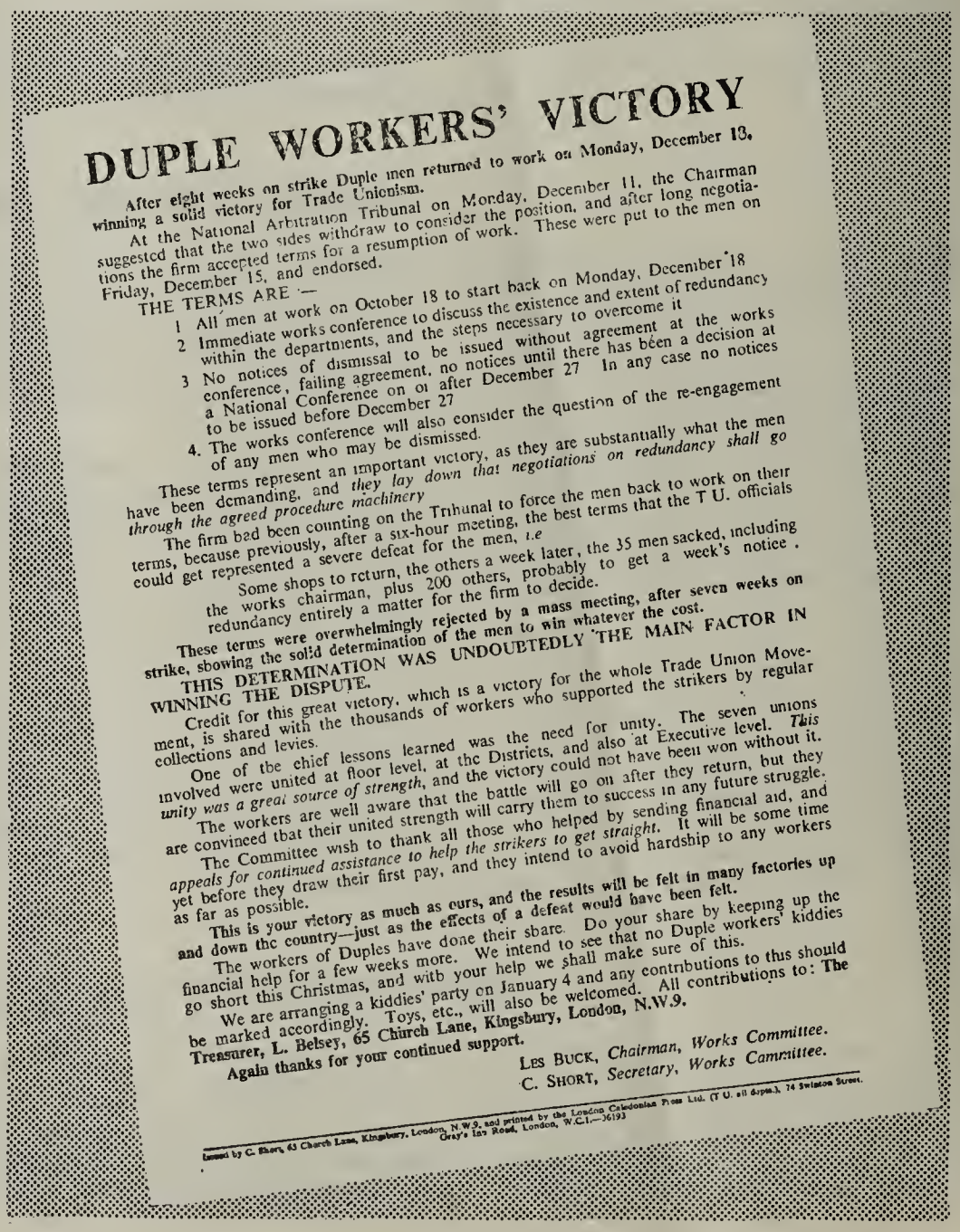
It should be borne in mind that this strike followed close upon the strike of the maintenance men in the Gasworks (1), which had led to the introduction of prosecutions under Arbitration Order No 1305. Consequently there were talks and questions in the House of Commons as to the possibility of making use of Order 1305 to discipline the Duples workers and drive them back to work.

It is significant that the rank-and-file strike leaders, with the backing of the whole of the workers, remained quite impervious to these threats. Indeed, it was clear, even before the case finally did come before the National Arbitration Tribunal, that the workers Duples were preparing themselves for continued resistance until their demands were achieved.

It is also significant that the management at Duples, the Employers' Federation and the Ministry of Labour, were all quite willing to

(1) See **World Trade Union Movement**, No. 13 (November 20, 1950).

Leaflet brought out by the Works Committee after the strikers had won through.



DUPLE WORKERS' VICTORY

After eight weeks on strike Duple men returned to work on Monday, December 18, winning a solid victory for Trade Unionism.

At the National Arbitration Tribunal on Monday, December 11, the Chairman suggested that the two sides withdraw to consider the position, and after long negotiations the firm accepted terms for a resumption of work. These were put to the men on Friday, December 15, and endorsed.

THE TERMS ARE —

1. All men at work on October 18 to start back on Monday, December 18
2. Immediate works conference to discuss the existence and extent of redundancy within the departments, and the steps necessary to overcome it
3. No notices of dismissal to be issued without agreement at the works conference, failing agreement, no notices until there has been a decision at a National Conference on or after December 27 In any case no notices to be issued before December 27
4. The works conference will also consider the question of the re-engagement of any men who may be dismissed.

These terms represent an important victory, as they are substantially what the men have been demanding, and *they lay down that negotiations on redundancy shall go through the agreed procedure machinery*

The firm had been counting on the Tribunal to force the men back to work on their terms, because previously, after a six-hour meeting, the best terms that the T U. officials could get represented a severe defeat for the men, *i.e*

Some shops to return, the others a week later, the 35 men sacked, including the works chairman, plus 200 others, probably to get a week's notice . redundancy entirely a matter for the firm to decide.

These terms were overwhelmingly rejected by a mass meeting, after seven weeks on strike, showing the solid determination of the men to win whatever the cost.

THIS DETERMINATION WAS UNDOUBTEDLY THE MAIN FACTOR IN WINNING THE DISPUTE.

Credit for this great victory, which is a victory for the whole Trade Union Movement, is shared with the thousands of workers who supported the strikers by regular collections and levies.

One of the chief lessons learned was the need for unity. The seven unions involved were united at floor level, at the Districts, and also at Executive level. *This unity was a great source of strength*, and the victory could not have been won without it.

The workers are well aware that the battle will go on after they return, but they are convinced that their united strength will carry them to success in any future struggle.

The Committee wish to thank all those who helped by sending financial aid, and *appeals for continued assistance to help the strikers to get straight*. It will be some time yet before they draw their first pay, and they intend to avoid hardship to any workers as far as possible.

This is your victory as much as ours, and the results will be felt in many factories up and down the country—just as the effects of a defeat would have been felt.

The workers of Duples have done their share. Do your share by keeping up the financial help for a few weeks more. We intend to see that no Duple workers' kiddies go short this Christmas, and with your help we shall make sure of this.

We are arranging a kiddies' party on January 4 and any contributions to this should be marked accordingly. Toys, etc., will also be welcomed. All contributions to: **The Treasurer, L. Belsey, 65 Church Lane, Kingsbury, London, N.W.9.**

Again thanks for your continued support.

LES BUCK, *Chairman, Works Committee.*
C. SHORT, *Secretary, Works Committee.*

Issued by C. Short, 65 Church Lane, Kingsbury, London, N.W.9, and printed by the London Caledonian Press Ltd. (T U. all depts.), 74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.—36193

Mass march past of strikers in front of the office and factory of Duples Motor Bo dies: the theme was unity.

conduct negotiations while the men were still on strike. This is quite at variance with what is becoming accepted practice in Great Britain since the war-time regulations were introduced. Invariably the employers and/or the government take the stand that no negotiations can be conducted while o dispute is on. The stock cry is: "Let the men resume work, and then we will negotiate."

There can be little doubt that the tremendous spirit of unity and fighting solidarity shown by the workers was the big factor governing the attitude of the management, the Ministry of Labour, and the trade union leaders.

DICTATORIAL TERMS REJECTED OUTRIGHT

WHEN negotiations were resumed between the district trade union leaders and the management of Duples, the firm felt themselves in a strong position and dictated terms to the leaders which in effect would have brought about a resumption of work without the reinstatement of those already dismissed, and with no guarantees that they would be re-employed on work becoming subsequently available; the further additional threat was made that more than 300 of the total number of workers employed in the factory would become "redundant" in the immediate future.

An agreement embodying these terms was tentotively arrived at and put before the Strike Committee, and ultimately before a mass meeting of the strikers. Any hopes entertained by the firm and some of the union leaders that the spirit of the men had been broken and their desire to see a resumption of work before the Christmas holiday would induce them to accept the terms, were shattered by the decisive action of the strikers, who by a vote of nearly 700 against 16 flatly rejected the employers' offer and reaffirmed their determination to remain solid until their original demands were granted.

The next dramatic turn in the dispute came when the case was proceeding before the National Arbitration Tribunol. When the employers put their case against the strikers, they were met with a volume of conflicting evidence which greatly weakened their whole position; and when subsequently the case of the workers was presented, it was quite clear that the Chairman of the Tribunal and his colleagues were in a dilemma.

So much so that what happened subsequently is unique in the history of the National Arbitration Tribunal. The case was adjourned, and the two sides advised by the Chairman to get together and reach some kind of a settlement. What occurred precisely between the employers and the Chairman of the Tribunal may never come to light; but it is a fact that when direct negotiations were resumed, the employers climbed down on everything, and in fact agreed to a resumption of work on the basis of the workers' terms. It was agreed that a Works' Conference would be held to investigate the whole position of the firm immediately work was resumed. All the workers dismissed by notice on October 18th would be reinstated; and if there were no agreement reached by the Work's Conference held on the same day as work was resumed, then all the outstanding matters would be referred to a conference that would be held before the end of the year in accordance with national procedure operating in the industry

Agreement was reached at the Works' Conference **and work is now proceeding on exactly the same terms as prevailed before the strike.**

COLLECTIVE ACTION THE GUARANTEE OF TRADE UNIONISM

THERE are a number of factors which have to be noted in regard to this dispute; the outstanding thing, however, is that the workers won this action primarily **because they were united and clear on their demands, they were determined to preserve trade unionism in the factory, and they were determined to protect their own elected workshop leaders from the attacks of the employers.** To achieve this **they were firm in their unity,** and they were confident of solidarity from other groups of workers.

The decisive factor in this struggle was clearly the unity of the workers concerned, which was maintained by holding regular mass meetings of the strikers—sometimes several times a week—and by so organising the struggle that the largest number of workers possible were drawn into some phase of strike activity.

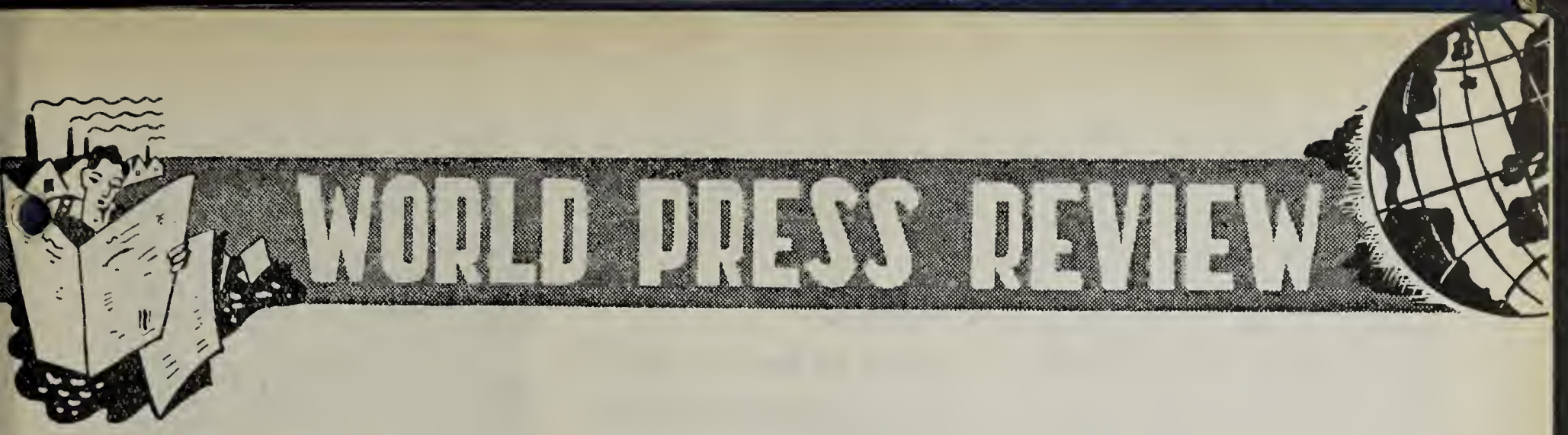
It was precisely the elementary trade union principle of defending trade union organisation kept continuously before the workers, brought continuously to the notice of all the other factories, and driven home on every occasion at trade union meetings, which broke the backs of the employers and all the manoeuvres by other agencies to create rifts and divisions.

The Duples strike shows in the clearest possible way that **unity of the workers in the factory** is an unbeatable force.

It may be that the firm was anxious to get resumption of work in order to pick up their 1951 contracts; it may be that they were hoping to get a share of the rearmament programme; it may be that they were worried at the possibility of losing the big sub-contracting that they get from Vauxhall Motors; it may be that there was some flaw in their case which would have come to light if the matter had been pursued before the National Arbitration Tribunal. But the outstanding fact is that the employers were unable to break down the solidarity of the workers, and everyone directly or indirectly involved in the action was able to see the issue from a simple, working-class angle.

The other important factor is the high level of political development of the workers in this factory. They were led by militant shop stewards, who are able to relate the specific problems in their own workshop and their own industry with developments and activity in the wider political arena. Political meetings at the factory gate have long been a feature at Duples. It is no accident that the workers in Duples signed the Stockholm Appeal in large numbers. It is no accident that there is strong criticism of the policies being pursued by America and the reactionary forces in Britain which are even now creating an ugly war situation. And it is no accident that the Duples' workers prefer to be engaged on peaceful construction.

The Duples strike also leaves no room for doubt that a group of determined workers, clear in their demands, well-organised in unity behind them, have nothing to fear from Order 1305 or any other of the legal weapons used in such a widespread way to deprive workers of the right to strike.



U.S.S.R.

Steady Improvement in Workers' Conditions Recorded

"At the 5th plenary session of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) which opened in Moscow on January 16, Vasili Kuznetsov, Chairman of the AUCCTU, gave a report on the conclusion of collective labour agreements for 1951.

"Describing the immense achievements of the national economy of the USSR, he emphasised that last year the Soviet people successfully completed the post-war Five-Year Plan and that they were now continuing the struggle for a further advance in the economy and culture of their country.

"Vasili Kuznetsov pointed out that thanks to the introduction of new equipment in all branches of production, to an increase in the skill of the cadres and to the creative initiative of the masses, the productivity of labour of the industrial workers had exceeded the pre-war level by over 40 %. The well-being of the working people was steadily improving. The incomes of factory and office workers had greatly increased as compared with pre-war years and their real wages had risen. Mr. Kuznetsov noted that collective labour agreements, which are concluded annually between the managements and personnel of enterprises, had played a great role in the fulfilment of production plans and in raising the standard of living of the masses of working people.

"Scores of thousands of these agreements were concluded in 1950. They were discussed at general meetings and conferences. In the course of discussion, factory and office workers put forward over a million amendments. 70 % of which were adopted and included in the agreements.

"Mr. Kuznetsov stated that the verification of the fulfilment of collective labour agreements which had been carried out everywhere, had shown that the overwhelming majority of the obligations assumed by the managements and working people had been carried out in practice. Kuznetsov stated that questions of further improving and easing labour conditions had received much attention in collective labour agreements. In the course of 1950 the managements of Soviet enterprises spent huge sums on labour protection and safety equipment.

"Last year hundreds of thousands of factory and office workers had moved into new, well-appointed flats. Besides this, enterprises had constructed many new hospitals, clinics, schools, club houses, children's institutions and health resorts. In 1950, 2,500,000 working people—300,000 more than in 1949—spent their holidays in sanatoria and rest-homes. Special attention was paid to training workers and increasing their skill. In 1950, 6,400,000 workers had completed various courses and schools.

"In conclusion, Kuznetsov dwelt at length on the tasks facing Soviet trade unions and managements and which must be taken into consideration when signing collective labour agreements for 1951."

Soviet Monitor, 17-1-51.

CHINA

Newspapers Of, By and For the People

"Following the liberation of many urban centres during 1949, the people's press faced an entirely new situation. In the past, in the old Liberated Areas, the bulk of newspaper readers had been the revolutionary cadres working in the countryside. During those years, production was relatively low and communication and transportation facilities were restricted, for the background was war, often guerilla warfare. Nevertheless, in spite of these obstacles, by utilising the then existing conditions to the best advantage, the newspapers achieved some success in establishing direct contact with the masses.

"But the victory in the Liberation War made new demands on the press. The reading public was now the broad urban population, including large numbers of workers and intellectuals. The main features of national life were changing. In place of war, there was economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Besides, it was more than ever imperative to enlighten the people so that they could actively promote New Democracy in the vast newly Liberated Areas, thus strengthening the relationship between the people and the government.

"With these tasks in mind, the Press Administration of the Central People's Government convened the National Press Work Conference from March 29 to April 16, 1950. In summarising the experiences of the press, as a result of the new circumstances brought about with liberation, the meeting reached certain conclusions embodied in the Decisions Regarding the Promotion of Press Work, lately promulgated by the Administration on April 22, 1950.

"The Decisions call upon all newspapers 'to devote prominent space for reporting on the conditions of the people's labour and in production, publicising the experiences of success as well as the lessons of error derived in the work of production, and of financial and economic management.'

"Editors, reporters and commentators of newspapers are required 'to foster an honest and practical working style of investigation and research,' and 'to try to maintain close links with the masses of the people, organisations and cadres'."

People's China, 16-12-50.

PAKISTAN

Who Are Our Friends?

"The Chinese, as Asians, were looked down upon with contempt and treated like coolies in their own land by many arrogant Western races who had combined to exploit them. The Chinese have now turned the tables and caused tremblings in far away capitals. We, as Asians, cannot but feel some satisfaction at this, and would be cowards to conceal the fact. The USSR has so far not hurt us, while the British, and indirectly the Americans, have."

Dawn (Karachi), 7-1-51.

USA

Japanese Rearmament Would Lead to Disaster

"Gen. Douglas MacArthur's New Year message to the Japanese people was a demand that they overcome their reluctance to rearm, that they return to the warlike path which led their country to disaster.

"He declared that the ideal of peace 'must give way to the overwhelming law of self-preservation' and that the Japanese must 'mount force to repeal force'.

"Of course, MacArthur couched the message in his familiar rhetoric. But the central meaning was unmistakeable. And his call for the rearming of Japan fits into current US plans for a separate treaty with Japan by the Western powers, excluding the Soviet Union and China.

"Such a separate treaty is contrary to the Japanese surrender terms and every solemn agreement with the Soviet Union. But the US diplomatic and military strategists know that the Soviet Union and China would never consent to the rearming of Japan.

"Both MacArthur's message and the separate treaty negotiations are part of the same pattern: the rebuilding of Japanese militarism as the principal bastion of the US in the Pacific.

"The peoples of Europe and Asia are up in arms against such a policy. The peoples of Germany and Japan do not seek the role of global policemen for the US.

"And it is now for the American people to organise their protest against the betrayal of the millions of all nations who laid down their lives in World War II represented by US plans to rearm Germany and Japan."

People's Daily World (San Francisco), 3-1-51.

MALAYA

Rubber Barons in Difficulties

"As the economics of capitalist America and Britain swing from 'cold war' to active war economy (particularly after the Korea war), commercial demand has been increasingly subordinated to war stockpiling demands. For a time, the long-dreaded competition between synthetic and natural rubber has been postponed (but not settled). As the Rubber Manufacturers' Association reports:

'At no time within the past seven months (May-December 1950) has the government (US) been able to meet all demands for either general purpose synthetic or butly rubber.'

"This, however, is only a temporary phase, and will end as soon as USA synthetic production reaches its target. The US government hopes that by then, natural rubber from Malaya and Indonesia would be safely in the bag as a war commodity which the British and Indonesian governments would be bound by America's 'Total Policy' to deliver without the arduous necessity of having to pay a competitive price. It is for this reason that local producers view with concern the fact that the present war stockpiler's boom and 'prosperity' is merely the bonus they receive for digging their own graves.

"A foretaste of this is shown in the gloomy reflections of many local producers who complain that the high prices paid by the American stockpilers barely compensates for the loss of ordinary commercial markets. Against such a background, the reported increased production by small holders in Malaya (57.5 % of total, 1950 as against 50 % in 1949), and Indonesia, fails to give any assurance of the long-awaited smallholders' revival.

"Local producers have reason to resent the US government's virtual embargo on rubber sales in non-dollar areas. A bold policy of widening the doors of direct rubber deals with the Soviet Union and China would wipe out all the nonsense of American-dictated fear and insecurity."

Malayan Monitor, December 1950.

CANADA

Action the Key to Peace

"Deeds, not words, are the test of men and governments.

"This is the test that must be applied to Prime Minister St. Laurent and his government.

"On the eve of his departure for Europe, Prime Minister St. Laurent said that he does not expect to see another world war in his lifetime. But the deeds of the St. Laurent government, step-by-step, contribute to the planning and instigation of a third world war.

"Consider: Canada's economic and military resources are deliberately 'integrated', i.e. subordinated to the US imperialist war machine; Canadian armed forces are serving under US General MacArthur in a war of imperialist aggression against Korea and China; the St. Laurent government has agreed to the rearming of the German Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe. When Parliament meets on January 30, the St. Laurent government will propose new heavier taxes to step up this war program. It will propose to send Canadian armed forces to serve under US General Eisenhower in Europe.

"These are deeds, acts that add to the war danger. Under a smoke-screen of deceitful platitudes about peace, the St. Laurent government step-by-step involves Canada deeper in the quagmire of US imperialist aggression.

"Deeds by the Canadian people must cut through this deceit and confront the St. Laurent government and parliament with the plain and simple demands for Canadian action to strengthen peace: Bring Canada's boys home from Korea! Recognize People's China! Strict adherence to the Potsdam Agreement on Germany! No rearming of Germany!

"A third world war is not inevitable. People — YOU — can preserve peace!

"But peace will prevail only in uncompromising struggle against the warmongers. Action is the key to Peace!"

The Canadian Tribune, 8-1-51.

MEXICO

Aims of the Self-Styled "Inter-American Labour Congress"

At a press conference, Comrade Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the CTAL, and Vice-President of the WFTU, unmasked the self-styled "Inter-American Labour Congress," convened by the Scab International in Mexico City. We reprint some extrats from an account of this press conference:

"Lombardo Toledano showed that the reactionary labour leaders of the United States had for many years been endeavouring to control the Latin American labour movement, and to create a sort of Monroe Doctrine in the trade-union field.

"He traced the successive failures of the two organisations—the COPA and the CIT—created by the AF of L in order to control the Latin American workers' movement.

"Lombardo then said: 'It was then that the imperialist agents considered that the methods would have to be changed; and so now, they are trying to deceive Mexican workers, and workers in Latin America generally, into believing that the Latin American labour movement is no longer to be lead by North Americans, but by Europeans. The North Americans are withdrawing to the background, well knowing that there is no love lost for them in Latin America.

But for us, Latin Americans, this meeting that the Scab International has now convened in our city is of major importance, since it is a prologue to the Conference of Latin American ministers who have been summoned to meet in Washington next March by the American government.

'With the aim of avoiding protests, and if possible, of achieving some popular support for these plans for expansion and domination drafted by North American imperialism, an attempt is now being made to rally Latin American workers through the Scab International which is controlled by American imperialism. The aim is to get popular support for all the decisions of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington.

'The role assigned to the labour misleaders now meeting here is to stifle the opinion of the workers and peoples of Latin America; to silence the protests of our peoples who refuse to be dragged into war and to accept a noose round their necks to be pulled tight at the opportune moment. In other words, the aim is to muster Latin American workers in support of North American imperialist policy.

'But neither this police machine, masquerading under the name of CIT, nor any other that may be set up to replace it, will ever be able to rally the mass of workers or any body of opinion in support of imperialism, let alone the working masses of the world."

El Popular (*Mexico*), 6-1-51.

AUSTRALIA

American-Style Splitters At Work

"Today there is an organised anti-communist, anti-militant and anti Leftwing Labor faction existing amongst the membership of this organisation. It is in cahoots with the press (responsible for the leak in our affairs to them), the Right wing element of the Labor movement (always ready to disrupt progressive action by leftwingers), and is generally stirring up suspicion and dis-

trust among members, particularly against the union's executive.

"These phoneys are dangerous and are out to split the whole membership into two groups. They are even more dangerous when it is obvious they support certain legislation to be sprung in this country, as they realise this is their chance to grasp the leadership—and if they ever get that with a split membership, then the results will be disastrous for Australian seamen. The fantastic American set-up of more than one union could become a reality here and could mean the end of unity on the coast with the owners merely playing one outfit against another. This state of affairs ought to be obvious to all members by now: the whole membership ought to be up to what is really going on and realise that they can stop it by rejecting anti-leadership smear campaigns and demanding the expulsion of characters who abuse democratic rights and use them to cause confusion and suspicion among members generally."

Letter to the Seamen's Journal, *November* 1950.

NEW ZEALAND

Shipowners Protected by Government

"The Government, in setting up a Royal Commission for the waterfront industry, instructed it to deal with everything—except the most important thing: the profits and methods of charges of the big shipping companies. By this deliberate omission the Government broke its undertaking to the waterside workers. This is why the watersiders are ignoring the Commission...

"This omission was a deliberate trap, so that the Commission could have a free field to slam the workers and whitewash the employers by ignoring essential information...

"The letter of the union to the Minister of Labour makes the position quite clear. The union has stated:

'We were given by the Prime Minister an unconditional guarantee that everything pertaining to the industry would be the subject of investigation and subsequent report.

'We are now advised that unconditional assurance is not going to be honoured and there is no provision on the order of reference for a specific investigation into: (1) *the financial position of all shipping companies trading to or on the New Zealand coast.* and (2) *freight rates, the way they are determined, increases since* 1939 *and their relations to watersiders' costs...*

'We have heard much for many years about costs, and the public have been told for years that all increased charges have been incurred because of the poor work performed by waterside workers. We are satisfied that an investigation into costs, freight charges, etc., would present a very different picture to the public of New Zealand."

Union Record, 1-11-50.

INDIA

Delaying Measures against Trade Union Rights

"Consequent upon the decisions of the Madras High Court declaring the Criminal Law Amendment Act ultra vires *of the Indian Constitution and bowing before the pressure of the democratic movement, the Madras Government has lifted the ban on the Trade Unions imposed on* 26-9-49 *and subsequently. BUT THAT HAS NOT MEANT FREE AND UNRESTRICTED SCOPE FOR THE LEGAL FUNCTIONING OF THE TRADE UNIONS.*

"Firstly, there is inordinate delay in the handing over of the properties of trade unions...

"Even in places where the functioning of unions has started, as in Madras city and Conjeevarm, RESTRICTIONS ARE PLACED ON THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY. The Madras Corporation Labour Union has been trying to hold a public meeting for over a month, without success...

"The lifting of the ban and the revival of the Madura Textile Workers' Union have inspired the class conscious workers of Madura. The first meeting held under the auspices of the Union was ATTENDED BY 25,000 *AND A SUM OF Rs.*450 *WAS COLLECTED IN THE MEETING TOWARDS THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL T.U.C. FUND. Seeing this, the police arrested Com. Adinarayanan, the organiser, and detained him. The police have threatened the owner of the building where the union office now functions and as a result the owner of the building is insisting that our comrades evacuate the building...*

"The Labour Department is doing its best to put difficulties in the path of a quick revival and functioning of the trade unions. The Labour Commissioner has taken up the stand that the registration of the banned Trade Unions stands cancelled and that all Unions should re-register themselves...

"The authorities, deprived of the law to ban the unions and thus directly suppress the Trade Union movement, are now resorting to all these measures —delayed return of properties, imposition of Sc. 144, *arrests and detention under the Preventive Detention Act, cancellation of registration, etc. But the workers are confident that they will be able to overcome all these difficulties, and the fight for the most elementary rights and civil liberties has to be carried on."*

Trade Union Record (*organ of the AITUC*), 1-1-51.

VENEZUELA

Oil Monopolies' Offensive

"Here, as in many other parts of the world, the imperialism of the oil monopolies has been attempting to implement an offensive against the working class. Those workers who were in the forefront in defending our trade union interests, those who fought against the unlawful abuses daily perpetrated by the companies, those who worked hardest to strengthen unity among the workers in the struggle for peace, have been sacked en masse. Many of these honest workers have large families to support and had been working for many years for the oil companies.

"This repressive plan of the imperialist monopolies is being carried out with the connivance of the Military Junta in the government and of the US State Department. The reason given for sacking the workers is that 'they would be dangerous for the oil industry in the case of the outbreak of a new world war'. This crude manoeuvre has now been extended to seamen employed by oil companies. The Creole shipping company has already sacked hundreds of our comrades, many of them because they refused to accept modifications in their collective agreement, which the company wanted to enforce upon them.

"The inept and reactionary Labour Minister, Dr. Rojas Contreras, and other members of the Military Junta, have connived with the oil magnates to reject the just claims of the workers, formerly granted in the current collective agreements.

"The Venezuelan working class, fully conscious of its historic role, is facing up to this reactionary offensive with a clear realisation of its responsibilities. It is closing up its ranks and organising better in order to pursue the struggle for the recognition of its flouted rights. It is also uniting its efforts for the coming struggle, to be opened as soon as the collective agreement expires. With this aim in view, it is consolidating its joint action committees, in order to force recognition of its legitimate rights from the warmongering imperialist machine. Our working class has drawn rich experience from its great struggle in May 1950, *and it hopes to fight still better in February* 1951 *to obtain better working conditions, national liberation, for peace and democracy."*

Masas (*underground organ of the Maracaibo oil workers*), *November* 1950.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

January 16.

USSR. — Opening of the 5th plenary session of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in Moscow. On the agenda of the session, to last three days, are a report by AUCCTU President V.V. Kuznetsov on the conclusion of collective agreements for 1951 and questions connected with the work of the cultural institutions of Soviet trade unions and with reporting-back and trade union election meetings.

WESTERN GERMANY. — After six weeks of shilly-shallying, Konrad Adenauer is forced by public opinion to reply to the proposal for talks on German unity and peace put forward by the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic on November 30. But whereas Grotewohl had made his proposal unconditionally Adenauer piles up the 'if'-clauses in an attempt to conceal his basic rejection of the proposals.

USA. — In a further move to increase the stranglehold of Big Business on the US Government, Wm R. Herod, president of General Electric, is appointed "co-ordinator" of the Atlantic Pact "Defense Production Board". Since the chairman of the Board of Directors of General Electric, Charles E. Wilson, has already been appointed to head the entire US war mobilisation programme, the agents of this powerful monopoly will now have complete control of the whole rearmament of the USA and its satellites.

January 17.

CHINA. — In his reply to the UNO Commission's proposal for an unconditional cease-fire in Korea (drafted in the absence of both the Korean and the Chinese representatives), Foreign Minister Chu En-lai states that "a rapid and peaceful settlement of the Korean question must be sought on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by the Koreans themselves; the withdrawal of United States armed forces from Taiwan (Formosa); and that the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic must assume their rightful place in the United Nations".

Chu En-lai also proposes that the countries to participate in the negotiations should be : the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the USA, France, India and Egypt, and that this conference be held in China.

PARIS. — The Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, declares that the American move to brand China as an "aggressor", because it did not accept outright the cease-fire proposals, "must be avoided as a dangerous move which would bolt and bar the door to a peaceful settlement in the Far East". Nehru also condemns the US "refusal to recognise People's China as a new power in the Orient".

ITALY. — General Eisenhower's visit "for information" gets a hostile reception from the Italian people. The CGIL's appeal for a general protest strike by the workers is followed throughout Italy, and millions of strikers express their desire for peace in demonstrations which are brutally attacked by the police who kill three and injure many.

January 18.

PAKISTAN. — The British Commander-in-Chief and other officers are withdrawn from the Pakistan Army, but Creagh Coen, formerly of the British India Office and now Joint Secretary of the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, remains in this key post.

CHINA. — The Standing Committee of the All-China Federation of Labour decides to appropriate the sum of $500 million people's currency for the Korean workers, out of the International Workers' Mutual Aid Fund.

January 19.

PHILIPPINES. — Arriving at Manila, the US ambassador Myron M. Cowen states that the United States intends to send arms and military equipment for the rearmament of the Philippines.

USA. — The United Mine Workers of America (unaffiliated) signed a contract with virtually the entire bituminous coal industry, calling for a wage increase of $1.60 a day, about 10%. This increase also applies to 370,000 soft-coal miners.

AUSTRALIA. — As a result of American stockpiling of raw materials, trade figures for the first 5 months of the fiscal year show a credit of $17 million with the US, as compared with a deficit of $28 million for the same period last year. Wool sales to the US stockpile amounted to £A20 million.

INDIA. — The grain ration of 12 ounces a day is cut by 25% as a result of the government's failure to import sufficient supplies. Thousands are dying of starvation as black market prices soar; epidemics are spreading.

— A splinter group is formed within the Congress Party "to endeavour to make Congress pursue the ideals for which it basically stands". Its programme includes abolition of the land tenure system, enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act and eradication of illiteracy.

January 20.

MALAYA. — While British authorities still claim to have the support of the Malayan people, they impose a collective fine of £5000 on the 1000 inhabitants of Pusing village for their refusal to betray the liberation forces. All shops are *permanently* closed down.

USA. — All the 39 defendants in Honolulu (many of them members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union), charged with contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions about their political affiliations asked by the Committee on Un-American Activities, are acquitted by the Judge. The Court ruled that, following the recent US Supreme Court decision (December 11, see Review No. 15, p. 39), the defendants were within their constitutional rights in refusing to answer the questions on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

USSR. — Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky sends a Note to the French and British Governments, in answer to their own of January 5, in which they had attempted to deny their violation of friendship treaties with the Soviet Union through their signature of the Atlantic Pact and acceptance of American plans to rearm Western Germany.

The Soviet Note stresses that such plans "create a serious threat to peace" and can in no way be presented as "defensive", "for there is no threat of war against France and Great Britain or any other countries of Western Europe, or the United States or Germany, from the USSR or the Peoples' Democracies."

January 21.

USSR. — The Soviet people honour the memory of Lenin in meetings and mass assemblies in all towns and collective farms. Throughout the world workers and progressive organisations celebrate the memory of the beloved leader of the October Socialist Revolution on this 27th anniversary of his death.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — Opening of the National Peace Congress.

January 22.

UNITED NATIONS. — Sir Benegal Rau, India's UNO delegate, conveys to the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly a message from the People's Republic of China which further clarifies the Note of January 17 on three main points : return of Chinese volunteers to China to be simultaneous with the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea; at the initial meeting of a seven-power conference, agreement to be reached on "a cease-fire for a limited period", the second step being settlement of the Korean and other Far Eastern problems; "the definite affirmation of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be ensured".

— The communication of this message brings forth an angry speech from the US representative, Warren Austin, but despite his sneers at what he regarded as temporising, he was defeated and the Committee carried its adjournment by a majority which included the votes of France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

WESTERN GERMANY. — General Eisenhower confers with Konrad Adenauer and his military advisors, including former Nazi General Speidel, on the strengthening of US forces in Germany and the re-establishment of the Wehrmacht. Eisenhower was carrying into effect his announcement to the ex-Nazis of Western Germany two days before that for his part bygones were bygones.

January 23

AUSTRALIA. — Acting Prime Minister Fadden announces that the Crimes Act (involving prison and deportation) will be invoked against strikes in "vital" (i.e. war) industries.

January 24.

FRANCE. — In protest against Eisenhower's second "visit", democratic organisations of the Paris region call on the workers to demonstrate. The government bans the demonstration but the call is maintained, and despite the brutal charges of 14,000 police, a mass demonstration estimated at 50,000 people successfully intimates to Eisenhower and the Government its firm rejection of all plans for the re-formation of the Wehrmacht.

NETHERLANDS. — General Kruls, Chief of the General Staff, is sacked following "differences with the government" over Atlantic rearmament, and his assistant resigns. This dismissal post-dates by 10 days the visit of General Eisenhower who had shown his "deception" at the "military weakness" of the country.

— The Foreign Minister, Strikker, undergoes trenchant criticism in Parliament over the government's refusal to hand over New Guinea to Indonesian sovereignty, and resigns. The government falls.

MALAYA. — The Malay Police Force is to be expanded from 15,000 to 25,000 at a cost of £4,700,000. At the same time it is decided to introduce a Ministerial form of government with 9 ministers under the command of the British High Commissioner. These Ministers will be directly appointed—there are no governmental elections.

AUSTRALIA. — Dockers at all main ports endorse their Executive Committee's proposal to ban all overtime from February 5 unless they are granted their full wage claim of £A1 a week in place of the 10s.8d awarded by the Arbitration Court.

January 25

INDIA. — The USA condemns India's stand on a peaceful settlement in Korea by holding up Nehru's request for 2 million tons of grain to feed starving Indians.

AUSTRALIA. — 90% of New South Wales miners vote for a weekly one-day strike against the wage award which makes incentive payments conditional on continuous work, i.e. without strikes or stop-work meetings.

January 26

FRANCE. — The *Journal Officiel* publishes a Government decree (based on a 1939 "Order in Council" of Daladier and on another law passed by Pétain's Vichy government in July 1940), ordering the "dissolution" of the W.F.T.U. and revoking the authorisation for the W.F.T.U. to function on French soil, allowing it only one month to wind up its Paris Headquarters. A similar measure is taken against the Women's Democratic International Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Immediate and vigorous protests spread throughout the world against this decision.

Progressive Deputies in the French National Assembly strongly question the Government's right to apply such a measure against the three world-wide organisations, which unite in their ranks more than 240 million members. Answering the call of the C.G.T. to all French workers, protest strikes spread rapidly all over France and North Africa.

Throughout the world, National Trade Union Centres and working class organisations raise vigorous protests and express their determination to defend the W.F.T.U.

UNITED STATES. — The Director of Price Stabilization and the Chairman of the Wages Stabilization Board jointly announce a freeze of "both prices and wages" as of midnight January 25. This action is intended to halt union bargaining over wages, while recent price increases are thus officially maintained.

AUSTRALIA. — Railway guards stop work in Melbourne for one day and ban all overtime in order to press their wage demands.

January 27

UNITED STATES. — The American Federation of Labor Executive Board issues a ten-point outline for foreign policy, calling for branding the Chinese People's Republic as an "aggressor" in the United Nations, for the rearming of Germany and Japan, and for the encouragement of espionage and sabotage in the People's Democracies.

January 29

INDIA. — India's UN delegate warns the General Assembly's Political Committee that to submit to American pressure and brand China as an "aggressor" would close the door to a peaceful settlement.

January 30

UNITED NATIONS. — After ten days of intrigues, haggling and manœuvres, resorting to all kinds of pressure on reactionary governments to counteract popular opposition in every member nation throughout the capitalist world, USA delegate Warren Austin succeeds in blocking efforts for a peaceful settlement in Korea as proposed by the People's Republic of China and supported by the Soviet Union, the peoples' democracies, India and a group of Arabian and Asian countries. Against the strongly-expressed will of the British people, the British government's delegate votes, along with other satellite countries' representatives, an American resolution claiming that China—and not the USA—has committed an aggression in Korea.

January 31

HUNGARY. — The people celebrate with enthusiasm the 5th anniversary of the People's Republic.

WEST GERMANY. — American High Commissioner John McCloy and U.S. occupation forces commander General Thomas Handy pardon 21 major Nazi war criminals, who had been sentenced to death for the massacre of American prisoners of war and other crimes. They also reduce prison terms of 35 Nazi war criminals, and order the immediate release of 35 others. Among those granted immediate freedom are Alfred Krupp von Bohlen, former owner of the notorious armament works, who financed Hitler's war machine; and Wilhelm Speidel, sentenced to life imprisonment for war crimes commited as German commandant in Greece and Rumania. (He is the brother of Hans Speidel, former chief of staff to Rommel, who recently negotiated West German rearmament with General Eisenhower).

McCloy further orders that all other Nazi industrialists still held in jail for war crime be released, and that Krupp's giant factories, estimated worth 500 million dollars, be restored to him.

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by Nicolas KALOUDIS,
General Secretary
Federation of Greek Maritime Unions

(from N° 13)

LONDON GAS STRIKERS SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT

by Dave MURPHY

(from N° 13)

A HUNGARIAN METAL WORKER WINS HIS PLACE ON THE CITY COUNCIL

by John TOMOR

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(from N° 1, 1951)

POLITICAL RACKETEERS ATTEMPT TO GAG AUSTRALIAN WORKING-CLASS WRITER

by Wilfred BURCHETT

(from N° 2, 1951)

These reprints are free, and are at the disposal of workers in trade unions and countries particularly interested in the subjects dealt with and who for various reasons do not yet know of or read the WFTU's Review.

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A 951

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — 28 FEBRUARY 1951 — No 4

... out of you organisations and shoulder your duties with the W. F. T. U. chapter all over the ... Different bodies and ... of international trade union solidarity ! The day is the ... of the W. F. T. U. Defend ... your trade union rights ! Strengthen the workers' solidarity in each workshop, in each industry, in each country, in the struggle for your vital demands ! United ... which will triumph over all !

... from the Executive Bureau of the ... Warsaw, January 30, 1951.

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For nightly Record.

ADDRESS
OF THE W. F. T. U. EXECUTIVE BUREAU

To all Workers, to the Trade Union Organisations of all Countries

Comrades,

The French Minister of the Interior has published a decree forbidding the W.F.T.U. to have its headquarters on French soil.

This reactionary measure of the French authorities cannot of course end the struggle of the W.F.T.U. for a better future for the workers. On the contrary, the struggle will become more intense. The W.F.T.U. will defend with new strength the economic and social demands of the workers, their trade union and democratic rights, the independence of the colonial peoples : it will continue its struggle against reaction, against the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan, for the defence of peace and for the unity of all workers.

Two years ago the splitters, acting within the W.F.T.U. on orders from their governments, tried to dissolve it in order to destroy the workers' unity and international solidarity. Their efforts were unsuccessful.

Today the W.F.T.U., stronger than ever, unites, with 64 trade union organisations of 56 countries, 78 million trade unionists on all the continents.

The W.F.T.U. has won the confidence and support, not only of the workers united under its flag, but also of millions of workers not affiliated to it. For the W.F.T.U., since its formation, has led the fight for working class unity, for the workers' vital demands, for peace and friendship between the peoples.

The very fact that the reactionaries want to prevent this activity at a moment when the imperialists are stepping-up their war preparations demonstrates the importance of the role played by the W.F.T.U. in the peoples' struggle for peace.

Certain splitters' leaders have gone so far as to praise the French Government for its repressive measure against a workers' organisation. But it is these same leaders who call for police action against the workers of their own countries when they strike in defence of their living conditions.

Every worker, regardless of nationality, political and religious convictions or trade union affiliation, sees clearly that the W.F.T.U. is under attack from the imperialists precisely because it defends the workers' vital interests.

The W.F.T.U. calls on all trade union organisations, on all

workers, both men and women, to consolidate their ranks, to strengthen their indestructible unity for the better defence of their economic and social rights, for the defence of their trade union organisations. This unity is more precious, more necessary than ever; it is the most powerful weapon of the working class; it is the condition for winning peace, for smashing the plans of the warmongers, for halting the mad armaments race of the imperialists who want to subject the peoples and establish their world domination.

History teaches that the trade union movement cannot be undermined or destroyed by repression and persecutions. The trade union organisations of all countries have known how to resist all the attacks launched against them. Today the W.F.T.U. has closer bonds with the workers of all countries, for it has been tested in battle and has shown itself to be an invincible fighter at the head of the workers of the whole world.

Comrades,

We call on you to strengthen and develop your links with the W.F.T.U. despite all repression. Lift ever higher the flag of international trade union solidarity ! This flag is the flag of the W.F.T.U. Defend everywhere your trade union rights ! Strengthen the workers' solidarity in each workshop, in each industry, in each country, in the struggle for your vital demands ! Defend peace, which will triumph over war !

Warsaw, February 20, 1951.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. also sent the following telegram to the President of the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O., now meeting in Santiago, Chile :

« Mr. President,

» The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions addresses itself to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organisation to confirm the mandate it gave to its delegation to the 12th session to protest energetically against the French Government's decree forbidding the World Federation of Trade Unions to have its headquarters in France. The headquarters of the Federation were established in Paris by the Ist World Congress in September-October 1945; this decision was confirmed by the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in June-July 1949.

» The trade union organisations of 56 countries representing more than 78 million trade unionists, including the French C.G.T. which unites in its ranks the great majority of organised workers and employees of France, are affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

» Taking into account the universal nature of the W.F.T.U., the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. granted it, in conformity with the decision of the General Assembly of U.N.O., consultative status as a non-governmental organisation, Category « A ». The French Government also recognised the W.F.T.U. as an international organisation and officially authorised it to establish its headquarters in Paris. The W.F.T.U., with headquarters on French territory, has never violated the laws of France.

» Nevertheless, on January 26, 1951, the French Government — in violation of existing international regulations and without any valid motive — forbade the W.F.T.U. to have its headquarters in France.

» The anti-democratic decision of the French Government caused profound indignation among the workers of the entire world. Through their organisations, they firmly demanded the annulling of the French Government's decree.

» The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions addresses itself to the Economic and Social Council, called upon, in conformity with the statutes of the U.N.O., to defend the Rights of Man and the basic freedoms — including trade union liberties. It asks the Eco-

nomic and Social Council to recommend to the French Government the revocation of the decision banning activity of the W.F.T.U. in France as being a decision contrary to the principles proclaimed by the United Nations Organisation.

Warsaw, February 20, 1951.

G. Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of Italy.
L. Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.
A. Le Leap, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of France.
V. Kuznetsov, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.
Liu Shao-Chi, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., Honorary President of the All-China Confederation of Labour.
V. Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., President of the Confederation of Workers of Latin-America.
L. Pena, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba.
B. Blokzijl, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., President of the Unified Trade Union Centre of the Netherlands.
A. Diallo, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Sudan.
F. Zupka, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., President of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia.
S. A. Dange, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

In addition, the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. sent the following telegram :
1. — to Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic,
2. — to Rene Pleven, Prime Minister, Paris :

« The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions protests vigorously against the anti-democratic decree of the French Government forbidding the W.F.T.U. to have its headquarters in France.

« The World Federation of Trade Unions unites more than 78 million workers of the trade union organisations of 56 countries, including the French C. G. T. which groups in its ranks the great majority of the organised workers of France. The aim of W. F. T. U. activity is the defence of the vital interests of all manual and intellectual workers, the defence of peace, of freedom and of democracy. The W. F. T. U. has been officially recognised by the U.N.O. as the workers' most representative organisation, and has received the statute of consultative organisation, Category «A».

« The protests sent to the French Government by the workers and trade union organisations of different countries of the world bear eloquent witness to the prestige of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the general indignation caused by the unjustified measure of the Government of your country.

« The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions firmly insists, in the name of all the workers it unites, that this decree, contrary to the principles of freedom and democracy, principles of the United Nations to which France belongs, be annulled.

Warsaw, February 20, 1951 ».

G. Di Vittorio, President of the W.F. T. U., General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of Italy.
L. Saillant, General Secretary of the W. F. T. U.
A. Le Leap, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of France.
V. Kuznetsov, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R.
Liu Shao-Chi, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., Honorary President of the All-China Confederation of Labour.
V. Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., President of the Confederation of Workers of Latin-America.
L. Pena, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., General Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba.
B. Blokzijl, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., President of the Unified Trade Union Centre of the Netherlands.
A. Diallo, Vice-President of the W.F. T. U., General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Sudan.
F. Zupka, Vice-President of the W.F. T. U., President of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia.
S. A. Dange, Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

WORLD WORKERS
DEFEND THE W.F.T.U.

THROUGHOUT the world, the workers have rallied to defend their organisation, the World Federation of Trade Unions against the latest attack made upon it on orders from the imperialist warmongers.

Every day's post brings a further flood of protest, and pledges from worker's organisations to ensure that the W. F. T. U. shall emerge from this trial, not weaker, but stronger than ever before.

The list of these protests and pledges is so long that we can mention only a few, in addition to those already published in our last issue.

« *On behalf of the workers and employes of* Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R., V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the A. U. C. C. T. U. and Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., sent the following telegram to the United Nations :

« *On behalft of the workers and employees of the U. S. S. R., the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. protests vigorously to U. N. O. against the banning by the French Government of the headquarters in France of the World Federation of Trade Unions.*

» *The headquarters of the W. F. T. U. was set up in Paris by the First Trade Union Congress, held in September-October 1945, and the French Government consented to this. Since then, and for five years, the W. F. T. U. has been established in Paris and has functioned there in complete conformity with the statutes adopted by the Congress.*

» *The W. F. T. U. defends the essential interests of all workers, manual and intellectual. It struggles to improve their economic and social situation, to guarantee their democratic rights and liberties, to consolidate peace and develop friendly collaboration between peoples.*

» *The banning by the French Government of the Paris headquarters of the W. F. T. U., which groups over 78 million workers in 56 countries, is a brutal violation of trade union rights and freedom. Since the defence of trade union rights and liberties is one of the tasks of U. N. O., which has officially recognised the W. F. T. U. by granting it Consultative Status, Category A, the A. U. C. C. T. U. calls on the U. N. O. to defend the free functioning of the W. F. T. U. and to demand the annulling of the decision concerning the headquarters of the W. F. T. U. in France, decision which is contrary to the Charter of U. N. O.* »

And here is the telegram sent by the A. U. C. C. T. U. to the French Government :

« *The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. protests vigorously against the decision of the French Government banning the headquarters of the W. F. T. U. in France.*

» *The organised workers of the world, by choosing the capital of France as permanent headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945, thus paid tribute to the democratic traditions of the freedom-loving French people.*

» *The decision of the French Government banning the activity in France of the World Federation of Trade Unions, officially recognised by the United Nations Organisation, is a brutal violation of democratic rights and working-class freedom and of the Charter of the United Nations.*

» *The World Federation of Trade Unions struggles to achieve humanity's sublime aims of better living conditions for the workers, freedom, democracy and lasting peace between the peoples. For these reasons, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. demands that the French Government revoke its ill-founded decision concerning the W. F. T. U.* »

Protests have been received from the Free German Trade Union Federation (F. D. G. B.) ; the General Secretariat of the Central Committee of the V. V. N. (Berlin) ; the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia ; the Women Workers of Tirana ; the Federation of Port Workers of Trieste ; the International Federation of Former Political Prisoners and Resistance Members.

The Building Worker's Industrial Union of

Australia, affiliated to the Trade Unions International of Building Workers (Trade Department of the W. F. T. U.) sent the following telegram to the French Minister of the Interior :

« *In the name of freedom, peace and democracy, building workers of Australia register strongest protest against dissolution of W. F. T. U. in France. We regard this act as blow at world peace, aimed to break down international friendship and understanding between world's peoples : suppression of basic freedoms aids drive to war. Urge you to revoke decree, restore freedom of French workers, organise in line with United Nations Charter of Human Rights of which your Government is signatory.* »

Protests also came from the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, and from the Japanese Liaison Bureau of the W. F. T. U. which sent a telegram declaring : « *Strongly protest against unprecedented repression against W. F. T. U. We will fight together under W. F. T. U. banner.* »

Still others who have protested are the Pan-Cypriot Federation of Labour; the Arab T. U. C. of Israel; the Trade Union Federation of the Soudan; the miners of Moulares and the Workers of Mdilla in Tunis (affiliated to the U. S. T. T.); Gas and Electrical Workers and Employees Trade Union of the Constantine district; Trade Union of Public Works Personnel of Algiers.

From the U. S. A., Hugh Bryson, President of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards cables :

« *Membership of National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards consider outlawing of W. F. T. U. in France a blow against democracy and a victory for union busting. Democracy is judged by the liberties extended the working people. France has shown it is against legitimate trade unions and this we condemn.* »

In France itself protests have come, among others, from : The Bureau of the Paris trade union branch of « Air-France »; the Inter-Trade Union Centre of the 8th arrondisement of Paris; the French University Union; the Trades Council of Nazaire district; the Trades Council of the Drome; the Chartreux Committee of the Union of French Women; the Castelnaudary Union of Republican Youth of France; personnel of the Sipa enterprise at Surosnes; the Water Workers Trade Union of Paris; the Gascheure enterprise at Drancy.

And the French Federation of Police Trade Unions (C. G. T.) calls for immediate annulling of the decrees, and declares that « dissolving organisations of an international character is not among normal attributes of a Government. » This measure, the Federation added, « *indicate that the French rulers have no longer any way of trying to force acceptance of their policy of war preparations except by trampling underfoot all French traditions of free hospitality to democratic organisations and victims of repression.* »

Among the protests received shortly before going to press was that of the Administrative Committee of the Trade Unions International of Chemical and Allied Workers, which calls on its more than two million members « *to resolutely protest against this anti-democratic act of the French Government and to demand the withdrawal of the order.* »

The Executive Committee of the Trade Union Federation of Madagascar declared : « *Confident as we are in final victory in the joint struggle, this infamous decision only encourages us in the struggle.*

» *We very well know that the government is trying by this decision to intimidate the colonial workers, always solidly behind their comrades throughout the world.* »

The Confederation of Workers of Guatemala sent a protest to the President of the French Republic, declaring :

« *The W. F. T. U. will continue to live as the international organisation of the proletariat, because it unites 78 million workers of all countries of the world who resolutely oppose the manœuvres of the government leaders in capitalist countries for dragging their respective countries into a new massacre.* »

Led by Senator Salvador Ocampo, a group of leaders of the Confederation of Workers of Chile went to the French Embassy in Santiago to protest against the measure taken against the W.F.T.U.

In Italy, the Executive Committee of the Trevise province Trades Council—which includes among its members Christians, Socialists and Social Democrats— unanimously passed a resolution protesting against the French Government's decision, aimed at « *limiting the freedom of organisation won by the tremendous sacrifices of the workers of the whole world.* »

The Coordination Committee of the Confederated Trade Unions of Algeria sent a message to U. N. O. declaring that in all trades and trade unions of Algeria, the workers have demonstrated their indignation at the attack on the W. F. T. U.

It also protested against the refusal by the High Commissioner for the Cameroons—area under United Nations trusteeship— to authorise the holding of a Pan-African Trade Union Conference at Douala under the banner of the W. F. T. U.

The Committee asked the Secretary General of U. N. O. to intervene so that « *the most representative international trade union organisation, that to which the immense majority of African trade unions are affiliated, the W. F. T. U., will be authorised to hold the Pan-African Conference in Douala in April 1951.* »

From Germany came the protests of the personnel in the municipal administration of the following centres : Muhlhausen, Rositz, Schlotheim, Arnstadt Ilmenau, Altenburg, Leutenberg, Windeberg, Unterwellenborn-Roblitz, Grafanthal, Worbis, Eisenberg, Ranis, Brotterode, Judenbach.

The municipal personnel of Grafanthal declared:

« *The brutal measures taken by the French Government in an attempt to silence your call for peace to all peoples proves to us that you are on the right road. We, your comrades in the administration of the city of Grafanthal, support you with the best of our strength in your hard fight.* »

In addition, protests came from the personnel of the Labour Bureau and Public Assistance of Possneck; personnel and management of the Heiligenstadt Policlinic; social security personnel of Eisenach and Arnstadt; employees of the Altenburg law court; Free German Youth of Altenburg district, workers, employees and representatives of democratic parties of Breitenholz commune; personnel of the Stadtroda savings-bank; the peace committee of the nationalised MAB enterprise at Stadtlengsfeld; personnel of the National Insurance Centre of Thuringe; personnel of the Michsfelder Schauspiel, Heiligenstadt, and the German People's Theatre.

A joint protest was received from the General Confederation of Viet-Nam Workers (Tong-Lien-Doan Lao-Dong), from the Union of Vietnamese Women and the Federation of Vietnamese Youth, in which they say :

« *This shameful move, following as it does a long series of other antidemocratic measures, shows that the French colonialist Government fears the growing campaign undertaken for Peace and Democracy by more than 200 million active fighters for Peace throughout the world... Side by side with the heroic French people and with all peace lovers in the world, the workers, the women and the youth of Viet-Nam will fight on to defend their powerful world organisations, so that they may freely develop everywhere their most valuable activity for Peace, for Democracy and the well-being of the masses.* »

REARMING THE NAZIS

(Original cartoon, specially drawn for WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT by Counihan)

SCAB INTERNATIONAL SUFFERS THIRD DEFEAT IN LATIN AMERICA

by Vicente Lombardo TOLEDANO

President of the C.T.A.L., Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.

THE meeting organised by the Scab International with the backing of the forces of imperialism and known as the « Inter-American Regional Trade Union Congress » was held in Mexico City from January 8 to 13, 1951. This further effort by the scab leaders to win control of the Latin American Labour movement resulted in a resounding defeat for the plans of these enemies of the working class.

Despite all the financial, economic and diplomatic resources which the Scab International had at its disposal to help carry through its new attempt and win its objective, it could not avoid exposing in the open light of day its own disintegration and its subservience to capitalist and imperialist interests.

This « Congress » ended amid the disgust of the mass of workers and of the Mexican people, its true character having been clearly shown up by the energetic struggle undertaken by the CTAL and the friends of the WFTU in Mexico in order to denounce this shameful farce and to make widely known its real purpose.

Instead of busying itself with the discussion of problems of importance to the working class, the « Congress » took place on the basis of interminable conflicts among its organisers in their disputes over who was to benefit from the subsidies offered by North American imperialism. Quarrels between the AF of L and CIO leaders and their respective agents in the other countries broke out on several occasions ; they were in evidence in the opposition to the Peronist delegation sent by the Argentine CGT, which was refused admission to the meeting ; and in the disagreement of the Mexican CTM, which finally withdrew from the assembly.

The working class and the people of Mexico were able to understand the role played by the leaders of the Scab International who are the eager servants of Anglo-American imperialism. The Mexican press, without distinction, gave wide space to reports on the scandalous procedure of this assembly, and bore witness to its failure.

In short, the Scab International's « Congress » in Mexico City turned into a real triumph for the CTAL and World Federation of Trade Unions. The international working class can justifiably congratulate itself on the fact.

* * *

The First Defeat : the C. O. P. A.

Once again the reactionary trade union leaders of the United States, obeying instructions from the State Department and its Wall Street instigators, have tried to regiment Latin-American workers into a would-be trade union organisation under their control. This new attempt, under the sponsorship this time of the Scab International, was just as humiliating a failure as those which preceded it.

The first attempt was made by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. In November 1918 he sought to set up an embryo trade union organisation of this type for the Western Hemisphere under the name of the «Pan-American Labour Confederation» (COPA).

The COPA was never a real force in Latin America, and in actual fact never got beyond the limits of the U. S. and Mexican trade union centres.

After languishing on for a time, the COPA finally went under for good in December 1929, not long before the date set for its 6th Congress, which was to have been held in Havana. The leaders of the AF of L asked the US Government to intervene and get the Cuban Government to support « certain financial claims made by North American citizens », the wave of indignation among Latin-American workers was so great that the COPA disappeared for ever.

Later on, the AF of L leaders tried to ressuscitate the COPA, in order to fight against the young Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), which was founded 1938 as a result of the development and maturity of labour organisations in Latin America.

William Green and Matthew Woll had the nerve to ask the trade union centres affiliated to the CTAL to leave it, and at the same time made representations to the governments of the Latin American countries, asking for their support in the reconstruction of the COPA. But these intrigues went under amid universal contempt.

MATTHEW WOLL.

WILLIAM GREEN.

The Second Defeat : the C. I. T.

After the 2nd World War, the leaders of the AF of L stepped up their attack on the united trade union movement of Latin America. At official meetings and conventions of the AF of L, the expenditure of millions of dollars was authorised for the avowed purpose of smashing the CTAL and creating a continental body which would be worked by strings from Washington.

The job was given to an adventurer by the name of Serafino Romualdi who, at an AF of L meeting in Chicago in August 1947, frankly expressed the imperialists' point of view on the Latin-American labour movement, declaring that the Clayton and Truman Plans would not be effective as long as the Latin American labour movement had not been fitted into their sphere of action.

Lavishly supplied with dollars, Serafino Romualdi spent two years touring the countries of Latin America. Using bribery and promises alternately, he succeeded in « subsidising » a handful of trade union leaders whose venality was only equalled by their lack of influence, and in bringing them together in Lima, capital of Peru, in January 1948. Thus was born the new splitters' abortion of the A. F. of L., christened pompously the Inter-American Confederation of Labour (C.I.T.).

The splitting manœuvres of the C. I. T., supported by the U. S. State Department and by the majority of the Latin-American government leaders, by means of repressive laws, brutal persecution, and the use of every

United Working-Class Demonstration in Caracas, Venezuela.

type of bribery, were successful in causing splits and in weakening the independent trade union movements in some countries. But the C. I. T. failed to achieve its aim of destroying the C. T. A. L. and dominating the working-class movement of Latin-America.

The workers and the peoples of these countries remained faithful to the C. T. A. L. and rejected the directives of the C. I. T., puppet organisation which was visibly manoeuvred by the State Department « specialists » in Washington.

The Scab International to the Rescue

The repeated failures of the C. O. P. A. and the C. I. T. had convinced the North-American leaders that any *direct* attempt to set up an organisation to control the Latin-American workers was doomed to defeat in advance.

The Brazilian seamen demonstrate for their wage demands outside the Government palace.

In May 1930, the Under-Secretary of State for Latin-American Affairs in Washington, Edward Miller, had a series of conversations with his « specialists » on Latin-American trade union questions, Romualdi of the A. F. of L. and Schwartz of the C. I. O. Following these conversations, the decision was taken to liquidate the C. I. T., useless because of its complete lack of influence, and to replace it by a new organisation under the wing of the Scab International. On May 25, the Executive Committee of the Scab International, meeting in Brussels, approved this plan, and decided to call « a trade union conference of all the countries of America, in order to form a regional organisation for the Western Hemisphere ».

The intention was obvious : it was to camouflage North-American intervention by acting by proxy through the European leaders of the Scab International. It was to make the Latin-American workers believe that the future organisation would not be controlled by the trade union agents of the State Department, disqualified and stripped of all prestige, but by the « independent » leaders of European trade unions.

But the manoeuvre was quickly unmasked. The president of the C. T. A. L. denounced the trick at a public conference and in the press. The General Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Brazil, Roberto Morena, expressed the hostility of the working class of his country towards intrigues of this sort. In all the countries of Latin America, the independent working-class organisations demonstrated their opposition to the comedy being prepared in Mexico.

Absence of the Genuine Working Class Organisations

This hostility of the workers and of their genuine organisations was demonstrated right from the first by their refusal to take part in any such imitation of a working-class meeting, and it became more and more pronounced while the stormy sessions of the conference were taking place.

The Scab International was represented at the conference by its General Secretary, Oldenbroek, and by Vincent Tewson, Secretary of the British T. U. C. Many reactionary trade union leaders of the U. S. A. were present : George Meany for the A. F. of L., John Brophy and Jacob Potofsky for the C. I. O., and others, flanked by a delegate from the United Mine Workers and by Pat Conroy from Canada.

As for the « representatives » of the Latin American countries, despite the financial and other efforts exerted by the State Department and the Labour Attaches in the different U. S. and British Embassies, they were replaced by leaders of small minority groups and of « trade unions » created and maintained, with the help of the police, by the reactionary governments of some Republics. Big countries like Brazil and Argentina were not even

represented. Most of the « delegates » present were docile or mercenary agents, without any real contact with the working masses, who had given them no mandate.

Rivalry between corrupt leaders — which was ultimately responsible for the final fiasco of the conference — showed itself from the very first day. Quarrels and intrigues began around two questions, that of an invitation to the Peronist trade unions of Argentina and, above all, that of the choice of a country for the headquarters of the future organisation, this choice implying direct and

A mass meeting enthusiastically approves the resolutions of the Southern Trade Union Conference, organised by the C. T. A. L in Montevideo.

personal participation of the local leaders in administering the funds which the United States leaders must furnish in order for it to function.

As for the presence of the right-wing and government leaders of Mexico, led by Fidel Velazquez and Luis N. Morones, they said themselves a few days later, withdrawing from the meeting, « that they had taken part in its organisation and had attended the sessions after having received a formal promise from the leaders of the Scab International that the headquarters of the new organisation would be in Mexico and that its leading bodies would include several Mexican leaders ».

It was in order to strengthen its position against the group which already dominated the conference — composed of the delegates from the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., supported by those of the Scab International and the government agents from Cuba and Chile, the « Apristas » from Peru and some others — that the « Mexican workers' bloc », on the instigation of Luis Morones, suggested inviting the Peronist trade union centre of Argentina. The invitation was sent by telegram, which was also signed by John Brophy of the C. I. O. on behalf of the Scab International.

The government delegates of the Argentine C. G. T., after consulting President Peron, left Buenos Aires by plane on January 9 to attend the « congress ». But the invitation was immediately opposed by the delegates from the government trade unions of Cuba, backed up by their sponsors of the A. F. of L. The dual began. It was not too violent at first : Fidel Velasquez, Secretary of the Mexican C. T. M., acting as chairman of the meeting, said it was up to the conference to admit or repulse the Peronist delegates. As for Eusebio Mujal, Secretary of the government trade unions of Cuba — who later was to put up more violent opposition — he declared at first « that it was necessary to distinguish between the dictatorships in Venezuela, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Peru, on the one hand, and on the other hand the governmental regimes in Brazil and Argentina ».

The C. T. A. L. delegates at the joint meeting with the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. in Bucharest.

Rivalry Breaks Out

But the main quarrel broke out in connection with the headquarters and the Secretariat of the new organisation. From the first day of the conference. Fidel Velazquez demanded these for Mexico. But the Cuban delegation, which, when the headquarters of the defunct C. I. T. were between its hands, had profited from the dollars generously granted by Washington, was determined to keep its plunder.

Mujal had several talks with the North-American delegates, at the hotel where they were staying, on this subject. Doubtless he managed to convince them that he and his friends were more docile than his Mexican rivals. Possibly, too, the trade union agents of North American imperialism were not greatly in favour of installing their new headquarters in Mexico, a country which, after all, following a political revolution, had nationalised the oil resources by expropriating the United States monopolies.

These quarrels not only dominated the sessions, they also kept the « orchestra leaders » busy during the intermissions. They had other things to do than dealing with problems of vital importance to the working class ! There was no discussion on questions such as the cost of living, the defence of wages and buying power, the defence of trade union rights and especially the right to strike, social insurance, and discrimination. Of course there was no question of discussing the defence of Peace !

This « congress » was, in fact, a scandalous comedy. The intrigues and rivalry concerning the new headquarters and the State Department's dollars reached such a pitch that the Mexican press of all tendencies made use of them to sharply attack the servility of the Cuban delegates and the thirst for domination of their United States sponsors.

Luis Morones, General Secretary of the Mexican C. R. O. M., withdrew from the conference, declaring publicly that it was a total failure. And he added :

> « *With very rare exceptions, the delegates from the different Latin-American countries do not represent any genuine working-class organisation, but only small groups. Disorganisation is complete in this conference, and its ultimate failure is obvious. This failure will be worse than that of the Lima conference three years ago, when the C. I. T was set up ; and doubtless it will have more serious consequences.* »

A Still-Born Organisation

On January 11 the defeat of the Mexican group was conspicuously evident. During the afternoon session, Fidel Velazquez resigned as chairman of the conference, explaining his action in these words :

> « *My colleagues in the Bureau tried to restrict my functions as chairman as far as possible. Moreover it became obvious during the discussion that the new organisation, in the form it is being given, will not protect the interests of the Latin American workers, What they are actually trying to do is to consolidate the former C. I. T., and they are setting-up the headquarters in a country where the interests of the workers cannot be protected.* »

Fidel Velazquez spoke of the efforts of the North-American delegates to install the new organisation in Cuba, « where they could control it more easily », and also of the question of the delegates from Argentina, « who are still waiting at the door of the Congress. »

He pointed out that the governmental trade union of Brazil had, however, been invited,

> « *despite the fact that President Dutra intervened openly in the trade union elections. Accepting the delegates from Brazil and not those from Argentina means taking the responsibility of saying that the Brazilian trade unions are free, whereas we all know that this is not the case.* »

(These organisations in Brazil to which the Secretary of the C. T. M. referred are the « corporative trade unions, » entirely created by the Brazilian government under the Fascist Labour Code of the « Estado Novo », and affiliated, naturally, to the «free» and «democratic» Scab International. One of their principal leaders, Cavalcanti, is a private secretary of the dictator Dutra, recently defeated in the presidential elections.)

The Mexican delegates' proposal in favour of the Peronist C. G. T. was finally rejected by the remainder of the « congress », and Velazquez' resignation was accepted. His place as chairman was taken by Arturo Sabroso from Peru, of whom we will speak again later.

A Turbulent Session

The following session was still richer in incidents. During discussion on the statutes and aims of the new organisation, the differences between the Mexican delegation and the North-American bloc exploded violently throwing down the whole structure and tearing apart the camouflage so carefully fabricated by the agents of imperialism in the American trade unions.

Fidel Velazquez expressed his opposition in words as direct as those used by Morones. And the session ended in the midst of indescribable confusion when the Secretary of the C. T. M. announced that he was withdrawing from the conference, and threatened the delegates of the « Yankee bloc » in the following words :

> « *We cannot form part of such an organisation. We are as far from you and your aims as Mexico is from Brussels. Your ideas are not of the 20th century : they seem to be, instead, of the 18th century ! It is impossible for us to agree. This meeting is not made up of genuine workers' delegates and is not capable of protecting the workers' interests. The majority of the so-called delegates were recruited by the C. I. T., and they have been paid wages and indemnities. They have been threatened with having to pay their return passage to their respective countries themselves if they did not faithfully obey here the instructions which had been given to them. Not only will we not affiliate to the new organisation, but we are going to leave the I. C. F. T. U., which is trying to impose its total domination on us here. Finish this ridiculous comedy of a congress !*

Velazquez ended by exclaiming : « Leave Mexico if you dont want us to chase you out ! »

This is how the latest attempt to divide and hoodwink the Latin-American workers ended in shipwreck. After the withdrawal of the C. T. M., the other delegates

The Brazilian workers demonstrate against any participation of their country in the imperialist war in Korea.

hurried to finish up their « work » and on January 12 they announced the formation of the « Inter-American Regional Organisation of Labour » (O.R.I.T.) Havana was chosen for its headquarters, and the position of secretary was entrusted to Francisco Aguirre, principal lieutenant of the secretary of the government « trade unions » of Cuba, the millionaire « workers' leader » Eusebio Mujal.

The « permanent president » appointed is Arturo Sabroso of Peru, who betrayed the working class of his country after being among those who, on April 17, 1946, signed the declaration of the C. T. A. L. against the splitting manoeuvres of the American Federation of Labour.

Sabroso thus takes the place of another traitor, Bernardo Ibanez, who was president of the defunct C. I. T. and who, during the famous strike at Lota and Coronel, in Chile, in 1947, tried to recruit peasants to replace the miners and smash their strike. He became so unpopular even in Chile that his group of splitters was forced to sack him as secretary. Nonetheless, on orders from the A. F. of L., he will be a member of the Executive Committee of the new O. R. I. T.

Immediately after the « congress », the leaders of this still-born organisation went off to Washington where they visited President Truman, « *to express their support for him and to ask for his help* ». There could be no clearer way of dotting the «i» s.

Perspective and Contrasts

While the splitters' « congress » was meeting and indulging in its internal quarrels, the walls of Mexico City were covered with posters reproducing the Manifesto of the W. F. T. U. to the Workers of the World, dated December 7, 1950, and the Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the W. F. T. U., at its meeting in Bucharest, on the tasks of the trade union movement in Latin-America.

On January 15, the General Union of Workers and Peasants of Mexico, affiliated to the C. T. A. L. and to the W. F. T. U., organised a big mass meeting where the president of the C. T. A. L., Vicente Lombardo Toledano, made a thorough examination of the situation created by the splitting manoeuvres of the agents of imperialism within the ranks of the working class and its trade union organisations.

He showed that the forces of the independent working-class movement, in Latin-America as in the rest of the world, who base themselves on the clearly outlined programme of the W. F. T. U., programme of struggle for peace, for the economic interests of the working class and peasants, for democracy, for national independence for oppressed peoples, are in themselves a guarantee of victory and will be able to overcome all persecution.

On the other hand, the phoney leaders, sold to imperialism or submissive to it, whose activities are designed to stifle the discontent and the struggles of the working class, to help their masters to oppress the peoples and to prepare a new war, are weak and bound to fail for these very reasons, despite the enormous financial resources and diplomatic support put at their disposal.

In conclusion, the President of the C. T. A. L. stressed that the outstanding defeat which the Scab International has just suffered in Mexico must be made widely known, for it will help the workers of Latin America to see more clearly the imperialist manoeuvres and attacks and will thus help in carrying out the great tasks of *trade union unity*. These tasks were clearly defined in the resolution of the Executive Bureau of the W. F. T. U., passed at its Bucharest meeting, on the tasks of the working-class movement in the Latin-America countries.

The Unified Trade Unions OF KOREA MOURN two Great Working class Leaders

The following two cables were received by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, on the same day, February 5, 1951.

Pyong-Yang.

Together with all Korean industrial and office workers and technical staffs, I regret deeply to inform you of the death of the following comrades : Comrades CHOI GEN DEK, prominent leader of the Korean Trade Union movement, Chairman of the former Central Committee of the North Korean Federation of Trade Unions and substitute member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, who unfortunately died while serving in the army in our Liberation War ; Comrade SO CHANG SUP, prominent leader in the Korean Trade Union movement, member of the former Executive Committee of the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions and substitute-member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, who died while fighting bravely in the heroic warfare of the guerillas against the armed American imperialist aggressors in the course of our Liberation War.

The death of these two comrades is a great loss to the international Trade Union movement and has occurred in the course of achieving the unity and independence of our country.

Please communicate this news to all affiliated national Trade Union organisations.

HYUN HUN,
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Korean Federation of Trade Unions
January 26, 1951.

★
★ ★

Pyong-Yang.

Dear Comrade,
The Central Committees of the North and South Korean Trade Union Federations have the honour to communicate to you and, through you, to the fraternal trade union organisations of the whole world that, under the political situation created today in our country, they have adopted a historic resolution to unite their organisations into a single unified body, the Central Committee of the Korean Federation of Trade Unions.

Our struggle against the American imperialists, instigators of a new war and the common enemy of progressive mankind, is closely connected with the world-wide struggle of progressive mankind for lasting peace, democracy and the freedom of humanity. Whatever barbarous armed invasion the American imperialists may undertake, they can never stop the support and encouragement of the workers of the great Soviet Union and China and of the working class of the whole world.

We are determined to further strengthen the international unity of the working class by consolidating all the more our international solidarity with the advanced working class of the whole world, firmly united under the banner of the WFTU, and by wiping out the American imperialists completely from our territory and completing rapidly the unification of our country.

JOINT CONFERENCE of the Central
Committees of the North and South Korean
Trade Union Federations.

January 20, 1951.

★
★ ★

Thus at the very moment when the Korean trade union movement achieved organisational unity, two of its most experienced and beloved leaders fell in the fight

against the aggressors. The sympathy and solidarity of the workers of the world are with their Korean brothers in this great loss just as they are with them in their heroic struggle for freedom and national independence, which will be greatly strengthened by the organisational unity of the whole Korean trade union movement.

The WFTU has sent the following two cables to the new Central Committee of the Korean Trade Union Federation :

We are deeply grieved by the tragic news of the death of Comrades Choi Gen Dek and So Chang Sup : this is a double loss which is a bitter blow for the Korean and world working class. They were two great patriots fighting for the working class and for national independence. Their ardent faces, still living in our memory. will remain the finest example in our struggle. Our deepest sympathy goes out to their relatives and to all Korean workers.

S. ROSTOVSKY,
Secretary of the WFTU.

We have learned with great pleasure that the Central Committee of the Korean Trade Union Federation is now formed, and that its President is Comrade Hyun Hun. This historic event demonstrates the firm determination of the Korean people to unite and struggle against the international fascist regime and against the external imperialist aggression in order to rebuild on their ruins an independent and happy Korea. Peace and world happiness also depend greatly on the issue of this struggle : the working class of the whole world supports and will support you wholeheartedly until final victory.

S. ROSTOVSKY,
Secretary of the WFTU.

The « civilising mission » of the imperialist plunderers in Malaya.

(Drawn by Gabriel, in the **Daily Worker**, London.)

SETBACKS

for Imperialist Plunderers IN MALAYA

BY AYER BESI

CORRESPONDENTS writing in the genteel press on colonial affairs are often humourless individuals whose anxiety to play their employers' game leads them to make statements displaying such a preposterous ignorance of reality that the reader is hard put to it to explain to himself how the writer failed to see the hollow mockery behind his grandiloquent phrases. Such a declaration was that of which a London « Times » correspondent delivered himself last July 29, when he described Singapore as « an oasis of prosperity in South-East Asia ».

Certainly there are points of view from which such a statement is true. Malaya, with Singapore as its main outlet, is the world's largest producer of natural rubber, and one of the biggest producers of tin ; and sales of these two commodities alone netted Imperial Britain $ US 190 million in 1949, and a further 121 million in the first half of 1950. Malaya is, in fact, as British spokesmen have admitted, Britain's « chief dollar-earning source ». And on the face of things, she probably seemed likely to continue to be so to the esteemed correspondent of the « Times ». Had not rubber prices soared since the American intervention in Korea to 85 % by the end of last September and tin prices by 35 % (to 103 % by November 8) ?

From the point of view of Imperial Britain, sick with its dependence on a tight-fisted American partner, Singapore and Malaya therefore would form an oasis of prosperity : prosperity for the gentlemen of the City. But the honoured correspondent of the « Times » was so enchanted with this « medicine » coming in that he forgot two very different factors which made its continued flow extremely doubtful.

These factors are the increasing reluctance of the Wall Street warplanners to pay through the nose for their stockpiles of rubber and tin, and the growing opposition of the peoples of Malaya to the armed rapine of the rubber and tin barons.

Plunder and Profit

THE century and a half of British rule in Malaya has been one of bloody plunder. The rich resources of the Malayan Peninsula in rubber, tin, palm-oil, copra, gold, iron and manganese have been exploited with the same buccaneering spirit of fire and sword that Clive displayed in India. The great importance of rubber and tin as strategic materials for war has meant a great concentration of British capital (over £2 million for rubber) on these two industries in recent years.

In addition the British Government has planned a « development » scheme intended to speed up production of « vital resources » over a period of six years and involving a total expenditure of hundreds of millions of Straits dollars. The expansion planned for 1955, on a base of 1950=100, is as follows :

Rubber	112.7	Palm Oil	121
Tin metal	113.8	Copra	104
Iron Ore	250	Rice	134
Coal	175	Pineapple	375

The United States is lending a complacent ear to requests for help in this development of Malaya for greater imperialist profits. The « Continental Daily Mail » of December 29, 1950, announced that « latest Marshall plan purchase approvals include $ 1.386.000 for Britain, to be spent partly on road development in Malaya. » This is no doubt the first result of the visit of an American mission to Malaya following British requests for aid last May.

This is readily understood when we remember that the major market for Malayan mineral wealth is

naturally the country where war preparations and stockpiling are the official order of the day. Of the record tonnage of tin imported by the United States last July, for example, a total of 11.621 tons, more than half (6,448 tons) came from Malaya. Similarly, W. S. Lockwood, director of the Natural Rubber Bureau, has estimated that final figures for US rubber consumption during 1950 would reach the record total of 1,250,000 tons, the biggest contributor being, needless to say, Malaya.

When Buccaneer meets Pirate

BUT all is not well in the relations between the British buccaneer plundering Malayan resources and the American pirate trying to corner them. Mr. Lockwood also announced that of the American rubber total about 715.000 tons would be natural rubber and 535,000 tons « synthetic » rubber.

Back in July 1949, British Members of Parliament were already voicing the anxiety felt by the rubber barons of the City at American concentration on developing a strong synthetic rubber industry, since this was leading to a fall in the price of natural rubber. The « Times » of July 26, 1949, went so far as to say bluntly about the « United States excessive preoccupation with her synthetic rubber production » that « gratitude for Marshall Aid does not and should not silence complaints concerning any feature of American policy which makes it difficult for the sterling area to pay its way ».

Naturally enough, the price rise which followed the Korean war and the increased stockpiling for further aggression has silenced British complaints about falling prices, but the effects of home production in the USA on sales of Malayan rubber and tin continue. The « Times » statement of July 7, 1949, that « Government encouragement of synthetic rubber in the United States has limited the outlet for Malayan rubber » and that « the encouragement of tin smelting in Texas has lessened the earnings of tinsmelters in Malaya » is still valid. The US had for example doubled its synthetic rubber output by November 1950 as compared with January of the same year.

And more important still, the pirates of Wall Street are chafing at paying such high prices for the materials they have endowed with such costly strategic value by virtue of their drive for world domination. Washington therefore asked the British Government to give American buyers a discount on the market price of tin. This would have cut the City's dollar income and left Washington free at any time to use its stockpile of tin to depress the market and tighten its stranglehold on British economy. The City refused, and negotiations broke down.

On May Day, 1947, shortly before the banning of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions by the British authorities, the Malayan workers expressed their determination to conquer their democratic liberties.

In the field of rubber, protests at British « price gouging » have not been lacking in the USA. « Democrat » Senator Douglas of Illinois, for example, charged that British rubber firms were acting like « economic monopolists rather than gallant, co-operative allies. They have tried to wring as much from us as they can get. » The US Government has therefore taken steps to assume State control of all rubber imports.

But here again, the fight will not be easily won. Britain's war against the Malayan people, a war waged to preserve her right to plunder Malayan resources, is partly financed by a tax on Malayan rubber sales. Depression of rubber resources would therefore also mean less money to help win the war to preserve rubber sales, further requests for US aid, and therefore a further break in Britain's already well-perforated armour of independence.

Before they were forced to go underground, the Malayan trade unions had demonstrated their power...

However, the United States has a very material interest in the success of Britain's war against the Malayan peoples. Not only would a victory for Imperial Britain ensure a steady inflow of strategic materials to the US, but it would also make American economic penetration of still another British colony much easier.

Malaya's position as a market for American goods is already brought out significantly by the fact that US exports to Malaya increased by 555% between 1938 and 1947, while British exports to Malaya over the same period increased by less than 300%.

Virtual Siege Conditions for Rubber Barons

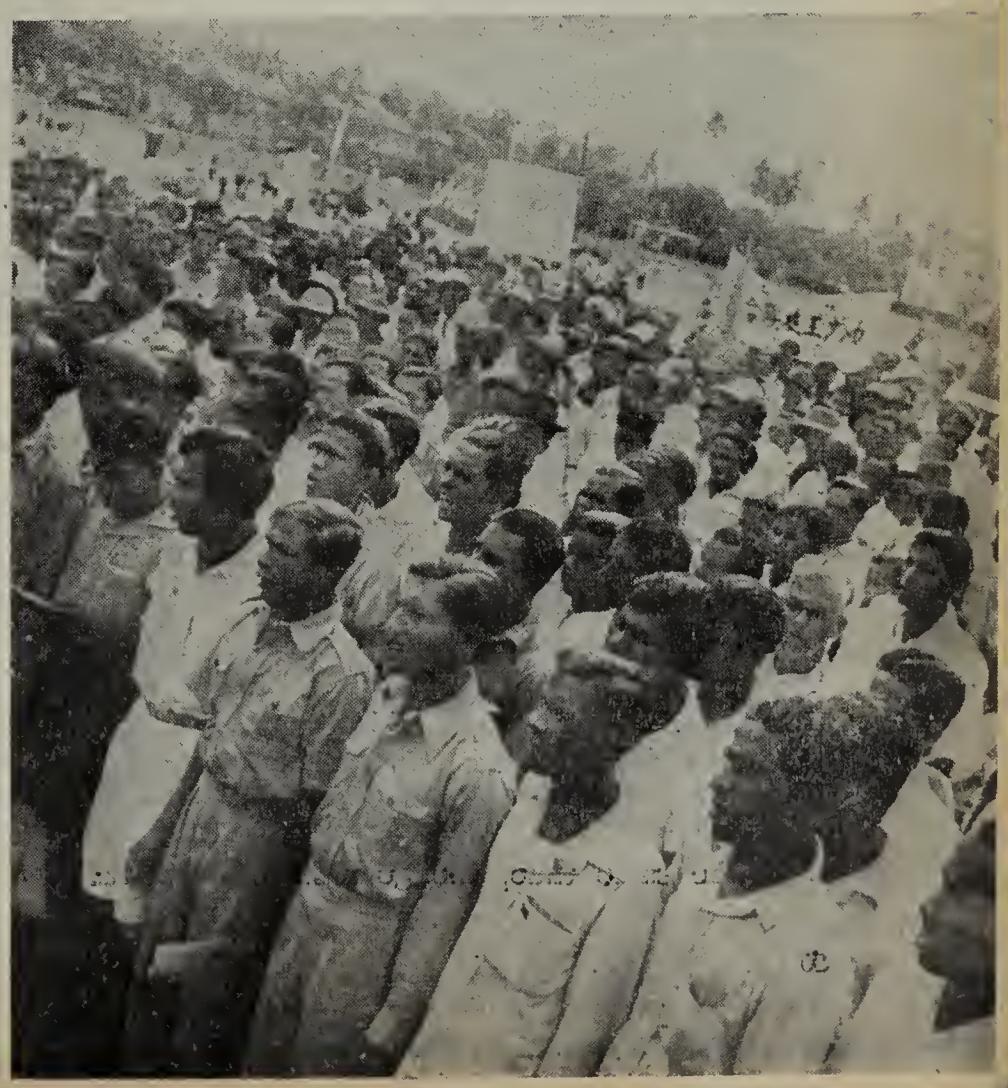
THUS while the buccaneers of the City and the pirates of Wall Street are at loggerheads over who will reap the greatest profits from the plunder of Malaya's resources, they are both agreed on the necessity of smashing the national liberation movement. For the national struggle of the Malayan people for peace, democracy and independence is the greatest obstacle to the continuation of imperialist domination in Malaya.

The « New York Times » reported on November 25, 1950, that :

> « although the planters are receiving the highest prices in history for their raw rubber, this is possible only under virtual siege conditions.... Every rubber estate is a virtual fortress. The planter's bungalow is ringed with barbed wire, trenches and machine-gun posts, and floodlighted throughout the night. Squads of armed guards maintain a twenty-four-hour patrol. The planter himself never leaves his house without a pistol strapped to his hip and perhaps a submachine gun in the crook of his arm. Passenger cars are sheeted with bullet-proof steel, and a house-wife driving to the nearest town to shop and market takes with her a car full of guards bristling with guns and grenades. »

Such stringent security measures are necessary because the planter is isolated completely from the population : he is there for his own and his employers' profit at the expense of the blood and sweat of the people. While he is obliged more and more to rely on force to maintain his domination and even his own survival, the liberation movement daily grows stronger. Why is this ?

The liberation movement was born and steeled in the fight against Japanese militarism. Left alone to face the invading and occupying Japanese forces, the people of Malaya brought forward their best elements to lead the anti-fascist struggle. The Malayan working class, numerically stronger than in most Asian countries, came to maturity in the difficult conditions of the fight for liberation from Japanese fascism, and once the war was over the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions brought its 300,000 members into the ranks of the WFTU.



...and these mass demonstrations, by their imposing scope, terrified the plunderers, exploiters of the people.

In 1947, the Pan-Malayan Peasants' Union was formed, and rapidly grew into a mass organisation as a result of its campaign against Governmental neglect of irrigation, heavy land rents and irrigation taxes, and rising prices.

The mass organisations of the people faced the returning British with an anti-colonialist movement growing daily stronger, a movement the British found it impossible to divert from its path or corrupt. The imperialists saw only one way to preserve their control of Malayan resources : in June 1948 they banned all democratic, labour and progressive political organisations and attempted to crush resistance by brute force.

Young girls, hardly more than children, are employed in the hard labour of picking tea, source of immense profits for the great British monopolies.

But the lessons of the antifascist struggle had been well learnt : these organisations, now underground, joined battle with the forces of imperialism. The People's Liberation Army, devoted to the final liberation of Malaya from the yoke of colonial oppression, began the strugle.

Fighting a guerilla war, led by the best elements of the Malayan working class, the PLA is supported by the Malayan people who provide it with the food, money and other materials needed to carry on an ever growing fight*. Apart from sections of the small national industrialist class and a handful of traitors, who have gone over to the oppressors, the overwhelming majority of the people are wholeheartedly behind the PLA.

General Briggs himself, commander of the colonialist troops in Malaya, was forced to admit on December 1st last that the « rebels... have greatly increased numerically and become more experienced in military operations since last year », and he spoke of the difficulty of forming a purely Malayan army to back up the British because of the danger of their « deserting to the rebels ».

The imperialist reply to the unity and fighting spirit of the Malayan people has been repressive legislation, concentration camps, terrorism, and a widespread campaign of propaganda condemning the PLA fighters as « bandits ».

Imperialists Attempt to Foster Communalism

WHILE much of the legislation follows the familiar pattern of strict press control, capital sentences for captured patriots and civilians who help them, and so on, the British rulers of Malaya have directed their main attention to a series of administrative measures aimed at breaking the unity of the people by fostering communalism. The population of Malaya was composed in 1947 of 2,427,834 Malaysians, 1,884,534 Chinese, 530,638 Indians, and 65,080 others (including 29,648 aborigines). The British have attempted to arouse communalist tendencies among the three main groups by posing the false problem of a « single Malayan nationality » as opposed to equal rights of citizenship. The collaborationist United Malays National Organisation has been the willing tool of the imperialists in this matter, proposing that State (« not » Federal) nationality be given to non-Malays born in the State if one parent was an Asian or Eurasian born in the Federation of Malay States, or to any person wherever born whose father was born in the State. Persons applying for nationalisation by registration would be required to pass a language test in Malay.

At the same time, the governmental central advisory committee on education has brought down a report stating that it is « convinced that the ultimate desirable objective should be free compulsory primary education in the medium of English », with Malay as second language. While in the past the education system, grossly favouring English language schools, has nevertheless allowed many Chinese and Tamil schools, the British High Commissioner in Malaya, MacDonald, announced on November 8 last that Chinese and Tamil were to be stopped as mediums of instruction in schools, to be replaced universally by English and Malay. This policy of stringent administrative and educational discrimination on a racial basis is directed most strongly against the Chinese section of the population : in its 10 year education plan the British Administration of Singapore envisages the reduction of Chinese students by 35% over a period of 10 years.

This action against Chinese Malayans is linked with the imperialist propaganda theme that the PLA

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* See « World Trade Union Movement » N° 12 (5 Nov. 1950), p. 30.

is composed entirely of Chinese, with the mass deportation of Chinese (a party of 1291 arrived in Swatow, South China, on October 9, for example), and with the banning of Chinese newspapers published in Malaya and opposed to the American aggression in Korea.

Concentration Camps and Forced Labour

THE « resettlement scheme » is also essentially directed against Chinese peasants living in Malaya, regarded by the imperialists as the civilian mainstay of the PLA. Peaceable peasants are uprooted from their villages and herded into concentration camps where they await « resettlement » and recruitment for forced labour. By November 1950, 20,000 had been torn from their homes and flung into concentration camp, and General Briggs stated that a further 300,000 remained to be « brought in ». The Central People's Government of China has sent vigorous protests against the unjustifiable measures taken against Chinese settlers in Malaya, pointing out that, since June 1948, 35,000 Chinese had been deported and 16 large Chinese villages destroyed.

Although British policy seems on the surface to favour the Malayan section of the people, this policy applies in actual fact only to the stooges it has corrupted into its service. Briggs himself stressed the danger of Malayan police deserting to the PLA, and a special correspondent of the « Manchester Guardian » reflected the racialism of British ruling circles when he accounted for the difficulties met with in recruiting Chinese for the Singapore Police Force by saying that « the force appeals not so much to the Chinese as to the Malays, who are lower in intelligence and have little alternative employment ».

Regimentation and imperialist control have extended to all fields : the imperialists have neglected no avenue of pressure and corruption :

> « For nearly two years apart from reinforcing their army, expanding the Malay Regiment, and organising the Special Constabulary, they have carried out big sweeps in the rural areas, evicted the rural masses, enforced the identity card system, mobilised Kuomintang diehards for espionage work, formed the Auxiliary Police and the Tampong Guards, organised the Malayan Chinese Association, formed police trade unions, made use of Dato Onn and the sultans for reactionary activities, set up the Inter Community Liaison Committee, plotted to lure people to surrender, organised « Anti-Bandit Month » and so on and so forth, »

wrote the underground paper « Min Sheng » last April. But Briggs has admitted the failure of all these measures by acknowledging the « greatly increased » numerical strength of the PLA. The unity of the Malayan people is not being broken but consolidated. And the important and active leading role played in the consolidation of this unity by the working class is shown by the fact that one of the greatest defeats of the imperialists has been in the trade union field.

The most brutal repression is unleashed by the « special police » against the civilian population, suspected of helping the troops of the Liberation Army.

Government-sponsored unions and the machinations of turncoat scab leaders in the service of the colonialists have been a miserable failure*. The most striking example of this is given by the 1950

* See « World Trade Union Movement » N° 13 (20 Nov. 1950), p. 30.

Annual Report of the Registry of Trade Unions which, needless to say, only records the membership of officially tolerated scab unions. The Report shows a **drop of 30.000 or 43 %** in their membership. The remaining 42,000 workers still in these « unions » are employees of British firms and the Administration, workers on whom strong pressure can be brought to bear.

For the imperialists' plans to build a docile trade union movement, the situation is catastrophic. The underground unions are moreover openly calling for a determined struggle for higher wages and better conditions *, and in view of the worsening position of all workers, this campaign will make a further hole in the membership of the phoney unions.

The Scab International, true to the purposes of its foundation, has been called to the rescue, and plans to establish a « Labour College » in Singapore where trade unionists can be trained in docility and obedience. But it cannot do else but fail, because it offers the Malayan workers no way out of their present situation. The programme of the liberation movement, precisely because it demands the end of colonial exploitation, is the only programme answering the deepest aspirations of the Malayan people.

Terrorism Fails to break National Unity

THE imperialists have therefore had recourse to their oldest « stratagem » : terrorism. Villages have been forcibly evacuated and burnt down. Arrests take place without charge and people are detained without trial. The people's leaders, like A. Ganapathy, former President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, are shot or hanged when captured. « Suspected » encampments of guerilla units are bombed and strafed with napalm, heavy bombs and rockets. Despite their own admissions that « 90% of Malaya is dense jungle and it is almost impossible to pin-point a target because of the lack of distinguishable landmarks » (« New York Times », 26.11.50) and that « the jungle would not burn » (Briggs in « The Times », 19.10.50), the imperialists continue their air raids because their aim is to terrorise the villagers. An explosive rocket « fell accidentally » on a school of 1,400 children («Pakistan Times», 4.9.50), and an estate where plantation labourers were at work was « accidentally » bombed (« Times », 6.11.50). Atrocities of all kinds have become the order of the day :

> « Except for a small backward minority living in the large towns, the people have come to realise that arson, robberies, murders and rapes are the main appointed tasks of the enemy troops, be they army regulars or special constables. They would rob even things of little value such as home-made cigarettes. Rape has become a routine with them : not only young girls, but even women of 50 and over have been wantonly assaulted. In Kalau Pahang where there was a large enemy camp last year, women were raped in broad daylight, and some young women were

* See « World Trade Union Movement » N° 15 (20 Dec. 1950), p. 36.

The managers of the rubber plantations virtually live in a state of siege, and surround their mansions with improvised blockhouses.

These Malayan workers were victims of the reprisals inflicted in an attempt to crush the national liberation movement.

forced to strip naked and march off to the camp to satisfy their beastly lust. Such incidents occurred not to Chinese women alone, but also to the Malay women in their kampongs ; in one instance in Temerloh Pahang this caused the Malay special constables (themselves rapists) to open fire on white soldiers.

« Massacres of defenceless people have often happened, like the one in Batang Kali, Selangor, where 28 workers were slaughtered in cold blood, and another in Batu Arang Colliery, Selangor, where more than 20 were killed in July last year... » (Min Sheng, 20.3.50).

This vicious, bestial violence is hypocritically hidden from the British people, who are assured by the Labour Imperialists that Britain is waging a war against « bandits », and that without the dollars earned by Malaya Britain would lose her independence. The careful propaganda screen of the Labour Government has concealed the real issues from the British workers and people. In Australia, where Prime Minister (« Pig-Iron ») Menzies is known to have large interests in Malaya, along with many other big industrialists, the smoke-screen of propaganda has had little effect and the big maritime unions have refused to handle ships for Malaya, as have the dockers in New-Zealand. Active solidarity from the world working class will greatly assist the liberation movement of the Malayan people.

Every day the very organisations most interested in denying the strength of the PLA are forced to admit that it is continually growing stronger. The District Planters' Association of Selangor, for example, reported (« Times », 29.11.50) that the PLA was « more numerous, more active and under better and more imaginative leadership than ever before ». The peoples of Malaya have chosen the road of unity, and their growing strength is a pledge of their final victory over the buccaneers and pirates who have exploited them so ruthlessly for so long. The « oasis of prosperity » of British imperialism is being taken over by its rightful owners, the peoples of Malaya.

Some opinions on Malaya

LIVING CONDITIONS IN SINGAPORE

« I can summarise by saying that the living conditions in the slum areas are revolting . Singapore is a city of great contrasts. You can see certain areas of the most beautiful buildings and modern shopping centres while a few blocks away the shops that the workers have to patronise are very different, some are like little dungeons. While there are palatial homes for the rich there are rows and rows of hovels for the workers. »

J. A. BARTON, President of the New Zealand Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in the **New Zealand Railway Review,** 21-7-50.

IMPERIALIST WAR DOOMED TO FAIL

« After three years' police and security work in Malaya, Mr. James MacDonald of Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, London, has returned to this country convinced that Britain's policy of oppression is wrong.

« ' The only way to put things right in Malaya is to win the confidence of the Malayan people, and you can't do that by putting people into concentration camps and by using planes ', he says. ' There was a sergeant of the Palestine Police in my district who would often get drunk and drive his motor-cycle combination, firing with a tommy gun to both sides of the road... I think British lives are being thrown away in Malaya. British boys are going out there with only a few months' training and are then finding themselves in the jungle up against experienced guerillas very cleverly led. The Government is no further ahead than it was years ago '. »

Daily Worker (London), 16-11-50.

ARREST OF CHILDREN

« Amendments to the emergency regulations published in Malaya recently provide that boys and girls under 17 may be detained in custody at advanced approved schools instead of detention camps. One problem is that there are more than 500,000 children of primary school age in Malaya who have no schools to go to. »

Sydney Sun, 28-6-50.

MALAYAN MAKRONISSOS

« A few years ago, on the Greek island of Makronissos, Colonel Baraiktaris founded a camp for the re-education of Communist terrorists and guerillas by methods of free discussion and instruction... A similar and most interesting experiment is being attempted today at Taiping, in Malaya, where a centre is functioning for the rehabilitation of prisoners slected from the detention camps. Over-filled detention camps mean demoralisation and embitterment of the inmates, and many of the 11,000 men held in camps at Majeedi, Mawai, and St. John's Island are detained only on suspicion or « to be on the safe side.» A denunciation, former membership of a Communist organisation..., former connection with a Communist-dominated trade union — any of these things can bring a man into a detention camp. »

Manchester Guardian, 5-7-50.

« ENLIGHTENED » LABOUR IMPERIALISM

« There was no whining or begging. They were given a few minutes to collect what they could... The hut burst into a slow explosion of flame, and the family stood and watched, ankle-deep in all they had. That happened five times. Once a child started to scream. Others just stood, their faces marble-cold. At the end of the line an old woman waited at the door of her hut. Her son crouched outside, his legs and arms like chicken limbs, approaching the slow end of his consumption. Inside was a climax of all poverty. »

London **Observer,** 19-9-48.

A « DISINTERESTED » OPINION

« The Socialist threat of self-government still hangs over the Malays like a sword of Damocles. »

J.K. SWAINE, Chairman of Perak Rubber Plantations, Ltd., **Continental Daily Mail** (Paris), 6-9-50.

REHABILITATION OF DISABLED WORKERS IN HUNGARY

by René Duhamel

Vice-President of the Postal, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Workers' Trade Unions International

The Petrovszkij Clinic

GO and see the Petrovszkij Clinic », I was told by an old doctor in Budapest when I explained to him the purpose of the research undertaken by the World Federation of Trade Unions on the problems of functional therapeutics and re-education in trade skills.

I followed this good advice and went to the Petrovszkij Clinic which is a huge building with wide bay windows where a big personnel carries on an intensive round of activities.

In his office, the director of the clinic, Professor Petrovszkij, explained to me the essential features of the treatment given in his establishment.

« *You see,* » he said, « *our system is based on the principle of following the progress of the patient in the same clinic from the time of the accident (or from the time the ambulance arrives at the clinic) until the moment when the course of functional therapeutics is completed and the patient can begin his re-education in trade skills.*

» *The second principle on which our system is based is to link physical treatment with a real psychological cure which will give back to the disabled man his confidence in himself.*

» *It is a well-known fact that after his accident a man who has undergone an amputation or an invalid suffers a nervous depression which is harmful to rapid functional rehabilitation.*

» *The invalid, conscious of his physical incapacity or inadequacy, generally regards himself as a useless person, dependent on society and incapable of continuing a normal life.*

» *Our system is therefore aimed at getting rid of this pessimism and avoiding the fits of neurasthenia it could cause. To do this, we organise physical exercises in common. Doing the exercises, which become more and more difficult, creates a sort of emulation among the patients and gives each of them growing confidence in his capabilities.* »

During the visit that followed this conversation, I was in a position to appreciate the excellent psychological results of this method. In each room of the gymnasium the patients, their faces alight with hope and confidence, told me of their delight at being able each day to move a little more their atrophied or paralysed limbs.

Others, taken up in the atmosphere of the games organised for them, did not realise that they were performing movements or exercises which they would have regarded as impossible for them if they had had to do them individually.

These disabled youths have acquired the speed and ease of motion necessary for playing table tennis.

The organisation of this clinic (270 beds) into many small rooms with only a few beds gives it a family atmosphere with more intimate surroundings creating friendship among the disabled workers, thus offsetting the natural tendency towards neurasthenia which might be in evidence among those who had been most recently injured.

Before leaving the clinic, I put some questions to some disabled out-patients who came into one of the rooms in the gymnasium.

« *We come back to the clinic as often as necessary,* » a young leather-worker told me. « *After our re-education in trade skills, and when we have been placed in a trade suited to our capabilities, we come at varying intervals to perform the physical movements appropriate to our disability.*

» *The special clothing we have on at the moment is lent to us by the clinic at each visit. For those of us who live any distance from the clinic, transport costs are paid by the establishment; and in certain cases, the clinic sends a car to our homes for us.* »

Just before I took my leave of Professor Petrovszkij, he told me : « *This principle of Pavlov, the results of which you have been able to appreciate, will shortly be put into practice all over Hungary. At the end of 1950, trematological institutes organised on the basis of this system, which we owe to experience acquired in the Soviet Union, were created in all important centres, primarily in mining areas.* »

This is the way the workers are treated whom the capitalist press calls « robots ».

State Institute for Disabled Children

AT the Petrovszkij Clinic, I had found war invalids, labour victims and people injured through traffic accidents. At the State Institute for Disabled Children I met those who were born invalids and unfortunate children who had had limbs torn off after the war by the explosion of a grenade or mine lying in the ground on which they were playing.

This Institute houses 120 children between the ages of 6 and 14. In organising it, account was taken of these age differences and of the disability from which each child suffered : tables, chairs, wash-basins, etc. are in different sizes.

Taking up again the theme expounded by Professor Petrovszkij, Professors Zinner and Szegvari, directors of this Institute, explained to me :

« *Here disabled children live together. They have no feeling of physical inferiority such as they might experience in an ordinary hospital in contact with children who would be ill but not invalids. They will grow up into adults fully conscious of their physical and intellectual capabilities. They already play all kinds of games and sports.* »

As he said this Professor Szegvari took me into the corridor. Through a big bay window I saw a unique and moving sight : a football match between one-armed and one-legged boys. The game was a lively one, broken by cries of enthusiasm and laughter. And a few children, with both legs amputated, supporting themselves on their arms and balancing their disabled bodies, rushed at full speed from one end of the ground to the other.

This match, with its obviously modified rules, gave out such an impression of confidence, optimism and triumphant health that its strength was very clear to me as a spectator. I found a deeper understanding of the psychological merit and moral value of this new form of treatment being applied in People's Hungary.

Having regained confidence in themselves and the will to live, these amateur actors are taking part in an artistic production at the Reeducation Centre.

The Centre of Tisza

COUNT Tisza was a powerful landowner in Old Hungary and had a magnificent chateau surrounded by a park of centuries-old trees.

Today this chateau has become State property and it houses a Trade Training Centre for the Disabled. The centre has five workshops, the first of which has 30 workers making leather goods for nationalised stores. Half of the workers are former peasants who were disabled while working in the fields.

One of them said to me, « *We work a 48-hour week here, as in the other workshops : 24 hours pratical work, 20 hours theoretical study and 4 hours free study. Our wages are fixed by collective agreement and are the same as those paid to ordinary workers in the same trade.* »

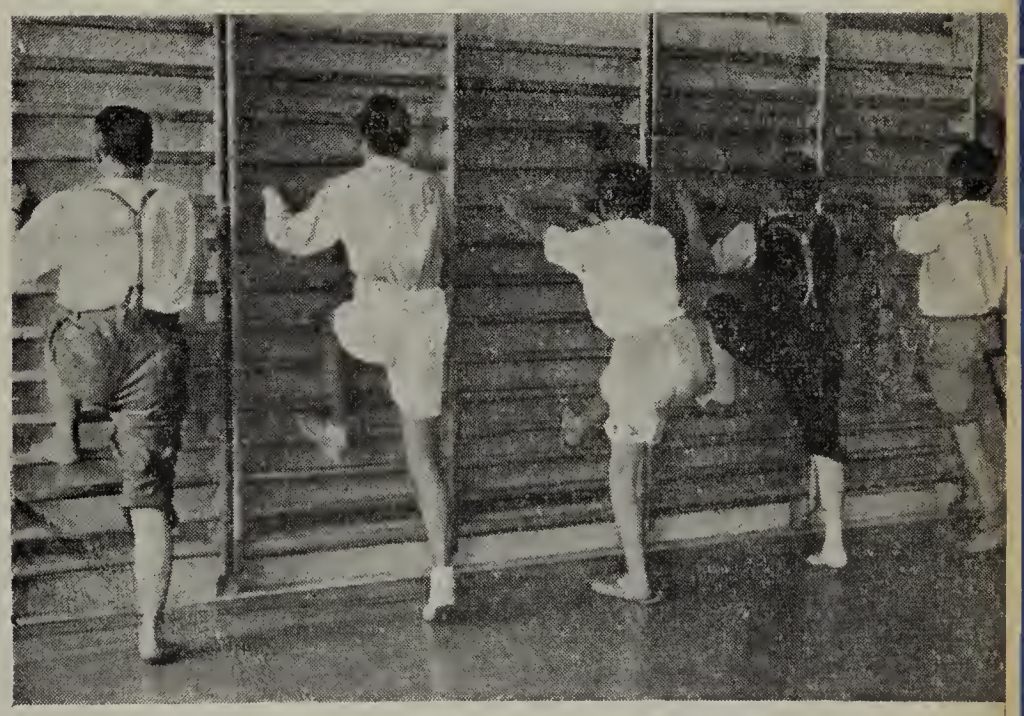
At the sewing shop, where suits are made to measure, one of the fifteen apprentices told me : « *We are paid by the hour on the basis of a rate laid down in the collective agreement for apprentices to our trade. We sleep in dormitories and breakfast, lunch, supper and dinner are free.* »

At the shoemakers' and hide-cutting shops, the disabled men, now re-adapted, talked to me about their work and their living conditions.

« *There are 120 disabled men here,* » they said, « *half of them young apprentices. The meals we eat here cost us 1 forint 50, half the cost price. For the apprentices, the meals are free.* »

One of the latter said to me, « *If you want to get an idea of the atmosphere in our Centre, all you have to do is go trough our lecture rooms, and have a look at the games hall where there are ping-pong tables and a theatre.* »

And he was right. It was with considerable regret that I took leave of these disabled workers who, despite their infirmities, are earning their living by their own work and looking to the future with confidence and hope.



FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

Session of respiratory gymnastics for those with leg amputations.

Functional reeducation for those with arm disabilities.

Session of coordinated reeducative gymnastics.

Halters are of great assistance in the readaptation of these seriously disabled men.

A special system, adapted to the telephone switchboard, makes it possible for these blind people to become excellent operators and to play once more a useful part in the reconstruction of their country.

Training Centre for the Blind

ANOTHER visit in Budapest was to the Training Centre for the Blind. In this centre, 252 blind people, some of them also deaf and dumb, make towels, dish-cloths, high-quality sheets, brooms, brushes and wicker baskets.

One blind man who came up to me complained about the lack of horsehair and rice-straw, which are essential in the rehabilitation of the blind. « *The French Government's breaking off of economic relations between France and Hungary has heavily hit the supplies of raw materials for certain sections of our Institute,* » he said. « *For example, loads of rice-straw for Hungary are at present held up in the ports of Rouen and Le Havre.* »

An old, wrinkled blind woman joined her comrade in telling me about their working conditions : « *We're either paid by output or by the hour, according to what we make. We work 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, but our wages are those paid for 51 hours work. The lowest wages are on the same level as those of a specialised worker who can see. Like all other Hungarians enjoying social security, we have the right to free treatment, chemists' goods, appliances, medicinal baths, etc. As with others, our Social Security costs are paid by the State, and like them we get paid holidays varying from 12 to 25 days according to length of service once the first year has been completed.*

» *For our paid holidays we go, like other workers, to one of the many rest homes in Hungary, where we stay free or at very low cost. Like the war disabled, we always travel free ; but in addition, the person who goes with us also travels free.* »

Fixing her dead eyes on me, the old blind woman, her throat tight with emotion, painted for me a word picture of the calvary life had been in the Old Hungary : exhausting toil, sleepless nights working away for little pay, the haunting fear of hunger, the sick ones who died through lack of treatment, the blind forced to beg in order to eke out a meagre existence.

***

IN the train bringing me back from Budapest, I remembered all the lies and slanders the capitalist press pours out about New Hungary, the other Peoples' Democracies and the Soviet Union, the countries where the people have taken their future into their own hands.

I felt even more strongly the vileness of the recent statement published in the Americanised press in France to the effect that « *the dead of Hiroshima are happier than the living in Prague* »*, that is, in the Peoples' Democracies.

I couldn't prevent myself drawing a contrast between the magnificent and deeply human achievements of these so-called « barbaric » countries and the « civilisation » of the imperialist countries where guns take the place of schools and hospitals, where the police and the militia are preferred to nurses and teachers, and where all the devotion of doctors and their assistants cannot make up for the inadequacy of clinics and the shortage of beds in hospitals.

This is one of the clear-cut differences between the policy of war and poverty in the imperialist countries and the policy of peace and social progress followed in the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

It is an illustration of the contrast between the capitalist and socialist systems : to regard men as a means of increasing profits ; or to regard them as the most precious capital of the new society.

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* Maurice Duverger in **Le Morde** (Paris), December 17, 1950.

Betty Smith

« Nationalisation »

IN GREAT BRITAIN

ON January 1st, 1947 when the coal mines of Britain were nationalised, the miners ran the Red Flag up beside the Coal Board's new flag at the pithead, and it seemed as if a breath of freedom had really passed over the coalfields after three hundred years of oppression and exploitation. One year later, when the railways were nationalised, there was less enthusiasm, and in the General Election of 1950 it was the Tories who tried to make an issue of nationalisation. Labour had little to say and that little was defensive.

The *Labour Handbook* of 1951 has little difficulty in refuting Tory charges about high prices, cost to the Exchequer, and exceptionally bad labour relations in the nationalised industries, but the defence the *Handbook* makes of these industries is very revealing. Prices have risen less in the nationalised industries than in others, it says (and private industry, presumably, should be grateful). It is one of the advantages of nationalisation that when it is desired to reduce investment « it can be slowed down most easily in the public industries. This is now happening ». And as for Tory accusations of patronage, there are only 37 trade union representatives among 300 members of the boards of the nationalised industries !

WAGES & CONDITIONS IN THE MINES

THE *Handbook* claims that nationalisation has brought general improvements in pay and conditions. There have been improvements, in the coal mining industry at any rate, but the complete inadequacy of these (1) is proved by the fact that Britain is facing an acute coal crisis and is importing coal from America at a cost far above British coal, simply because men are now leaving

(1) cf. « Conditions of British Miners » in **World Trade Union Movement**, nº 15, 1950.

The British miners welcomed enthusiastically what they thought to be the real nationalisation of their industry, and they solemnly raised the red flag of their trade union at the entrances to the pits.

the industry much faster than they are coming in. The total number of coalminers, which was 697,000 in 1946 had risen to 724,000 in 1948 but since then has been dropping, and in December 1950 had sunk to 688.000, the lowest number in this century.

In the first two years of nationalisation the miners won important benefits — a five-day week without loss of pay, increased minimum wage, supplementary accident pay, improved payment for men made redundant, and increased holidays. These improvements, however, were still only of a limited character. The payment of six shifts for five worked was limited by the fact that men absent even for one day because of sickness, for instance, lost the payment both for that shift and for the bonus shift. The supplementary accident benefit was only £1 a week and for this the men paid 4d. a week. Payment was given for the first time for 6 statutory holidays, but the annual holiday was, and is, only one week, whereas workers in a very great number of industries, including some quite minor ones, get two weeks.

In the autumn of 1948, moreover, the Government informed both the miners and the Coal Board that further improvements could not be permitted unless there was increased production.

Since that time the union has found it extremely difficult to get any improvements. The minimum wage was raised from £ 5 underground and £ 4. 10 s. on the surface to £5.15.0 and £5 in November 1947, but since that time the cost of living has risen 13 per cent. Rather over a third of the men are pieceworkers and earn comparatively good wages, but about two-thirds are day wage men on the minimum or somewhere near it. The strength of the feeling for wage increases was shown both by the heavy vote against the T.U.C. policy of « wage restraint » in almost all areas when a ballot was taken in January 1950, and by the strikes in support of the wage claim in Scotland in July and September 1950.

After more than a year of efforts by the union to get an increase for the lower-paid men, the Reference Tribunal (arbitration body) in October 1950 gave an increase of only 5s. a week on the minimum, and 2s.6d. or nothing to other low-paid workers. The claim for two weeks' holiday has been rejected, and British miners still get no pension apart from the national pension which all workers get at 65. Yet output per man shift has gone up by 13-1/3 per cent since 1947.

The long-awaited improvements have not been made, and working conditions are still very difficult.

WAGES IN OTHER NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES

IN road passenger transport, part of which has been nationalised, it is only very recently that the workers have had an increase which gives them something like the average advance of workers in other industries. From June 1947 to the end of 1950 the London bus driver, who used to be one of the better paid of London's workers, has had an increase of only just over 6 % in his wages, whereas the average increase for men in other industries was 11 %.

In electricity supply the workers, under militant leadership, have made advances, but even here the Board provoked a strike in four London power stations in December 1949 by trying to do away with the local bonuses which had been paid in the past.

On the railways there is serious frustration over wages, and an attempt to worsen conditions, particularly of engine crews which has already led to strikes and may lead to more. Railwaymen in Great Britain have always been rather badly paid, and have had to look to overtime and Sunday work to eke out their earnings. Now the Railway Executive, like any capitalist employer, quotes these overtime earnings as proof that no advance in wages is needed. Since nationalisation the National Union of Railwaymen, the largest of the railway trade unions, has presented four separate wage claims, and at the time of writing 3s. 6d. for the lowest paid men is almost all that they have got out of it. There have seldom been such long and fruitless negotiations. There were unofficial « work to rule » movements in several areas in support of the wage claim in 1949.

The minimum weekly rate is now 96s., the lowest in any major industry. At the same time the differential between skilled and less skilled has been reduced to such an extent that there is not enough incentive to take on more res-

ponsible work. In November 1950, 300 of the men in charge of labourers on the London underground railways threw up their jobs and demanded to revert to labourers, and maintained this position for a week in protest at the fact that men under them had just received 2s.6d. bringing their pay to 103s., while some of the men in charge, on a rate of 105s.6d., got nothing.

All three unions have had wage claims in since August 1950, and the Railway Executive, while offering a small increase has tied this to the acceptance by the unions of certain worsened conditions — an attempt to negotiate under duress which the unions have rejected. The Executive of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen passed a resolution saying that :

> « *This new and totally foreign method of using as an ultimatum subject matters that have been, and in some instances still are, in the process of negociation within the agreed machinery savours of a challenge that will not go unheeded by this Society ; we regret that this atmosphere has been deliberately and factually introduced by the Railway Executive.* »

The workers of other industries demonstrated their solidarity with the miners on « staydown » strike in Waleswood Pit, Yorks, by sending food down to them to enable them to hold out until victory.

COMPENSATION TO FORMER OWNERS

ONE big stumbling block in the way of the improvement of conditions is the very large amount which is being paid out each year as interest on the compensation to the old shareholders. In the discussions which went on in the Labour Movement before nationalisation it was accepted that compensation would be paid, but certain safeguards to prevent it being too large were also asked for. The Trades Union Congress, for instance, in a special study of the finance of nationalised industries, laid down that compensation, if based on previous profits, ought to discount that part of profits which arose from statutorily protected monopoly, unduly low wages, or neglect of the physical assets, and further that the burden of paying compensation should not be placed on the nationalised industry, but on the country's finances as a whole. In practice, most of these warnings have been disregarded.

Compensation for the coal mines is still not finally settled, but « interim income » of about £12½ million has been paid to the old mineowners in each of the first two years. This compares with an average profit of £9½ million in 1934-8. The final burden (for collieries alone, apart from by-product plants etc. which will raise the total considerably) may prove to be less than this, but if so the excess for these first two years will not be repaid by the shareholders. On top of interest, the whole capital sum has to be repaid in 50 years — the total will be about twice the capital sum. Even after paying compensation, the Coal Board made a profit of £ 1,600,000 in 1948, £9½ million in 1949, and £9½ million in the first half of 1950, but this is not considered to be available for improving wages because the Board still has to pay off the deficit of over £23 million made in the first year of nationalisation.

In electricity supply the compensation is slightly less than pre-nationalisation profits — about £10¼ million a year compared with £11¼ million. For transport the total annual payment is about £34½ million, of which £27.8 million is attributable to the railways. On top of this some £2½ million must be set aside each year towards paying back the capital, so the total paid out for the benefit of the railway shareholders each year is about £29.8 million, almost exactly what they got in 1938 though the average for 1934-8 was rather higher — about £34 million. This compensation is being paid for assets which in some cases were obsolete — 123,000 of the private owner's wagons, nearly one fifth of the total, were broken up in the first two years of nationalisation. After paying compensation, the nationalised transport industry made a loss of £4.7 million in 1948 and £25½ million in 1949. But this has not fallen on the Exchequer, it has been met out of the reserves which should have gone to modernise the industry.

The trade unions are naturally disturbed at these heavy payments. The National Union of Mineworkers, at its 1949 conference, instructed its Executive to conduct an enquiry, jointly with the T.U.C. and Labour Party, into compensation and particularly the policy of laying the whole burden on the industry. The National Union of Railwaymen's conference in 1950 unanimously passed a resolution :

Recruiting of young mining apprentices is becoming more and more difficult because of the greed shown by the employer-State.

« *That this Conference cannot agree to wage-freezing, more production, higher prices and worsened conditions, in order to pay well over £30 million per annum to railway stockholders, for 90 years, and a further £3 million into a redemption fund for 90 years, to buy out the late owners, making a total of £3,200 million to be paid for a transport system ruined and neglected for years in the interest of dividends and profit. We demand that all national legislation dealing with national transport be revised with a view to curtailing the 90 years' guarantee of interest.* »

« A SHARE IN MANAGEMENT »

ONE big test of nationalisation is *whether the workers feel they have more share in running the industry than they had under private ownership.* There is probably as much frustration on this score in Britain as there is on the question of wages and conditions. A ballot conducted by a railway trade union paper in February 1949, one year after nationalisation, showed that 75.3 per cent of the workers felt they had no share in running the industry.

British trade unions for the most part have taken the view that they did not wish to be made responsible for the running of the nationalised industries, and therefore trade unionists on the Boards have not retained any office in the union. This does not mean however that the unions have not wanted to see a larger number of trade unionists on those Boards. The 1948 T.U.C. passed a resolution welcoming nationalisation but expressing :

> « *concern, however, at the present composition of the Boards of the nationalised industries and stresses the necessity for greater workers' participation, which can only be obtaind from Trade Union ranks.*
>
> » *Congress believes that persons appointed to administer nationalised industries at all levels should be chosen on the basis of proved ability and belief in the policy of nationalisation.* »

Yet the Railway Executive, for instance, has for its chairman the man who was general manager of one of the four big railways before nationalisation, and of the other six fulltime members, four were high officials on the privately-owned railways, and *only one is a trade unionist.* The trade unionist has been given the job which is most likely to bring him into conflict with the men, that of responsibility for labour relations. The position on the other boards is not greatly different.

The unchanged attitude of managements in nationalised industries was seen in a horrifying way at the enquiry into the Knockshinnoch mine disaster in Scotland in September 1950. Thirteen men lost their lives in this accident, and another 116 were only rescued with difficulty. Yet the main concern of the Coal Board's lawyer, just as of the mine-owners in the past, seemed to be to repudiate responsibility.

The Trades Union Congress in 1949 issued a questionnaire to the trade unions concerned, on the adequacy of arrangements for consultation in the nationalised industries. Their summary of replies included the following :

> « *The N.U.R. have been extremely disappointed at not being brought into consultation on matters of major importance, and at the failure to consult the Union on other matters until after decisions have been taken. The N.U.R. are far from satisfied with the proposals on this matter so far submitted by the Railway Executive. No noticeable change in the relationships between management and staff has taken place.* »

The National Union of Mineworkers reported that :

> « *Complaints from various areas include the fact that no functional change has taken place between management and workers from sitting together on the consultative committees ; advice proffered by the workers' side is insufficiently*

regarded; the work of committees is impeded by lack of vital information; the means for conveying decisions and the reasons for arriving at them to the mass of workpeople are inadequate. »

RESTRICTED DEVELOPMENT AND RATIONALISATION

ALL the nationalised industries needed a great deal of new development, either, like coal and railways, because they had been grossly neglected in the past, or, like electricity supply, because a great expansion was necessary. The amount planned varies. The British Electricity Authority has already borrowed £250 million for development, the Coal Board is planning to spend £635 million in fifteen years. But two things are clear : first, improvements are being held up by the Government's policy of cutting down investment, which can be easily enforced in these industries ; and second, the development planned is of a purely capitalist kind.

The discouragement of investment has hit the nationalised electricity industry particularly hard. Power cuts have been a frequent occurence this winter. The Electricity Authority in its 1950 report, stated that the Government had only allowed them to spend £102 million in 1950, and that while they recognised the difficulty of the Government's task :

> « *The Authority have expressed the firm opinion that, apart from generation, the amounts allocated for 1950 are insufficient to maintain the industry's needs and to maintain balanced development.* »

Lord Citrine, the Chairman of the Board, in a press conference on December 5th said that a situation was developing which was not only serious but might be « dangerous or even disastrous. »

RAILWAY « RATIONALISATION »

ON the railways the replacement of the decrepit rolling stock taken over on vesting day has led to a big drop in the money available for improvements, and there is a strong possibility that the Transport Commission will soon have to borrow more. Meanwhile a drive for economies is taking place at the expense of the men. During 1949 there was a drop of 23,000 in the number employed, and up to October 1950 a further 12,000. This has been achieved partly through « integration » of the services formerly carried on by the four railway companies — the closing down of certain goods terminals, offices, branch lines etc. — and partly through speedup. In July 1950 the Transport Commission issued a statement on Integration of Freight Services by Road and Rail, which admitted that some redundancy would result and that « stepping down in grade will not always be avoidable ».

The Railway Executive has also made determined efforts to get more work out of the train crews. In the summer of 1949 new schedules involving an increased number of duties on which men would have to lodge away from home led to Sunday strikes by drivers and firemen for five successive weeks in almost every depot on the east coast lines.

In the current wage negotiations the Executive is again demanding an increase in « lodging turns », that the unions should agree to 9-hour turns of duty where the men have refused them, an agreement to dispense with certain jobs, and so on. The whole picture is becoming much too much like the economy drives that took place during the slump years under the railway companies.

A meeting of strikers of the Barking power station, one of the most powerful in Europe, during a movement for their wage demands.

THE COAL PLAN TO BENEFIT PRIVATE INDUSTRY

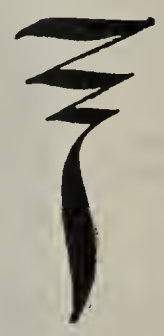
THE Coal Board's long promised 15-year plan was produced in October 1950. This provides for the sinking of the new pits which have long been necessary, but the benefits of the plan will not go to the nation or the mine-workers, but *mainly to private industry*. Output by 1961-5 is to go up to 240 million tons or by nearly 18 per cent, but this is to be got *by 80.000 fewer workers* — a drop of 11 per cent. It is assumed that there will be no general rise in wage rates, though earnings should go up 9 per cent through increased output. Coal will be 7s. a ton cheaper.

The fall in manpower, it is said, will be achieved mainly by natural wastage, but in the coalfields where there is to be sharp contraction — Central Scotland and West Durham for instance — it is clear *there will be unemployment*. The question of whether an individual colliery is « exhausted » and should be closed is, it is admitted, usually an economic one. Any colliery showing a loss will be expected to get its costs down to those of other collieries in the area, and « the future of the colliery will usually depend on the success it has in doing this ».

Most sinister of all perhaps, doubt is thrown on the possibility of developing the anthracite area in South Wales, partly because « in several parts of the coalfield relations with labour are unsatisfactory, and there is much doubt about how quickly they can be improved ».

The British Labour Movement, which has been fighting for a *real* nationalisation of the most important industries and the land since the nineties of the last century, *has not been fighting so that the old owners could go into comfortable retirement, the same hard-faced managers remain in charge, and the workers be speeded up and refused wage increases* in order to give a cheap service to private industry.

The workers will continue to demand that nationalisation be extended to those industries, like heavy chemicals, which ought to be nationalised but are not on the Government's list. But in the disturbance about compensation, the dissatisfaction with the consultative arrangements, and above all the fight of the miners and the railwaymen to get wage increases, can be seen the start of the struggle for a quite different kind of nationalisation.



LETTER

from an

American Railroad Worker

MANY American Trade Union leaders have gone to Europe, Asia and other places in the last few years to teach workers their (Wall Street) ideas of trade union democracy. They have gained much experience in teaching these ideas through their reactionary struggle to suppress the members of their own unions. Also, to keep everyone out of the trade union movement who challenges their right to « companyize » the unions.

The leaders of the American Railroad worker's unions have been outstanding in their struggle to justify the monopoly profits of the railroad companies. Much of their struggle is to justify their own fat salaries and expense accounts : George M. Harrison, President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, $ 35,000 a year, plus expenses; David B. Robertson, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, $ 22,500, and expenses; P. Kennedy, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, $ 28,000; W. P. Shields, Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, $ 25,000, etc.

The wages of the workers they supposedly represent have gone down as the leadership boosts its take. The words of Davey Robertson of the Firemen show up the worker's position when he says the railroad workers have gone from second place to twenty-seventh place among the industrial workers of our country in the last twenty years. Davey was president of his union on their downhill run, but he doesn't say anything about the uphill fight to take his firemen back to where they were. On the death of the late A. F. Whitney, President of the Railroad Trainmen, *his estate was announced as a quarter of a million dollars*. It would take the combined savings of many hundreds of the members of the Railroad Trainmen to total a quarter of a million dollars when they die.

OUR railroad union leaders are much concerned about propaganda emanating from Red sources (Red sources are anyone who doesn't think the leaders are the very best in trade union leadership). Most of the railroad unions print weekly or monthly newspapers or magazines. This should give the membership a chance to let their ideas be known, but just the opposite is true. If you write a letter of praise of the leadership your letter is sure to be published. but that is the only kind of letters they print. On the other hand, beautiful slick paper magazines, paid for out of the workers' pockets, are filled up with speeches of railroad company presidents and anti-labor cartoons lifted from company newspapers. There are also long tirades by spokesmen for the railroad monopolies against other forms of monopolized transportation, which, if carried out, would knock many thousands of workers out of jobs. This is our « Labor » press.

The railroad union leadership collaborates with the companies in many more ways. *The reactionary union leadership and the companies have reached agreement to play off the white workers against the black ones so as to be able to control both.* The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen both signed agreements with railroad companies not to hire any more Negroes and to fire the Negroes then working as soon as they could. Although the workers were able to defeat the letter of these agreements in the law courts, the intent of the agreements is still being carried out. Negro firemen and trainmen are still being worked for wages that are less than the white worker receives, working beside them. The union leadership still sends their personal aides into the local unions to carry out tirades against the Negro, and the companies still refuse to promote Negro workers to Engineers and Conductors.

Almost all the railroad unions have clauses in their constitutions barring Negroes from membership. The railroad unions which do accept Negroes as members, because of rank and file pressure, put them in special Negro (Jim-Crow) unions. The union leadership is able to put over a lot of these anti-union practices, because of their collaboration with the company-inspired Railway Labor Act. It is a bill passed by Congress that has put American railroad workers in a strait-jacket. The law keeps railroad workers waiting for two years and more for a wage increase that other workers get in as many weeks.

★

★ ★

WITH the help of the Railway Labor Act, the union leadership has robbed the rank and file of the right to vote on such vital issues as wages and working rules. The contracts are strictly agreements between $ 25,000 a year union leaders (who hold blocks of railroad stocks and bonds) and $ 25,000—or much more—a year railroad presidents. This explains why the section of railroad labor charged with the actual operation of the trains still works 56 hours a week without any overtime pay. Their only protection is a law which says that they cannot be worked more than 16 out of every 24 hours.

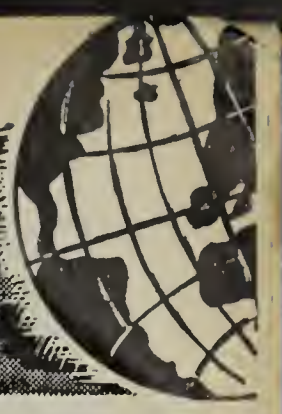
The leadership frowns on any political action by the rank and file, except to vote as they are told. It is easy to see why. President Truman in his State of the Union message asked in his sixth point for « improvement in our labor laws to help provide stable labor-management relations and to make sure that we have steady production in this emergency. » *The last time President Truman asked for an improvement in the labor laws we got the Taft-Hartley Bill.* Did the Railway Labor Executives' Association protest this? No! They issued a statement commending the President « on the enlightened viewpoint and thoughtful leadership reflected in his *State of the Union' message.* (See *Labor,* Jan. 13, 1951.)

But in spite of the ties between company and union leadership, action by the rank and file railroader in the last few months is forcing the leadership to take some of their grievances before the companies for settlement. This is seen by the action for better pensions and shorter hours.

Good luck to the World Federation of Trade Unions in their concern for better wages, working conditions and world Peace.

An American Railroad Worker.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW



France

To the Workers of France

« The W.F.T.U. was created in Paris, in September 1945, amidst the enthusiasm of the proletariat of the whole world.

» It represented and still represents for them the determination to establish lasting peace in the world, to wipe out the vestiges of fascism, whatever form it may take to prevent it from rising up again in any country whatsoever.

» The World Federation of Trade Union represents, for all workers of capitalist and colonial countries, the greatest hope for success against the shameless exploitation by the big capitalists and for the défence of the vital interests of all those who are exploited...

» The American imperialists demand that those who submit to their domination follow their policy.

» This policy is as follows :

» — Unlimited rearmament, the biggest share of national income and production for war ;

» — An increase in the period of military service ;

» — Rearmament of western Germany ;

» — Increased taxes for war ;

» — Inflation and higher prices ;

» — A wage-freeze such as that imposed on the workers of the United States, while prices continue to rise ;

» — An attack on social laws, on Social Security ;

» — Longer hours of work for the same wage, as called for by the reactionary and government press.

» In order to try to break the resistance of the working class to this policy of reaction, of poverty and of war, the governments of the war camp would like to shove out of their road the W. F. T. U. which unites the workers of the world.

» Despite the reactionary leaders of the Marshallised trade unions who caused the split, the influence of the W.F.T.U. among the workers of the United States, Great Britain and all the countries of the Atlantic Pact continues to grow. That is why Washington demands and why our government would like to liquidate the W.F.T.U. to leave a free field for the splitters' international, submissive to their orders.

» The W.F.T.U., with its 78 million members, will continue to carry out its task in the world...

» Trade unionists of all organisations and unorganised workers, unite without distinction of political or religious opinion...

» Let the workers of France show the workers of the world who protest that they are worthy of their traditions, and that the real France does not submit to the orders of the American millionaires.

» Republicans of France :

» When the assassins of freedom think of wiping out all freedom, they attack the trade union organisations first of all.

» By its decree against the W.F.T.U., the government does not even hesitate to scout the United Nations Organisation, to which the W.F.T.U. is officially accredited.

» Join with the working class in defending our joint freedom. »

Extracts from the official communique of the French C.G.T., printed in its weekly publication *Le Peuple*, Jan. 31-Febr. 7. 1951.

U.S.S.R.

« Only the Peoples Can Decide their Fate »

« The orders of the Minister of the Interior prohibiting the three largest international democratic organisations to function in France, are arousing growing indignation and opposition on the part of the progressive public.

» The attempts of the reactionary press to present these orders as the « disbanding » of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth are ridiculous. Such a task is beyond the power, not only of M. Queuille with his police, but also of Mr. Truman with his atom bombers. These mass world organisations with a membership of 250 millions have been set up by the peoples of all countries and only the peoples themselves can decide their fate.

« The decision to hamper the activity of the international democratic organisations was adopted by the French Government literally on the next day after General Eisenhower had left Paris, while the working people were vigorously protesting against the plans for the preparation of another war dictated by him.

» Why did the international democratic organisations make the « European Mac Arthur » so angry ? Fulfilling the will of hundreds of millions of their members, these organisations take action in defence of peace, against preparations for another world slaughter and specifically against the restoration of the Hitlerite army in Western Germany being effected under Eisenhower's supervision.

» The increasingly insolent S.S.-men and their friends in Paris and Washington cannot get over the fact that the international democratic organisations stand guard over peace and are headed by persons who have proved their devotion to the lofty ideals of peace and democracy.

» The origin of the order banning the activity of the international democratic organisations on French territory is quite obvious. Only a few days ago the American weekly magazine « Life » carried an article of 13 pages reproaching the French Government for being insufficiently energetic in suppressing democratic organisations. The next day the President of the French Republic made a statement to the effect that the Government would take resolute steps. A few hours later M. Queuille's order was published and favourable comments were received from the Washington leaders of the American Congress of Industrial Organisations who are constantly combatting democratic forces.

» The attacks launched by the Minister of the Interior against the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth cannot but result in an even closer rallying of the democratic anti-Fascist forces. »

Condensed from *Pravda*
by Soviet Monitor, 28.1.51.

Poland

« Annul This Infamous Decree »

« The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions expresses, on behalf of 4 million members, the sharpest protest against the shameful decree of the French Government, forbidding the functioning on French soil of the W.F.T.U. — organisation recognised by the U.N.O. and trusted by all progressive humanity.

» The revolting violation of the law by the Pleven Government violates the rules in force for all members of the United Nations Organisation and is an additional proof of this government's anti-democratic and anti-peace policy...

» The application of Fascist methods will not succeed in breaking international unity of the working class nor in weakening the will of the peoples of the world struggling for peace. The Central Council of Trade Unions, joining its voice to the powerful

protest arising from all the continents of the world, demands the immediate annulling of the infamous decree. »

Zwiazkowice
The organ of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions.

Italy

The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy

» The Secretariat of the C.G.I.L., in a joint meeting with the secretariats of the Federations and national Trade Unions, protested indignantly against the expulsion of the leading organisations of the W.F.T.U. from French territory.

» This act of the French Government, in complete contradiction with the French Republic's democratic traditions of hospitality, strikes at a workers' international organisation recognised by the United Nations, and which groups over 78 million workers with the sole aim of raising their civic and social status, in peace.

» Reaffirming the full support of the Italian workers for the W.F.T.U. and their full confidence in it, the secretariats of the Federations and national Trade Unions affirmed their determination to struggle so that the fundamental rights of freedom and democracy, both in Italy and in the international field, shall be defended and guaranteed, and demand the annulling of the decree of expulsion, which is an insult to the workers of the whole world. »

Lavoro, Rome, February 4-10,1951.
Weekly publication of the C.G.I.L. (Italian C.G.T.).

Germany

« Whoever Attacks the W.F.T.U. Attacks Peace and Progress »

« The workers of the German Democratic Republic learned with indignation of the banning of the W.F.T.U. in France.

» On behalf of its 5 million members and of all progressive workers in Western Germany and Western Berlin, the Bureau of the F.D.G.B. protests against this terroristic measure and demands the immediate annulling of the ban.

» The W.F.T.U. is a consultative member of the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O.; therefore we call on U.N.O. to take steps also to force the annulling of this act of provocation.

» The W.F.T.U. is the powerful and united organisation of 78 million trade unionists throughout the world. Its aim is to struggle for peace, democracy and progress, and thus, to improve the standard of living of the workers of the whole world. Whoever attacks the W.F.T.U. acts against peace and progress.

» By this ban the French Government has once more taken up position beside the American imperialists, who would like to unleash, by any means, a third world war, and who therefore try to oppress all democratic and peace-loving forces.

» This fact also proves the growing weakness of imperialism, which fears the growing movement of the forces of democracy and peace. The strength of the world peace front was demonstrated during Eisenhower's visit by the French workers, and also by the demonstrations against the remilitarisation of western Germany, when they showed that they were not prepared to be hurled into a new war for the interests of the imperialist powers.

» The world peace camp is indestructible.

» The forces of peace, headed by the great U.S.S.R., cannot be halted by such arbitrary actions, which, on the contrary only strengthen the struggle for peace.

» The 5 million members of the F.D.G.B., and with them all progressive people of all Germany, will not falter in their struggle for peace. They will take all possible steps against remilitarisation of western Germany, for the achievement of German unity. The workers of the German Democratic Republic will strengthen their efforts for carrying out the 5-year plan, plan for peace, for democratic unity and for prosperity. »

Tribune, Berlin, 4.2.1951
Weekly publication of the F.D.G.B. (Free German Trade Union Centre)

Luxemburg

Preparing Fascism and War

« On January 30, the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Luxembourg (F.L.S.L.L.) sent to Pleven, leader of the French Government, a letter expressing the indignation with which the Luxembourg workers learned of the ban decreed by the French Government against the central headquarters of the W.F.T.U., which has struggled since its inauguration for peace and for better working and living conditions for all workers.

» Firmly convinced that this act of violence originated in the wish to please the American warmongers, and that it is a question of a measure preparatory to Fascism and war, our trade unionists protest energetically against this violation of democracy, of workers' rights and determination for peace, the message declared.

» It continued by affirming the solidarity of Luxembourg workers with the workers of the whole world and with all democratic movements in demanding the annulling of the iniquitous decree. ».

Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek,
Luxembourg, 2.2.1951.

India

« They Shall Not Pass ! »

« The news has appeared : The W.F.T.U. along with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Women's International Democratic Federation are banned by the French Government. The sinister hand of Dollar imperialists, of blood-thirsty Eisenhower are behind this act by the puppet French government. This ban on the central organisations of world democratic forces is portent of great dangers, pregnant with meaning.

» But they shall not pass ! The W.F.T.U. shall live and fight for peace !

» We call upon all workers in India, on all lovers of democracy and peace to organise protests — take deputations to French embassies, send cables to the French Government. We shall force the lifting of these odious bans.

» Long live the W.F.T.U. ! Long live the cause of peace !

» A.I.T.U.C. Secretariat. »

Trade Union Record
Organ of the All India Trade Union Congress, 1.2.1951.

China

Workers Will Protest by Concrete Actions

« The Peking *People's Daily* states in its commentary today that the Chinese people resolutely oppose the French Government's further oppression of the French people by resorting to the Fascist measure of banning the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

» In taking this reactionary measure, the French Government betrays that it has done so under the direction of the American imperialists. Led by these three international organisations, the peoples of West Europe have opposed and struck against America's war policy and Eisenhower has met with the greatest difficulty in implementing his war plan. In retaliation, the American imperialists have directed the French Government to take this Fascist step.

» This attempt to undermine these three great international organisations cannot succeed, and will only arouse the indignation of the people everywhere. It serves to indicate that the American and French Governments are afraid of the strength of peace and democracy.

» The failures of the aggressive bloc headed by America in Korea and its insurmountable difficulties in rearming West Germany and building up an aggressive army increase its fear of the peoples.

» The *People's Daily* states that, together with the 200 million members of these three international organisations, the workers, women and youth throughout the world should rise up to resist this shameless attack on the people's democratic rights.

» The Peking *Daily Worker* comments that this fascist measure is against both the interests of the French people and their democratic traditions. The Chnese working class strongly protests to the rulers of France, the paper states.

» The Chinese working class will continue to strengthen the great popular movement to resist America and help Korea, and to defend world peace. The Chinese workers will demonstrate their protest against the French Government and their support of the World Federation of Trade Unions by concrete actions. »

New China News
30.1.1951

France

« Increasing the Danger of War »

Commenting on the French Government's action against the three democratic international organisations with headquarters in Paris, Gaston Tessier, President of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, writes :

« The question of the statute of the big international institutions remains open, and urgent. Undeniably, a State can and in certain cases should, repress and avoid subversive activities on its very territory. As for decreeing the dissolution of an international organisation, because its Secretariat has headquarters in this or that geographical area, this is more open to argument.

» Side by side with the United Nations exist some « specialised » institutions of an official nature, but, in addition, various « free associations » are authorised to be represented at the Secretariat General, in New York, and at its European agency in Geneva. For example, the Economic and Social Council must consult in particular, among a group of « non-governmental organisations », those few which are registered in Category A, among which are the W.F.T.U., the International Confederation of Christion Trade Unions, and the Inter national Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In regard to the first of these, in what way will this situation be affected by the decision of the French Government ?

» For our part, we would regret any circumstance which would aggravate the ideological break between the different parts of the civilised world, thus increasing the danger of war. Because at bottom that is the question : A Disagreement on the social principles which govern the life of each modern State and which must inspire the international community.»

Syndicalisme-Magazine, special edition of *Syndicalisme*, organ of the C.F.T.C. (French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions), N° 305, February, 1951.

Christian Union Expresses a Doubt

« Taking into account the emotion raised among certain sections of workers by the decision taken by the French government to dissolve the World Federation of Trade Unions. the Executive Committee of the C.F.T.C., at its meeting of January 31, wishes to reaffirm its unbreakable attachment to freedom of association.

» While recognising the right of the Government to repress anti-national activities, the Executive Committee regrets, in the absence of a statute for international associations, that the lack of information leaves a doubt as to the legitimate nature of the measure taken against the W.F.T.U.

» It demands urgently therefore that the motives for this decision be made known to the public. »

Extract from the C.F.T.C. communique. *L'Aube*, Paris, 1.2.1951.

Great Britain

Background to the Dockers' Strike

« A nation-wide stoppage in the docks industry is threatened over the acceptance, by dockers' unions, of a 2s. a day increase in basic pay. Dockers have been demanding 6s. a day.

» Within a day of the employers' offer of 2s. being accepted - by a minority of delegates at a London conference at which many abstained from voting - thousands of men on Merseyside had walked off ships in protest...

» For five years dockers have been demanding implementation of the « Dockers' Charter ». This calls for an increase of 6 s. a day, a fortnight's holiday with pay, and pensions for aged dockers...

» Speaking at a Liverpool dockgate meeting, Mr Joe Crosby, of the Port Workers' Committee, told the men that the fight was for an increase in the basic rate.

» If Mr. Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and the employers refused to grant the Charter, then they would be responsible for the strike, he said.

»Another speaker, Mr. Joe Griffiths, said men with 40 and 50 years' service were « only one jump ahead of the workhouse when. they left the industry. »

» At present, Merseyside men are working until seven at night and all day on Sunday in order to get a living wage. »

The Daily Worker, London 3.2.51.

Argentine

Rail Workers Show the Way to Struggle for Independence

Commenting on the magnificent strike of the Argentine railway workers, who paralyzed the railway lines for a number of days and did not return to work until they had won their demands, the lifting of sanctions against the strikers and the resignation from office of the traitors who had been « leaders » of the Rail Workers' Union, UNIDAD SINDICAL organ of the Movement for Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions, declared :

« This victory was made possible by the magnificent fighting spirit of the workers and particularly the youth ; by the firm unity of Peronist, Communist, Socialist, Radical and non-party workers, in support of their just demands. It was possible because the railmen, in spite of the deceitful manœuvres of the Employer-State and the betrayal by the trade union bosses, formed their own independent leadership, the Consultative and Emergency Committee, organising coordinating committees on every railroad and committees for each category of workers. Their unity and their independent organisation led the railway workers to victory.

» After the latest betrayal of their interests, the rail workers realise that they will only prevent such sell-outs by remaining mobilised for action. Therefore, the meeting which decided on a return to work, voted to end the strike in principle only, but to declare all railway workers in permanent assembly in their respective branches, to declare a total mobilisation, in order to control the headquarters of the Rail Workers' Union and of the branches ; to maintain the rail workers ready and in battle order so that they can make complete and concrete demands for increases and for the reemployment of all those who have been fired. It voted for continued support by the Rail Workers' Union for the Consultative and Emergency Committee so that the latter can organise elections immediately among all railway workers.

» The railway strike has shown the way : The way to unity without discrimination, to independent organisation. The way to victory ! »

Unidad Sindical, Buenos-Aires. December 1950.

Brazil

Profits, Wages and Bonus

« The employers could easily pay one month's wages as an end-of-the-year bonus. There is no lack of money. It is precisely for this reason that the workers are organising and struggling, refusing to be dupes of the manœuvres of the employers.

Company	Overall Income in 1949	Net Profits	Wages Paid
Cia Quimica Rodia Brasilena	95.182.000	33.398.000	23.114.000
Ford Motor Co Export Inc.	141.749.000	66.095.000	16.615.000
S.A. Frigorifico Anglo	152.910.000	28.524.000	25.390.000
S. A. Cotonificio Paulista	46.704.000	16.808.000	17.199.000
Hilado y Tejido Tognado S. A.	41.345.000	13.196.000	18.930.000
Cia Nac. Forjagem de Acero Brasileno Confab.	18.932.000	11.575.000	3.069.000
Ind. de Chepeus Dante Ramenzoni S.A.	69.516.000	21.079.000	22.165.000
S. A. Malharia Indiana	35.440.000	8.345.000	7.262.000

» In this connection it is worthwhile noting the fabulous profits that the imperialist entreprises have extorted from the Brazilian public, for example the « Ford » and « Frigorifico Anglo » Companies. But of all these, the highest profit is that made by the Confab-Cia, Nacional Forjagem de Acero Brasileno. What is the reason for this ?

» The reasons are simple. The « Confab » manufactures only grenades, to the number of 300 a day for the Brazilian army. They use up 60 pounds of steel and are sold at fabulous prices. The majority of the 300 workers, 80 percent of them, receive the famine wage of 3.5 cruzeiros an hour. The company hardly pays any taxes (in 1949 it paid only 292.628 cruzeiros), owing to the fact that it sells only to the Government. Producing for war, starving the workers, the « Confab » makes huge profits, which would make possible the payment of a month's wages as end-of-year bonus.

»This is also true of the other firms mentioned above, particularly those owned by imperialists and which work for war and against peace. »

Gazeta Sindical, 5.12.1950.

ECONOMIC NOTES

BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN ISRAEL

Data supplied by friends of the W. F. T. U. in Israël enable us to supplement and bring up-to-data an estimate recently published in the W. F. T. U. « Weekly Information Bulletin » (n° 49, 1950) on British investments in Israël. Here is a detailed account :

	Pounds
I. — IN INDUSTRY.	
1. Palestine Electric Corporation (Paid up capital reserves) .	7.000.000
2. Palestine Potash Company . .	1.800.000
3. Jerusalem Electric Corporation	800.000
4. Other Investments in Industry (Magen Chetwood Metal Works, A. T. A. Textile Works, etc.)	2.000.000
Total :	11.600.000
II. — IN BANKING.	
1. Anglo-Palestine Bank (British Share)	500.000
2. Ottoman Bank (Paid up capital 5 million pounds. Share on investment in Israël-evaluation)	500.000
3. Barclay's Bank (Capital 5 million pounds. Share on investment in Israël - evaluation)	500.000
4. Palestine-London investments .	1.500.000
5. Israël-England Bank	425.000
6. Palestine Corporation	1.000.000
7. British Investments in Insurance Companies	2.000.000
Total :	6.425.000
III. — IN OTHER INVESTMENTS.	
1. Zim Shipping Company, by Harris & Dickson	250.000
2. Steel Brothers (Paid up capital 5 million pounds. Share in Israël - evaluation) . . .	500.000
3. I. C. I. (Share in Israël) . . .	500.000
Total :	1.250.000
IV. — ESTATES OF THE HAIFA REFINERIES.	
(Evaluation)	5.000.000

Summary :

I. — Industry . . . . . £	11.600.000
II. — Banking	6.425.000
III. — Other Investments	1.250.000
IV. — Haïfa Refineries	5.000.000
Total . £	24.275.000

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS.

In the last two years, American capital has made very serious inroads into Israël's economy. Investments by American capitalists in Israël have reached nowadays very high figures, **by far outstripping British investments.** We intend to publish later some reliable data on the extent of American investments in Israël.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

February 1.

U.S.A. — The rail strike which began on January 30, on the initiative of the rank-and-file, spreads to 42 lines in at least 30 cities. Meanwhile the Justice Department was seeking Federal Court contempt orders against the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on the ground that it had violated a no strike injunction issued in December.

CHINA. — Liu Ning-Yi, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour, leaves Peking for Lahore, Pakistan, to attend the seventh session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East as head of the W.F.T.U. delegation, which also includes S. A. Dange, General Secretary of India's AITUC and Mohammed Afzal, General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of Pakistan. The delegation was also to attend the congress convened by the Trade Union Congress (Burma) at the latter's invitation.

February 2.

GREAT BRITAIN. — More than 3,000 dockers at Birkenhead and Liverpool come out on strike in protest against the dockers' unions' acceptance of a 2 s. a day increase in basic pay — whereas dockers for five years have been demanding an increase of 6 s. a day. Mr. Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, had said he was « well satisfied » with the 2 s. increase. But the workers declared that « if Mr. Deakin is well satisfied, as he said he is, he is the only one who is ».

U.S.A. — The first four of the « Martinsville Seven » — seven innocent Negroes, convicted on a framed charge of rape — are sent to the electric chair in the Virginia State Penitentiary. A world-wide protest movement against this new example of racial hatred, thousands of telegrams and letters, picketing of the White House, and last minute appeals to the U. S. Supreme Court, had failed to save them. As the news becomes known, stormy protest meetings are held in many cities.

U.S.A. — President Truman asks Congress for an immediate increase of $ 10,000,000,000 (£ 3,571,000,000) in taxes, and says he will ask for still another increase later.

February 3.

CHINA. — In a statement broadcast by Peking Radio, Chou En-Lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic, says the illegal adoption of the U.S. resolution slandering China by the United Nations General Assembly, and the previous rejection by the U.S.-dominated First Committee of the General Assembly of the 12-Nation resolution calling for convocation of a seven-nation conference, proves that the U.S. Government and its accomplices want not peace but war, and are determined to block the path to a peaceful settlement.

U.S.A. — The rail strike spreads to affect 54 lines in 104 cities and towns, including most of the major railroad, business and industrial centres in the country. The huge Chicago and St. Louis freight yards are out of business.

February 4.

CHINA. — Foreign Minister Chou En-Lai, in a cable to the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, points out that American pressure delayed discussion of the U.S. complaint against China, so that the special representative of the Chinese People's Republic was given no chance to speak before he had to leave for China on December 19.
Yet the First Committee having illegally adopted the U. S. resolution, suddenly on February 2 resumed discussion of the complaint by the U.S.S.R. regarding aggression against China by the United States of America, without giving prior notice to the Chinese Government, thereby making it impossible for the representative of the Chinese People's Republic to attend.

BULGARIA. — The Bulgarian state loan, launched by the Ministry of Finance on February 1, is closed following the staggering reponse from the people who in three days over-subscribed the loan by 5.000 million leva. The target set had been 10.000 million leva.

February 5.

U.S.S.R. — Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky hands to the envoys of the U.S., Britain and France the Soviet reply to the recent Western notes on the question of a four-power conference. The Soviet Note accepted the Western Powers' proposal for discussion of matters other than the rearmament of Western Germany at the proposed meeting, and expressed willingness to take part in a preliminary meeting in Paris to draw up the agenda. The Note strongly stressed the danger of rebuilding a West German Army.

CANADA. — A $ 5,000,000,000 three-year rearmament programme is laid before the House of Commons by the Defence Minister. Under this programme, Canada would send an air division of 11 squadrons at full fighting strength to join the « Atlantic » forces in Europe.

U.S.A. — The mass legal lynching of the « Martinsville seven » is completed when the last three — including a father of five young children — go to the electric chair.

MOROCCO. — It is revealed that under an agreement signed in December, the United States Air Force is getting seven new bases in French Morocco as

part of a broad plan to strengthen « Atlantic defences ».

AUSTRALIA. — 18,000 miners go on strike in the first of a series of one-day-a-week strikes planned by the Australian Miners' Federation in protest against an award turning down the miners' demand for a general increase of 2 pounds ($ 5.60) or about 15 percent a week in wages.

February 6.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Some 350 London portworkers stop work in support of the 12,000 Merseyside and Manchester dockers on strike for better working conditions. Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, issues one of his usual press statements describing the strike as a « Communist plot ».

FRANCE. — Because they had distributed leaflets calling for a protest demonstration against Eisenhower's visit and American-imposed German rearmament, 17 defenders of peace are sentenced to 8 days imprisonment. In sharp contrast, pro-Nazi writer Maurice Bardèche, who published a book slandering the Resistance organisations and openly approving the crimes of the Hitler regime, is acquitted.

GERMANY. — At the Cologne carnival (which in the Rhineland has a traditionally political character) one million spectators applaud a 2-mile-long procession of floats, symbolising refusal to rearm, which paraded under the slogan : « Remilitarisation ? Without us ».

February 7.

FRANCE. — A great protest meeting against the French Government's action in banning the three democratic world-wide organisations, the W.F.T.U., W.D.I.F. and W.F.D.Y., packs Paris' famous Velodrome d'Hiver.

JAPAN. — 148,000 miners employed by four principal coalmining companies of Japan go on unlimited strike for wage increases, following the rejection of their claims. The walk-out ties up 40 percent of Japan's coal production.

UNITED NATIONS. — The Political Committee of the General Assembly, dominated by U. S. influence, rejects by 49 to 5, with three abstentions, the well-grounded Soviet charge that the U.S.A. is guilty of aggression against China. The Soviet resolution requested the Security Council to « take the necessary steps to insure the immediate cessation of aggression against China by the United States of America ».
The Political Committee also rejected a companion resolution condemning U.S. air raids on Manchuria and the bombardment of a Chinese merchant ship by a U.S. military vessel.

February 8.

U.S.A. — Truman calls in the troops to smash the rail strike — now in its 10th day — and to assure the transport of military supplies. The army orders that those workers who have not resumed work by 4 p.m. February 10th be fired.

FRANCE. — At the Peugeot factory (La Garenne), the Christian and « Force Ouvrière » trade union branches join the workers of the C.G.T. in sending a united protest to the Minister of the Interior, demanding the annulling of the decree against the W.F.T.U., « organisation which struggles consistently to improve the living conditions of the workers of the whole world ».

GERMANY. — West German politicians and officials hurry to confer with Alfred Krupp, recently-released arms king and war criminal. Minister-President Karl Arnold of North Rhine-Westphalia arrives at Essen, centre of Krupp's Rhineland steel empire, and tours the Krupp plant. The three Western Allied High Commissioners hold a private meeting at Bonn to discuss developments following the release of Krupp and restoration of his property rights.

GERMANY. — The Executive of the German Confederation of Free Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.) proposes a joint meeting to the leaders of the Trade Unions of Western Germany (D.G.B.) in order to discuss German unity and the defence of peace.

GOLD COAST. — The Convention People's Party (slogan « Self-Government Now ») wins 30 of 33 rural seats in the Gold Coast and Ashanti provinces in the first stage of the Gold Coast general election. The Party's leader, Kwame Nkrumah, jailed for trying to lead a general strike last year, spends election day in Accra gaol.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Mr. Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and Mr. Tom Yates, General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen, solemnly produce before 80 specially summoned Pressmen a ludicrous document, which they claim was « picked up in Naples » by an unnamed petty officer on an unnamed ship, and which purports to consist of « instructions » to « agents provocateurs ».
Mr. Deakin declares : « This document clearly originates from the organisation which is working within the W.F.T.U. on the policy of the Cominform ».
Among the so-called « instructions » it contained was the damaging of « ice boxes, toasting machines, coffee pots and others ».

February 9.

SOUTH AFRICA. — Dr. Malan, Prime Minister of the South African Fascist Government, threatens to seize the British protectorates in South Africa, declaring : « Action cannot be delayed indefinitely. »

GREAT BRITAIN. — Nearly 7,000 London dock workers go on strike in protest against the arrest of seven London and Liverpool dockers, charged with conspiring to incite dock workers to take part in « illegal » strikes, 300 dockers march to court and wait for two hours in the rain singing « Land of Hope and Glory » to welcome the seven accused men, who are remanded on bail till February 20.

U.S.A. — A Federal Grand Jury indicts the Peace Information Centre of New York and five of its officers on charges of failing to register as « foreign agents » — because of their activity in publicising the Stockholm Appeal. Those indicted include Dr. William Du Bois, President of the Centre.

February 10.

GREAT BRITAIN. — A resolution calling on the National Executive Council to convene a conference of all ex-Service organisations in Britain to discuss the danger to world peace is passed without a dissentient at the annual conference of the Metropolitan Area of the British Legion. Another resolution, passed without a dissentient, states : « This conference strongly protests at the release of the Nazi war criminals, which it considers an insult to the memory of our fallen comrades and a betrayal of the ideals for which we fought. »

BURMA. — The W.F.T.U. delegation arrives at Rangoon to attend the second annual Burmese Trade Union Congress. They are greeted at the airport by more than 2.000 trade union delegates, civic leaders, and workers' deputations with shouts of « Long live the unity of the workers of the world ! Long live the W.F.T.U. ! Long live world peace ! »

February 11.

FRANCE. — Ambroise Croizat, who for 25 years led the French Federation of Metalworkers under the banner of working-class unity, dies. A deputy in the

National Assembly since 1936, as Minister of Labour in the immediate post-Liberation period he gave the French people their first real social security system. He will live in the memory of all French workers.

February 12.

FRANCE. — The National Federation of Deportees, Internees, Resistants and Patriots calls for a patriotic demonstration on February 15, against the arrival of Nazi generals to help organise the « Atlantic Army », which, they say, is « an insult to the memory of the 200.000 deportees assassinated in the death camps ».

FRANCE. — The amounts of raw materials allotted in the future to West European countries will depend to a large extent on « their contribution to western rearmament », William C. Foster, Economic Co-operation Administrator, tells a press conference in Paris. He adds that E.C.A. emphasis will henceforth be on rearmament.

GOLD COAST. — Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the Convention People's Party and newly elected member of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, and six other members of the Party's executive, are released from prison.

SWEDEN. — The dockers of Goteborg go on strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

February 13.

FRANCE. — During a debate in the National Assembly, Jacques Duclos condemns the decrees against the W.F.T.U. and the other international organisations as grave attacks on democratic freedom, telling the Government : « What you want to strike at is the workers' international solidarity, expressed by the W.F.T.U. But... you will never succeed in preventing this solidarity of the proletariat in the struggle. »

BELGIUM. — Miners in the Liege District strike for a five percent wage increase as from January 1, rejecting an agreement for a 4 percent increase reached the previous day between union officials and employers' representatives.

February 14.

U.S.S.R. — On the first anniversary of the ratification of the treaty of alliance and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic, Stalin sends Mao-Tse-Toung a message declaring : « I firmly believe our treaty will continue to benefit friendship between China and the Soviet Union and the building of stable world peace. »

Mao-Tse-Toung replies : « The signing of the pact of friendship, alliance and mutual aid between China and the U.S.S.R. not only is greatly assisting in the building of a new China, but also forms a powerful guarantee in the struggle against aggression and for the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and the whole world. »

JAPAN. — During a meeting of the Allied Council for Japan in Tokyo, the Soviet delegate, general Kislenko, denounces the rearmament of Japan by the United States in violation of the Potsdam Agreement. He declares that since the beginning of the Korean war, the Americans have been spending a million dollars a day in Japanese factories to manufacture or repair weapons and war material.

AUSTRALIA. — Shouting « No arms for the Japanese », a great crowd demonstrates outside the U.S. Consulate at Sydney, to protest against the arrival in Australia of Truman's special envoy John Foster Dulles. 32 defenders of peace are arrested.

SWEDEN. — The dockers of Stockholm strike in solidarity with those of Goteborg. The entire port is paralyzed.

February 15.

FRANCE. — Thousands of former deportees and members of the French Resistance Movement demonstrate around the place de l'Opera, in the centre of Paris, despite the French Government's ban on their demonstration, and the presence of strong forces of police, against the arrival of Nazi generals in Paris.

FRANCE. — The National Peace Council lays before the State Attorney of the High Court of Justice charges of high treason and attack on the external security of the State, against Premier René Pleven and Defence Minister Jules Moch. They demand that all those collaborating in German rearmament be prosecuted under provisions of the Criminal Code, since France is still legally at war with Germany.

BELGIUM. — The number of miners on strike reaches 80.000, despite appeals to return to work from the right-wing trade union leaders. The strike is total in the Liège, La Louvière, Mons and Charleroi districts.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Workers of the Rolls Royce airplane engine factory at Glasgow strike in protest against the dismissal of the president of the shop stewards committee, accused of « Communism » by the management.

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by Rod HOLMGREN

(from N° 1, 1951)

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — MARCH 5, 1951 * No. 5

"History teaches that the trade union movement cannot be undermined or destroyed by repression and persecutions. The trade union organisations of all countries have known how to resist all the attacks launched against them. Today the W.F.T.U. has closer bonds with the workers of all countries, for it has been tested in battle and has shown itself to be an invincible fighter at the head of the workers of the whole world."

Address from the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.
Warsaw, February 20, 1951

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EDITORIAL

THE BLOW RECOILS

ON January 26th, 1951, the French Minister of the Interior published a decree in the „Journal Officiel" of the French Republic cancelling the order authorising the WFTU to have its headquarters in France.

This is no small event. This is no minor incident in international political and social life.

The WFTU Executive Bureau meeting in Warsaw, sent a telegram on February 20th, 1951 to the President of the Economic and Social Council of UNO, solemnly condemning the attitude of the French Government. This telegram reads as follows:

> **„The WFTU, whose headquarters are on French territory, has never infringed French law, yet on January 26th, 1951, and contrary to existing international rules, the French Government, without valid motive, banned the WFTU from maintaining its headquarters in France. The French Government's undemocratic decision has aroused deep indignation among the workers of the whole world who, through their organisations, are resolutely demanding the withdrawal of the French Government decree."**

Not only was this ban issued without valid motive and without any justification to substantiate the decision issued by the French authorities, but also, the method employed confirms that the officials of the French Ministry of the Interior were convinced of the arbitrary character of the decree even before it was published. There is a short step between arbitrary methods and a „coup de force" against the WFTU, and this step was taken on January 26th, 1951 at one o'clock in the morning.

Can there be any other name for this attack on the normal functioning of the WFTU's administrative services which, for more than five years, have been carrying on their activity in Paris? The French Government was perfectly well aware of the WFTU's status within the United Nations. In view of this international status of a public character possessed by the WFTU, it could have acted otherwise than as a robber waiting in the small hours of the morning, hidden in the woods, to perpetrate his evil deed.

If the French Government had had substantial and valid motives for opposing the WFTU's activities in France for reasons connected with the existence of its headquarters in the capital city of that country, it could have had preliminary conversations with the WFTU Secretariat on the matter. It could have given prior notice of its complaints and have stated its intentions in conformity with existing international rules. If the WFTU had committed criminal acts on French territory with regard to French legislation, the French Government could, if it had wished to act honestly towards the workers' world organisation, have proceeded by giving it a public warning.

Acting in the brutal manner in which it did, the French Government itself has given its action the character of an underhand police measure serving a shady political plot. These indeed are the great virtues of the actions of these „civilised men" when they wish to strike a blow at the workers and the organisations they have freely set up.

The WFTU's enemies know full well that by attacking it, they can merely succeed in creating temporary administrative problems that are already solved. They are aware of their complete impotence in face of the strength of the WFTU's influence among working men and women throughout the world. Our enemies have no illusions about the WFTU's future. Our organisation is not within reach of their grasping hands. They can do nothing to influence its development or its action. We do not depend on their decisions, the WFTU depends on the workers and on the workers alone.

On January 26th, 1951, the reactionary Government of France showed the workers of the whole world, by its „coup de force", that the WFTU is indeed the organisation which represents these workers, which speaks in their name and which defends their interests. The credit given by world public opinion to the democracy of the present rulers of France is much too weak for their decision against the WFTU to be capable of causing it any moral prejudice in the eyes of this opinion in general and among working men and women in particular.

* *

THE full political significance of the French Minister of the Interior's decree can be seen; it is one more action to be recorded on the already long list of repressive operations conducted by international reaction. Since the end of the second world war, this reaction has resorted to all the repressive methods at its

disposal against the steady advance of the forces of the international labour and democratic movements, in an attempt to halt this advance.

This is not the first time that blows have been aimed at the WFTU. Every time, it has hit back with energy, with the aid and support of the workers, who are its essential force.

For example, since the beginning of 1947, the American military authorities in Germany have banned entry of their occupation zone to representatives of the WFTU. The precise aim was to prevent all direct contact between the WFTU and the workers.

Why was such a measure taken? Because the WFTU has never deviated from its attitude with regard to the denazification and demilitarisation of Germany, because we have remained faithfully attached to the achievement of the trade union unity of German workers, because we have helped them in their fight for demands, because our entire action in Germany since 1945 has been directed towards the achievement of a democratic and unified Germany, element of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Obviously this was not to the liking of the American big business men. Mr Patterson, the present attorney for the US-German trusts, was at that period Secretary of Defence in the Washington Government. The General in command of the American military forces in Germany, who issued the order banning WFTU representatives from attending trade union meetings in the American zone, was under Mr Patterson's orders. The British and French authorities adopted the same attitude as regards their zones a short time later.

Has this repression against the WFTU reduced its authority among workers of all views in Western Germany? Are not German workers uniting and rallying round the programme and policy advocated by the WFTU since 1945, when they declared their opposition to the remilitarisation of Germany?

The answer is clear. It is sufficient only to understand the situation in 1951.

Workers' delegates from several big firms in Western Germany met together in February. On the initiative of all the foundry workers in the Hagen firm in Haspe, these workers' delegates proposed the calling of a **European workers' conference against the remilitarisation of Germany.** Together with delegates from French and Belgian firms, they decided to call this Conference for March 23rd, 24th and 25th, 1951, in Berlin.

At the request of West German workers, they decided to invite the WFTU to be represented at this Conference.

The WFTU cannot but give a favourable reply to the friendly invitation it has received.

But is this not the most eloquent demonstration of the failure of the policy and the repressive measures against the WFTU, which have been utilised in Western Germany by the American imperialists since 1947?

The German workers themselves, whether they are in Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Essen, Bremen or Hamburg, are in this way making it plain to the American warmongers that they do not wish to be cut off from the WFTU, because they recognise the important role it plays in the struggle for peace. And the imperialists are powerless against this.

The mere mention of these facts is significant, and they make it clear that the decree of the Minister of the Interior will not be any more effective than the ban by the American occupation authorities. Millions of French workers remain members of the WFTU. The WFTU retains their confidence. This is the essential factor, for it contains in itself all our prospects for the future.

These French workers will contribute to bringing about the cancellation of the French government's arbitrary decision.

We will not cease to protest against this decision until reparation has been made and justice rendered to the WFTU.

* *

WE know that this is a political problem which will not be settled otherwise than with the help of the French workers, united with their brothers in other countries.

We know that the sensational decision made by the French government brings out more clearly yet for the workers the depth of the political and economic crisis which has stricken France — as it has stricken all the other countries which follow the same course — because it is officially taking part in the war preparations of the American imperialists.

The fact of banning the headquarters of the WFTU in France in January 1951 has not given the present French government a solution to the problems it has to face, and which were expressed in these words by the Minister of Finance at about the same time:

> "How can we carry out the necessary policy of rearmament speedily and effectively, without causing an upheaval in an economy which is still only convalescent against the background of a world situation which is unfavourable to stability?"

In other words: how can one carry out war preparations and evade the discontent and anger of the people? We are not surprised at learning that French workers are demanding a peace policy, which would not cause a harmful upheaval in the economy, but on the contrary would help to improve it.

For the French workers — as indeed for all workers in the capitalist and colonial countries — the question is quite plain: a government which carries out a war policy imposes on the people a policy of poverty; whereas a government which carries out a peace policy brings about an improvement in the welfare of the population.

Therefore the workers know that the latest reduction in prices in the USSR is

the outcome of the peace policy and economy put into practice by the Soviet Government.

As against this, the Belgian miners are striking in an attempt to reduce the gap between rising prices and their inadequate wages. The French and Italian metal workers are putting forward similar demands. The British, New Zealand and Swedish dockers, the railwaymen of Great Britain, the USA, New Zealand and Argentina, the miners of Japan, Mexico and Chile also are fighting to improve their miserable living conditions. Throughout the capitalist world, the workers are undertaking great mass struggles again their growing poverty.

The general crisis of capitalism is inexorably developing. It is confronting the peoples with a dilemma: War or Peace — and the peoples want Peace. As for the capitalists, they are seeking to resolve their problems by means of a policy which leads straight to war. The masters — the American imperialists — are barbarously envisaging this solution. Their lackeys are meanwhile compelling the WFTU to move its headquarters, in order to clear the way. They imagine that this will be a solution to their internal difficulties.

The workers have the solution in their own hands, through their unity and action. To unite and to take action is the road to their common salvation. They reject the artificial barriers of prejudice, lies and slander which the exploiters of the people and the divisionists within the working class wish to set up between workers of different nationalities and races. The necessity for strengthening friendly relations between the workers in capitalist and colonial countries and their brothers in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies becomes more obvious as soon as one understands the aim pursued by those who refuse to let the WFTU have its headquarters in the city where it held its first Congress and where it organised its administrative and technical departments.

Never have the workers in capitalist and colonial countries heard one word of hatred or witnessed; one move which may be incompatible with a spirit of international solidarity on the part of their brothers of the USSR or the People's Democracies. But they have witnessed underhand moves and heard venomous words intended to set the workers against one another — on the part of the splitters and division-mongers of the Scab International whose hand can be seen in any measure taken against the WFTU and international working class unity.

To defend peace and to desire it sincerely means first of all the acceptance of the fact that nothing must be allowed to separate the workers of the different countries from one another. One of the WFTU's essential tasks is to organise regular friendly collaboration and joint action by these workers.

By changing its headquarters, the WFTU will not isolate itself from tne working class. The working class is everywhere, and therefore its international trade union organisation which advocates unity — the WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS — is also everywhere.

LOUIS SAILLANT

Protests Continue against the Arbitrary Banning of the W.F.T.U. in France

PROTESTS continue to pour in against the French Government's arbitrary decree forbidding the W.F.T.U. to have its headquarters in France. Among the latest messages received, a resolution passed on February 19 by the Central Committee of the League for Human Rights clearly brings out that the decree is illegal and constitutes a grave attack on trade union freedom.

It should be pointed out that the League for Human Rights, a non party organisation of long standing, includes among its leadership a number of Socialists as well as moderate Progressives without political affiliation, which makes its protest all the more significant.

The resolution declares: "This decree, being without motive, appears to be of an arbitrary nature which is enhanced by the inclusion in the title of the word "Dissolution", when in fact it is only the withdrawal of the authorisation previously accorded to this organisation to establish its headquarters in France.

"Moreover, the decree of January 24 is based on the decree-law of April 12, 1939, concerning foreign associations. This decree-law was never ratified by Parliament, and the League for Human Rights justly protested against it as being a grave attack on the principle of freedom of association.

"The application of the decree-law to the World Federation of Trade Unions is all the more regrettable since this Federation is an international association recognised by the United Nations Organisation, which granted it category A status, and associated it with its work.

"The Central Committee of the League for Human Rights regrets that the Government of the Republic took a measure which is so far from conforming to the trade union freedoms recognised by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

All over the world, great working-class meetings have been held in defence of the W.F.T.U. In Budapest, for example, on February 14, more than 1000 militants representing 1.700.000 Hungarian trade unionists, called for the annulling of the measure against the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Dezso Horn, Secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, stressed that the Pleven Government had learned nothing from the experience of the British Labour Government, which had vainly done its utmost to prevent the holding of the Second World Peace Congress.

The French Government had proved by its open attack against the organised workers of the world, against tens of millions of women and democratic youth, that it was carrying out to the best of its ability the orders of its American masters, aimed at launching a new world war.

"Why is the W.F.T.U. a great obstacle to the imperialists' war plans?" he asked. "Because in the five and a half years since its formation, its work has met with outstanding success. Because the W.F.T.U. has carried out the great task of developing proletarian internationalism more and more deeply among the masses; because it has done much to expose and weaken imperialism."

The meeting unanimously approved a letter to Pleven, pointing out that the French Government of 1945 favorably welcomed the decision to establish the headquarters of the democratic international organisations in Paris. Changes had taken place since then — not in the programme or organisational work of the W.F.T.U., but in the policy and attitude of the French Government.

"Despite the French people's determination for peace, you have abandoned the policy of peace and international cooperation for that of Fascism and war, by placing yourselves unreservedly in the service of the bloodthirsty American imperialists."

The letter continues: "We see only too well the connection existing between the rearmament of Western Germany, the liberation of Krupp

and the Nazi generals on the one hand, and the measures taken against the World Federation of Trade Unions on the other. We know perfectly well that these decrees are not French but American, and that you, Mr. Premier, are merely the subordinate responsible for putting them into effect.

"But you must realize that neither you nor your bosses will ever succeed in preventing the World Federation of Trade Unions, supported by 64 trade union centres and by 78 million organised workers, from struggling for a better life for the workers of the whole world, including those of France, and for peace."

The Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions sent a telegram to Pleven declaring: "The World Federation of Trade Unions groups over 78 million workers in all countries of the world, and its aim is to defend the workers' rights, improve their conditions and defend peace. That is why the organised workers of Hungary see in this ban the most brutal violation of democratic rights and freedoms and protest energetically against this violation of the most elementary right of organisation.

"Expressing our deep esteem for the French working people, who with their heroic struggle for freedom engraved their name for all time in the annals of humanity, who by their heroic resistance against Hitlerite Fascism roused the admiration of the whole world, we consider the shameful action of the French Government under your leadership unworthy of the French people.

"This behavior interprets the orders from the American imperialists, which your and your government carry out by speeding up rearmament, by pursuing your campaign of devastation in Viet Nam, and by this present decree."

*

AMONG other recent protests received are those of the Italian Federation of Postal and Telegraph workers (C.G.I.L.) and the French Postal and Telegraph workers of Tergnier district.

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers has sent a letter to the Secretary General of U.N.O. asking that the question of the French Government's measure against the three international democratic organisations be raised in the Economic and Social Council.

The letter declares that this attack is one of "a series of discriminatory measures taken by the French Government against the organisations and persons who actively defend the cause of peace. It constitutes a violation of the right of association, guaranteed by the French Constitution and consacrated by International Law.

"It seems that such a measure cannot leave the United Nations Organisation indifferent, two of the organisations attacked benefiting from consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, and the third being registered with the U.N.O."

In another letter, to the French Premier, the Association points out: "The International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which was refused authorisation to function in France by the French Government in 1950, was the first international organisation to suffer from these tendencies to regress towards Fascism.

"The ban on the activities in France of the great international organisations of trade unionists, women and youth, is all the more shocking for lawyers since these organisations benefit from consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organisation and since the French Government is thus trying to obstruct the collaboration of these organisms with the U.N.O. for the defence of peace and the development of friendship between peoples."

*

IN Czechoslovakia, hundreds of letters and telegrams demanding the immediate annulling of the French Government's anti-democratic decree against the W.F.T.U., are received each day from the workers in factories and offices by the Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia.

From Craiova comes the protest of the State Philharmonic Orchestra of the Rumanian People's Republic against the action taken by the French Government, against the will of the French people.

The Executive Bureau of the Trade Unions International of Food and Tobacco Workers has sent a message to the French Prime Minister, on behalf of its 5 million members, declaring: "The food and tobacco workers of the whole world consider this shameful act, carried out on orders from the American imperialists, as an attempt to interrupt the activity of the W.F.T.U., to obstruct the powerful movement of the workers of all countries in defence of world peace.

"What the agents of imperialism in the working class movement were unable to achieve, you will be unable to achieve. The workers and employees of the whole world, led by the W.F.T.U., will intensify still more the struggle for peace, democracy and defence of their economic interests, to guarantee the defeat of the warmongering plans of the Anglo-American imperialists. We insist that this Fascist decree be immediately annulled and that an end be put to police measures against the W.F.T.U."

Warmongers shout victory at half time; the German People will refuse to be used as cannon fodder.

THE PEOPLES' FIGHT

Against

WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT

by

Alain Le Leap

General Secretary of the French C.G.T. Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.

IT has become quite clear that German rearmament is the essential element of the imperialists' policy in Europe and, as such, constitutes the greatest danger to peace.

It is obvious that the rulers of the United States of America are possessed of a clearly defined determination to dominate the world and to subject the peoples to their will, starting with the weakest, and are therefore seeking to smash all resistance to them by force.

They succeeded in penetrating into the zones of influence of the Western countries owing to the weakened state of these countries on the morrow of the second world war. They have also succeeded in infiltrating into the internal economies of the colony-owning countries thanks to the extreme docility of the governments of these countries over the past three years. But even this seems to them to be a fundamentally precarious situation. They feel the considerable growth of the popular forces throughout the world, and the daily strengthening of the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

For a third of a century, the U.S.S.R. has pursued a policy conforming to the interests of the workers, helping towards their emancipation, fighting for freedom, independence and peace. During the second world war, it was the rallying point of world-wide progressive forces; it enabled the peoples of the People's Democracies of today to free themselves.

For a third of a century, the political behaviour of the capitalist powers has been conditioned by the fact of the existence of the U.S.S.R. And the Soviet Union still represents the main obstacle to the imperialists' designs for world domination by enslaving of the peoples; it therefore represents the main guarantee of the independence of the nations.

It can therefore be understood why the workers, in their fight against capitalism and for socialism, have always looked towards the Soviet Union and have benefited by its experience.

Today, perhaps more than ever before, the peoples have understood that they cannot hope to win their national independence or preserve it unless they ally themselves with the Soviet Union, the fundamental force of the anti-imperialist camp. Every honest labour leader, devoted to the interests of the working class, must feel that the fate of the entire labour movement is linked to that of the Soviet Union, and that solidarity with the U.S.S.R., the basic condition for working-class internationalism, can alone enable the international working class to solve the major problems with which it is faced.

Conflicts of interests such as would in other circumstances have given rise to armed conflicts between capitalist powers are undoubtedly making their appearance in the imperialist camp. But this rivalry has been temporarily relegated to the background to prevent it from encouraging the growth of the peoples' forces and the emancipation of the peoples. All of them have bowed before the strongest power, American imperialism, and accept in the interests of their own capitalist policy, the preparation for aggression against the democratic camp and primarily, against the essential force of this camp, the U.S.S.R. The first place in the measures taken to this end is given to the rearmament of Western Germany.

The peoples anxious for their own interests and for their own defence therefore have the vital and imperative obligation of fighting against the attacks made on the anti-imperialist camp, and primarily of fighting against German rearmament.

The peoples of Western Europe, particularly the French, have other reasons to fear the rearmament of Western Germany. American penetration in the countries of Western Europe is being carried on today with the collusion of the governments of these countries. But if, tomorrow, this penetration meets with fierce opposition from the peoples of these countries, everything leads one to presume that the American rulers would take unto themselves the right to intervene in these peoples' own affairs in order to combat this opposition, baptised by Truman for the requirements of his evil cause as "internal aggression", and would use the new military might of Western Germany for this purpose.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that owing to the desires of the Wall Street rulers, the Hitlerite magnates of the Ruhr have once more taken the key posts in Western Germany; tomorrow this country's army, reconstituted and equipped with modern material will be once more placed under the command of former Nazi generals. These men are already speculating on the divisions which are appearing between the capitalist powers; they are now permitting themselves to put forward their own conditions because they know that they are expected to play a basic role in the fulfilment of the Americans' strategic plan; they are regaining

The peoples have not forgotten that once before the big imperialist powers favoured the rearmament and development of fascism in Germany: Europe still bears the scars of Hitler's anti-Soviet crusade. Chamberlain, Premier of Imperial Britain, was far from averse to shaking hands with Hitler, monopolies' darling and future butcher of Europe—

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—and Daladier made no difficulties about reviewing, along with the Nazi von Ribbentrop. the Wehrmacht hordes that were to bring death and destruction wherever they went.

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roused in all the workers of Europe by the an-increasing freedom of action. It is possible to imagine that one day, in an attempt to escape from all tutelage and wishing to pursue the old dream of German imperialism, they may once more attempt to attain the aims which Hitler had already, and with their collaboration, set himself, and to this end, they may first and foremost launch an attack on France.

The workers of Europe, and the French workers in particular, still remember only too well the sufferings caused by German militarism; they know too much about the aggressiveness of this militarism not to understand all the gravity involved in the threat with which West German rearmament would once more overshadow them. They also know that if a conflict broke out, Europe would become nothing more than a vast area of ruins and devastation.

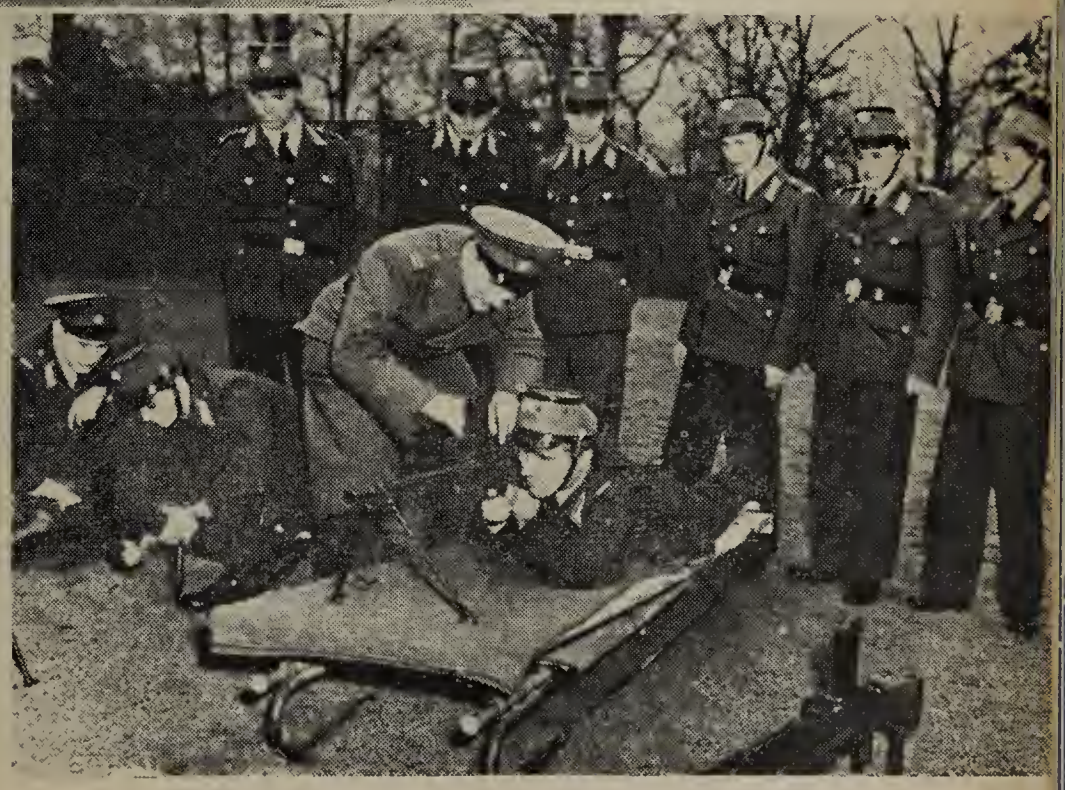
THE NEW WEHRMACHT IN TRAINING

German mercenaries being prepared for the anti-Soviet war in the Roosevelt Barracks, American sector of Berlin.

All this explains the very definite attitude taken by European workers against the rearmament of Western Germany.

Moreover, the workers of West Germany understand that they have the same interests to defend as the workers of the other countries of Europe and that they have to defend them in the same way. The horrors of the last war have not yet disappeared from their memories; they do not want to see once more the same death, destruction and suffering. They know what plans are being made for them and they are opposed to these plans; they know that if they allow themselves to be dragged into the war which their rulers have agreed to prepare under American direction, they would be used as cannon fodder and in the first place against the workers of the German Democratic Republic who are fully resolved to defend their liberties.

All this explains the strength of the feelings



On the 5th anniversary of the atom bombardment of Hiroshima, 10,000 inhabitants of Munich demonstrated for peace and against atom-bomb politics. Our photo shows a military-commando group of the Munich police trying to break up part of the demonstration.

— the Prophet clothing firm in Nuremberg: 95%;

— the Mann factory in Nuremberg, where more than 100 shop stewards supported the campaign on behalf of their 6,500 comrades;

— the Westphalia quicklime factories: 92.9%;

— the Schwelm metal factory: 1,600 workers, that is to say 100%;

— the Ardi Motorradwerke plant: 85.7%;

— the Nord shipyards in Hamburg: foundry and boilermaking departments, 100%; welding department, 95%; waggon building, iron-working, carpentry, riveting and electrical departments, 90%;

— the Paul and Co. engineering works, in Augsburg: 100% of the factory and office workers, managers and technicians;

— the quarterly assembly of the Paper Industry Workers Union, in Münster: 100% minus one vote;

— the Bosch works in Stuttgart: 94.3% of the 6,400 factory and office workers;

nouncement of the rearmament and remilitarisation of Western Germany, and their immediate reaction against this.

As I cannot give an outline of the fight waged by the working class in the various countries of Europe, I shall only describe certain aspects of this struggle and show the first results obtained in the two countries most directly concerned: Western Germany and France.

WESTERN GERMANY

IN many factories, the workers have launched a campaign to collect signatures to a petition against the rearmament of Western Germany. Among the results which have already been published, one notes those in:

— the Goliath works in Bremen: 100%, from the manager to the apprentices;

— the Haspe works at Hagen (Westphalia): 4,022 signatures, or 89%;

During the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal in West Berlin, a Western policeman, carrying out the policy of the occupying powers, arrests the famous atomic scientist Havemann who cries out: „They arrest me because I oppose use of the atom bomb".

In the Ruhr town of Bochem 25.000 young miners demonstrated last September, demanding coal production for peace, not war, and houses instead of army barracks. The demonstration was brutally attacked by the police.

— the Zeiss-Ikon plant in Stuttgart: 90% of the 1,800 workers;

and so on.

On the 28th of January, the first Western German congress against remilitarisation was held in Essen. 1,600 to 1,700 delegates belonging to the most varied sections of the population took part in it and demanded from Chancellor Adenauer that he organise a referendum on the question of the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

According to the whole of the Press, if there were a referendum, some 85% of the people of Western Germany would vote against remilitarisation.

The proposals made by President Grotewohl in his message to Chancellor Adenauer have had a considerable repercussion in all working class groups in Germany. In the factories, the workers demonstrated their agreement with these proposals and censured Adenauer for having rejected them. And naturally the fight against remilitarisation was linked with that for the unity of all Germany.

Action committees were set up everywhere for working class unity and peace, and against the remilitarisation of Western Germany. In addition to the above factories, here are some of the others which have set up such committees:

— the Funcke and Hieck firm at Hagen;

— the Stuttgart-Bad Carnstadt ball-bearing plant;

— the I.G. Metall works in Eukirschen;

— the Geiger works in Karlsruhe;

— the Mannesnau firm in Dusseldorf, and so on.

The workers, whose living standards are very

Police brutally arrest demonstrators taking part in a banned protest organised in Frankfurt by the Union of Victims of the Nazi Regime.

low and who see unemployment increasing, are protesting against the increased taxes which weigh heavily upon the German population as a result of this remilitarisation and the reinforcement of the occupation forces which is its inevitable corollary.

The slogan "Ohne Uns": "Without us", has become very popular.

All the metal workers in Solingen have decided to stop all work on war production.

The Hamburg port workers are waging a fight against the unloading of armaments under the slogans:

"Throw the weapons into the Elbe."

"Hamburg is not an American war port, but a peaceful port for all Germany."

The workers in the Osnabruck metal factories stopped work as a sign of protest against Eisenhower's trip.

The teachers' union in Braunschweig voted a

Danish Women demonstrators taken to the police station pointed to the police roll of honour headed: „They Fell for Danish Freedom". „Have you forgotten them already?" the women asked the police.

A demonstration organized by the Danish Union of Democratic Women takes the protest of the Danish people against Eisenhower and German rearmament into the main streets of Copenhagen. 31 women were arrested.

The people of Amsterdam demonstrate against Eisenhower's visit to make Holland toe the line in the drive to reconstitute the Nazi Wehrmacht.

Meetings are held in the factories themselves: 3,500 workers in the Paris Renault works hold a protest meeting against the rearmament of Western Germany.

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Eisenhower, charged with the „integration" of the reconstituted Wehrmacht in the anti-Soviet army, was met all over Europe with the mass protest demonstrations of the peoples. Our photo shows part of the 50,000 strong protest on the Champs-Elysées in Paris.

resolution calling on all schoolteachers to expose the warmongers' manoeuvres to their pupils.

The workers are tending increasingly to engage their organisations in this struggle, and it is significant that when there was an election of shop stewards in the Gebruder Eickoff engineering works, the only candidates elected were those who, in addition to the fight for the workers' demands, pledged themselves to do everything in their power to defend peace. Not a single one of the old candidates who remained faithful to Adenauer's policy was elected, not even the Chairman of the Shop Stewards Committee.

These are only a few examples of the many-sided struggle waged by the Western German workers against the remilitarisation of their country, and which forms part of the general and highly-developed struggle waged by the whole of the German people.

FRANCE

THE National Peace Council has launched a broad campaign for the collection of signatures to the declaration: „I oppose the rearmament of Germany."

This campaign is supported by the C.G.T. and is meeting with great successes in the factories. Final results are not yet known, since the campaign is still under way, but among results which have come in, the following are noteworthy: the signatures of 100% of the staff were collected:

— in the Paris area: at the Chaminade firm in Blanc-Mesnil; at Goifon et Josse in Port-Marly; at S.I.F.A.M. in Juvisy; at S.O.M.A. in Argenteuil; at the waterworks in Sauter-Harlé, at Henri Meules', the Citroen gear works, Rati's in Montreuil, etc.;

— in the Gironde district: among the dockers, in the Queyriès shipyard, at Poliet et Chausson, Nègre et Bonnichon, Dufour et Igon, the Franco-Coloniale oil factory, etc.;

— in the Indre district: at the Bouchage Moderne works in Argenton, and among the Argenton railway workers;

— in the Hérault district: at the textile works in Prémian;

— in the Jura: at the Adamar firm in Saint-Claude;

— in the Alpes Maritimes district: at the Mobil-Métal factory in Nice, and so forth.

95% of the miners signed in No. 3 pit at Noeux and No. 4 pit in Hersin;

96% in the Nord district;

92% at Auchy les Mines; 95% at Bully les Mines;

98% among the miners in No. 15 pit in Crausac;

90 to 100% of the personnel in the various workshops in Fives-Lille.

In a very large number of firms in the various areas of France, 90 to 100% of the workers signed against German rearmament.

The collection of signatures is still going on. It is noteworthy that this work of collecting signatures is being done also among the other sections of the population in the towns and villages, and is meeting with a like measure of success.

Mass stoppages of work in protest against German rearmament occurred particularly in Paris, as well as in the Nord, Rhone, Var and Loire districts, and so on. At the Chambon-Feugerolles (Loire) colliery, the miners in the Fottard pit waged a unanimous 24 hour strike; at Montrambert the 1,400 miners organised a one hour stoppage of work at the coal face; similarly in Couchefort, Montaraud, and so forth.

At the call of the workers in the Hotchkiss works in Saint-Denis, 50,000 Parisians demonstrated against Eisenhower's visit to Paris — they were mostly workers. Similar demonstrations occured in all great centres: Marseille, Bordeaux, Lyon, etc.

Once again, and in spite of their terrible poverty, the French dockers have reaffirmed their determination not to unload war material. The dockers, truck and cart drivers of Sète have recently decided not to transport war material; the railwaymen of Saintes have declared that they refuse to transport war material to Germany; those of Bordeaux-Bastide have refused to repair railway trucks used to transport American material, not wishing „their children to have to be ashamed of them later."

One could easily go on mentioning many more such examples.

ONCE it is accepted that the Americans are unable to make war in Europe without Western Germany and France, one can immediately understand the importance of the joint struggle waged by German and French workers, and this does not imply an under-estimation of the fight waged by workers in other European countries.

On 14th and 15th June 1950, the representatives of the French C.G.T. and the German F.D.G.B. drew up a joint declaration in Berlin in which they declare that: "certain of expressing the deep-felt concern of the workers of France and Germany.... they would energetically oppose any new attempt to make them take up arms against

The workers are in the forefront of the fight against German rearmament. Here Paris workers' delegations meet a police barrage on their way to protest at the Presidency of the Republic.

each other or to thrust them together into another world war which could not be anything but a war of imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. . . . ."

This declaration met with wide response in France and Germany, not only in the German Democratic Republic, but also in the ranks of the working class in Western Germany. Since then, a vast exchange of letters between French and German workers has been developed. This is a factor in strengthening the common struggle of the two peoples against war.

More recently, on the initiative of workers in the Haspe plant in Hagen (Westphalia), an appeal was issued by the workers of Western Germany to the workers of other countries of Europe for the calling of a Conference of European workers against German rearmament. There is no doubt that this initiative, which we know has already had a very favourable reception, will give impetus to the struggle of European workers who now know that preventing German rearmament means making a 3rd world war impossible.

ONE-WAY ECONOMY IN THE U.S.A.

The following points were included in the statement on federal stabilisation policy delivered by the National Officers of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America to the Wage Stabilisation Board Chairman in Washington on January 18.

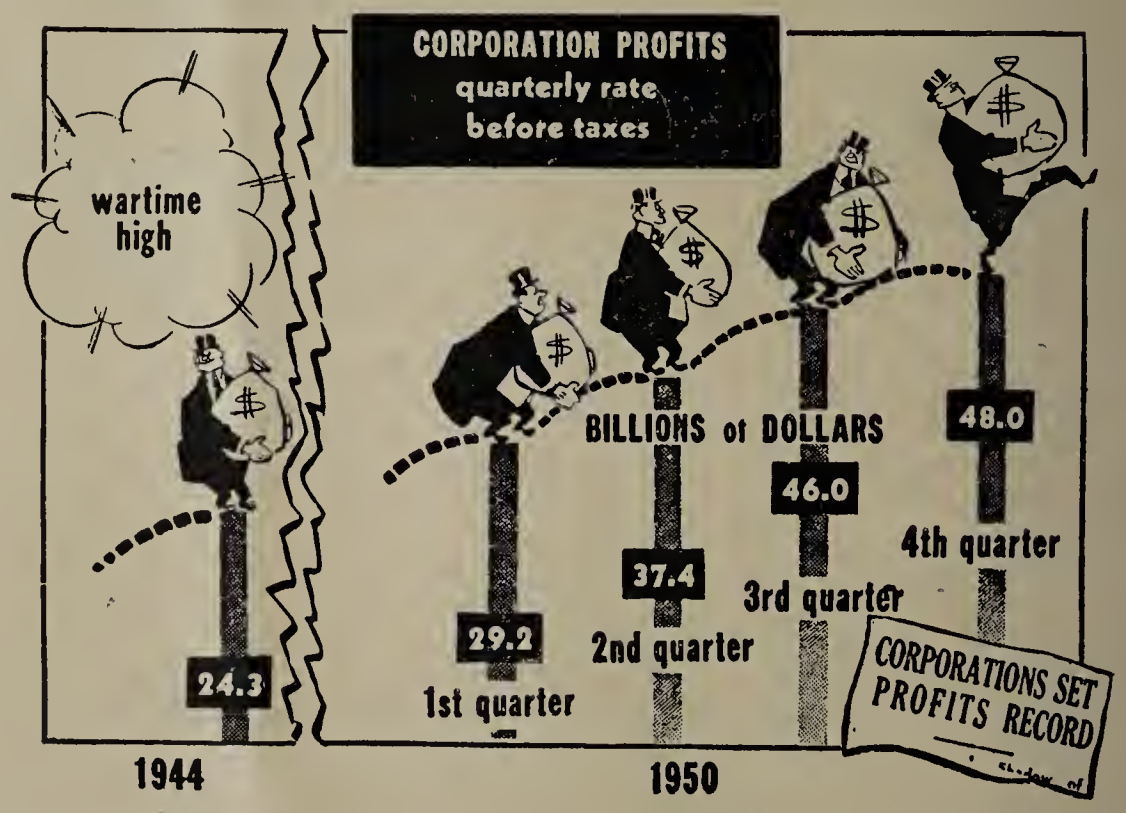
On December 17, 1950, the Wage Stabilisation Board laid down as its basic policy the freezing of wages in order to reduce the purchasing power of the people. The Council of Economic Advisers called for increased income taxes, stating "by far the largest part of additional revenue must come from the middle and lower tax brackets", and that even overtime pay should be controlled.

For six months as the cost of living, wholesale and raw material prices soared, the Administration has utterly failed to take action against inflation. From June 15, 1950, to the present, daily basic commodity prices have increased by 47 percent.

SLASHING WORKERS' INCOMES

The Administration policy of clamping down the most rigid control on income while allowing prices to rise is based on the false assumption that workers' living standards include "fat" which can be cut out.

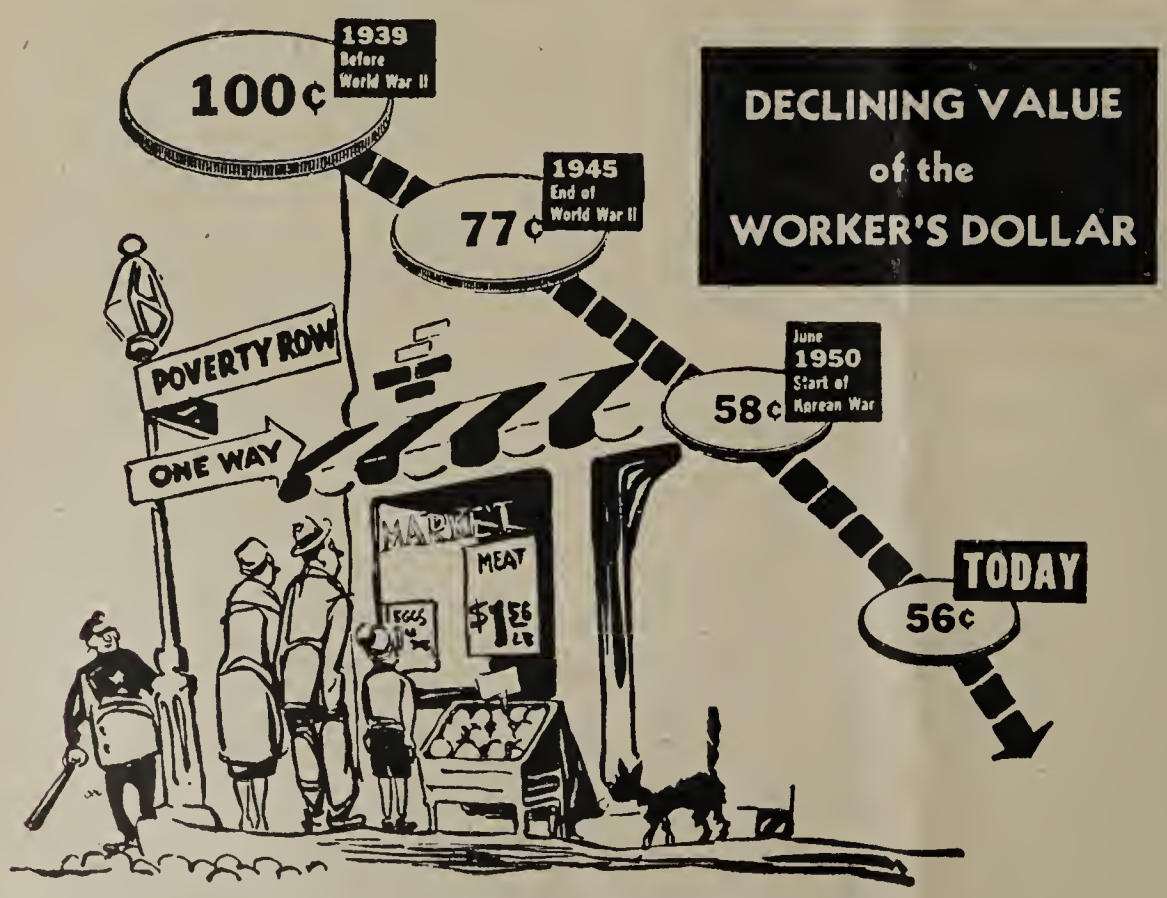
Since the Second World War, the American people have found themselves forced to sacrifice their standard of living to the greed of American corporations. They are now told to make additional sacrifices in a period of unprecedented corporate profiteering. In November 1950, after the major wage settlements for the year had been concluded, real weekly wages of workers in manufacturing industry were $ 3.28 lower than during the peak of World War II.



Between 1944 and the fourth quarter of 1950 prices jumped 40.3 percent, wages and salaries rose 25 percent, farm income rose 18.6 percent — and corporate profits rose 97.5 percent. The government's policy must be directed toward reversing this trend and placing before all else, the welfare of the people.

Working people's incomes are not the cause of, but rather the victims of inflation. At current prices, the minimum budget necessary for health for a worker's family of four is well over $ 4,000 a year. With 59 percent of the people having incomes below $ 3,000 a year and 77 percent having incomes below $ 4,000 a year, it is obvious that workers are not living off the fat of the land.

The profiteers were the cause and beneficiary of inflation. The whole direction of the government's programme of wage freezes while prices are allowed to rise will intensify the existing concentration of money in the hands of the comparatively few wealthy families and corporations.



THE TRAINING OF SKILLED WOMEN WORKERS IN NEW CHINA

by

Lu Da fu-lien

IN spite of the profound changes brought about in all spheres in China, there were still a lot of people who doubted whether women could become skilled workers. But during the 4 years of reconstruction in peace and democracy under the firm leadership of the People's Government, with active participation by the Trade Unions and direct help from our Soviet friends, a large number of women became skilled factory workers in the factories of Lu-Da (Port Arthur and Dairen area) and are now taking part in building the new China.

According to incomplete and already out of date statistics, in this area alone, there were 1,016 skilled women workers in heavy industry and 6,183 in light industry.

This large figure is an affirmative reply to the question put by the sceptics. These good results developed confidence and it was decided to expand the training of women technicians. The results obtained are full of encouraging lessons.

Firstly, these women are hard, conscientious, careful and serious workers. During the apprenticeship period, they come into the factory very early in the morning and stay on very late. When they do not understand something, they ask questions. In order to raise their cultural level, they spend their entire leisure-time in study. They carefully examine what they have learned and put it into practice with enthusiasm. Usually they are fast workers, often working faster than the men.

Women model workers are greeted with bouquets and embroidered banners.

At the beginning, certain instructors did not want women pupils, but later, they became very satisfied with them.

Chi Koui-tse, a milling-machine operator, is an example taken from hundreds of others. Formerly, she was an ordinary labourer working in the electric wire winding section in the Thong-Chang factory. When she was selected for the milling-shop, she worked with still more energy. As she had had only two years' schooling, she did not know any mathematics and could not understand industrial drawings. Her instructor lost interest in her but Chi did not lose heart and continued to study on her own, carefully examining the technique used by the instructor. By the end of three months, she was capable of working a machine all by herself. She used material which a less careful person would have thrown away as scrap, and in this way she enabled the factory to carry out considerable economies for which she was duly rewarded.

All this helped her instructor to understand her and he decided to teach her everything he knew. At the end of six months, she had learned more than is usually known after

Tien Kwei-ying, model driver of the locomotive „March Eighth", receives prizes on behalf of her train crew

two years apprenticeship. Now she herself is an instructor with five pupils.

Other examples are the women locomotive drivers, Tien Koni-ying, Wong Pao-hung and Pi Koui-ying, the women tram drivers Ling Shien-pei and Che Viet-pei who have shown themselves to be hard-working, perseverant, attentive and studious and whose work has given complete satisfaction.

Furthermore, these women workers show a great spirit of emulation and have enthusiastically responded to the leaders' call for improved technique. In November 1949, when they joined the "new records movement", their technical level and seniority were much lower than those of the men, but thanks to encouragement and help from the leaders, they set up new records.

16 collective and 135 individual records, that is to say a total of 151 or 6% of the total number of records were set in the three months from November 1949 to February of the following year. These records were established by 264 women, that is to say 2% of the staff.

The records established were divided as follows: 19 by the milling-machine operators, 4 by the pattern makers, 4 by the fitters, 6 by the chemical workers and 25 by the polishers. As a general rule they have been exercising their trade for only 2 years and are in category 3; nevertheless they have been able to accomplish this exploit which, although it is not an extraordinary one, still guarantees their future. We may then conclude by saying that one can without fear train qualified women workers in heavy industry as well as in light industry, provided that those who train them do everything in their power to give them the necessary technical instruction.

The Difficulties to be Overcome

IT is undoubtedly possible to train women technicians, but time and perseverance are necessary to overcome the difficulties. First of all there is in the minds of some workers and cadres a legacy of the feudal ideas which imply an attitude of contempt towards women. They think that "women cannot go on working once they are married", that "it is more useful to train men technicians", and that "women, being the weaker sex, will not be able to stand such work; at the moment they are following the fashion, but they will end up by dropping it". All these prejudices are further strengthened by the fact that women brought up under the old regime are, generally speaking, even more

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Women delegates offer presents to the beloved leaders of the Chinese people.

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shy, sensitive and emotional, and less educated than men. But the women are overcoming these weaknesses as a result of the new prospects they are now offered.

Many instructors did not wish to undertake to train women workers, because in order to train a woman worker, one has, for example, to hold her hand, which is contrary to old customs. Therefore they used to limit themselves to

A group of model workers who attended the National Conference: they include peasants, industrial workers, an engine-driver and a soldier.

a superficial apprenticeship, leaving real technical instruction aside. Thus in a railway pattern-making workshop, instructor Tien was known as a good instructor. He was entrusted with the training of three women, but he did not want to accept, saying that women are "incapable" of working in heavy industry, and he sent them to instructor Kiang. The latter was imbued with the same prejudice and did not want to give them the best technical instruction either. But one of the women workers, Li Chu-Ying, used to watch the instructor at work and imitate him, so that she overtook him and set up a new record.

Faced with these facts, the workshop leaders opened a debate to resolve the problem. Other instructors were completely neglecting their women pupils who, for a long time, learnt without being able to improve their technique; for example this was the case with the few women milling-machine operators in this factory, who, after more than 6 months' work, could do only rough cutting, for the instructor used to leave these women alone on the same machine all the time. There are still other instructors who, on purpose, create difficulties for women workers. Such a state of mind is a plague which hinders the training of women technicians.

Finally, there are also difficulties caused by the women themselves. In the minds of some of them, there still remain obstacles to the improvement of their technical capacity.

1) Many women do not understand yet that their own liberation is bound up with this improvement and with their general development. Many of them do not consider their trade as durable and think only of earning as much money as possible while they are working. They say: "I am working only in order to earn what I need to buy my wedding trousseau", or: "Thanks to the progress I have made I shall be able to go up one grade and earn more money". Many of them do not realise yet that their future welfare and their personal independence depend on their career, and therefore they work without any eagerness or perseverance and easily become discouraged.

They are therefore impeded, not only by masculine prejudice, but also by their own. They often say: "It will all be over once I am married and have given my husband children. How can I liken myself to men? My cultural knowledge is nil, and I could exert my strength to the full without being the equal of any man." Thus they work without conviction and without pleasure.

There are also women who do not understand the scope of their work. They think only of their looks and do not want to make themselves dirty by handling machines; no sooner have they begun work than they would like to stop. Others, who are somewhat more cultured, do not want to work in a factory and say: "I prefer working in an office — office workers sit in comfortable armchairs".

These women, by thus remaining inert, obstruct the way

for the others and prolong the existence of prejudice against women. The first 15 women to receive their diplomas from the Yuang Dien Technical School in 1949 were sent to the milling department of a metal factory; but two months later, 6 of them left their jobs. And some of the men workers and cadres said: "We were right to think that women cannot be trained. All this will create nothing but trouble".

2) One has to reckon also with the jealousy, narrow-mindedness, pettiness and lack of solidarity of certain women. When the leaders of the factory reward one of the women workers, sometimes the others are displeased because they consider themselves to be equally qualified. If a woman worker sets up a record, the others make fun of her behind her back. Other women are incapable of accepting criticism and burst into tears at the slightest reproach.

3) There are also family difficulties. Many parents oppose the training of women technicians. "An 18 year old girl in daily contact with young men — how terrible", say some of them. "What is the use of learning to her, in a few months' time she will get married", say others. There is also opposition from the husbands. Thinking that both of them can subsist on one wage, the husband does not want his wife to learn a trade; or else if she comes home late from a meeting, he does not want her to go on working.

4) All these are direct obstacles; but one must realise also that there is a physical difference, a difference in strength and boldness, between the two sexes. We know now that women undoubtedly have latent technical capabilities, but naturally their physical strength is less than that of men. They get tired more easily if they have to stay on their feet too long. They run the risk of falling ill if at certain times they have to remain in tiring positions. But these physical drawbacks are not irremediable. One must endeavour to resolve all these problems and give women workers appropriate working conditions. For example, women engine drivers are given time off at certain moments.

Women tram drivers also get two days off. The problems set for women workers by marriage and maternity must be definitely resolved by the creation of many day nurseries and creches.

The National Conference of Model Workers and Combat Heroes: view of the platform.

Basic Conditions for the Training of Skilled Women Workers

IN the new society — which provides the basic conditions for the emancipation of women — the firm determination of the leaders to succeed in bringing it about is of great importance.

This determination made it possible to carry out experiments in Lu-Da where in 9 months, 9 drivers and conductors were trained. They began by carrying on a propaganda campaign among the masses to make them understand that the emancipation of women was necessary to the progress of the entire working class, and that the work of skilled women workers would make it possible to increase production and that the wages they earned would bring greater comfort into the home.

Women working as ticket collectors on the railway were among the best propagandists. They talked to other women about the advantages of having a trade and encouraged them to fight against their own weakness.

In addition, the instructors were shown that it was an honour to have women pupils and four workers respected by everyone were chosen for this mission. Finally, the leaders carefully studied the experience gained and in particular had the health of women apprentices supervised.

Another important condition was the determination of the women themselves. To obtain this result, their outlook has to be changed on the basis of changed conditions and they must be given cultural and ideological education such as will create in them the firm determination to follow a career which will safeguard their independence. Where this effort has been made, the courage and enthusiasm of the women have proved themselves.

Thus on the Chong-Chang railway line, 24 women clerical workers and cleaners asked to be allowed to go into the workshop to learn a technical trade. In the workshops of the Yuan-Dien factory, the number of women pattern-makers rose from 44 to 76 and the number of milling-machine operators from 18 tot 46 in the space of a year.

If the women take confidence in themselves and win success in their work, they will of necessity overcome the prejudices and contempt of the men. For example, Chao Yu-tshuen, a 19 year-old woman worker in the shipyards set up the record of 570 chain links per day compared with the former 400, greatly astonishing many men workers and stimulating them to emulation.

Future Prospects

FUTURE prospects are very great. Women in the USSR now play a very big role in the economic development of the country; we in China can take the same road. The objection was raised that Chinese women are weaker and not so resistant as Soviet women. This is probably true for the moment, but their physical strength can be increased by improving the material conditions of life and health, and then these difficulties will disappear. For the moment moreover, the problem is not that of mobilising all women in heavy industry, but simply of making a trial and blazing the path.

Each time an experiment is successful, it is immediately repeated. Thus since the first group of women railway engine drivers have given good results, a second group will be trained, then a third and so on.

We are encouraging women to learn a technical trade while they are young, before they get married. After marriage they get the ordinary holidays as well as maternity leave and work commensurate with their physical condition.

The last point is that for women to be devoted to their work, it is necessary for them as well as for men, to take part in the life, management and administration of their firm.

The women's sections of the trade unions have a great

Delegates to the National Conference, coming from all over China, are awaited at the station in Peking where they were given a rousing welcome.

role to play in the development and training of skilled women workers. They have to draw up plans for the organisation of propaganda and the cultural education of women. They have to take the lead of a campaign to develop mutual understanding and good will between instructors and their women pupils. In this work, the women's section collaborates with the trade union production sections and young workers' sections.

In solving all problems relating to the welfare and health of women workers, and the lives of their children, the women's section works closely with the trade union social work section. They establish liaison between women workers, publicising the feats of the highest-skilled and model women workers so that their example will encourage the others to make progress.

Thus the early experiences gained in the training of skilled workers, wisely undertaken on a modest scale, have as a whole succeeded very well and should rapidly be extended, with backing and vigilant support from the authorities who are already assured of the understanding and enthusiasm of the women themselves.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY IN MOROCCO

by

Jean Lefrançois

A LONG-STANDING PROBLEM

OVER the last few weeks, the reactionary press, particularly that of France and the United States, which hitherto seemed very little concerned with the lot of the Moroccan people, has been devoting voluminous articles to "the problem of Morocco".

This problem, whose origin goes back to 1912, can be summed up in the following way — the Moroccan nation as a whole wants national independence, and its determination to obtain it is finding increasingly strong expression. Moroccans are demanding the ending of the protectorate treaty and the abolition of the regime of colonialist oppression which has been imposed on them for the last 38 years and to a more intense degree over the past few years.

At the same time, the working masses are becoming more and more conscious of the exploitation from which they suffer, of the ruining of their best lands and of the natural wealth of their country. Although the right to organise, which the workers have won in practice, is not an officially recognised right, the masses see more clearly every day the need to organise and they are beginning to take part in the national movement.

The colonialists consider this growth of consciousness intolerable, and General Juin, French Resident General in Morocco, is trying to combat it with brutal repression. The French Government is now, against the will of the French people, closely dependent on the United States Government, and General Juin recently went to Washington to solicit the American rulers' approval of his policy.

The brutal measures he has taken since his return to Morocco indicate that the received approval and encouragement from the U.S. Government for the intensification of his policy of colonialist repression and that he was given a free hand to "counteract" the desire for independence of the Moroccan people.

French Government dependence on American imperialism was further demonstrated by the leasing of seven new air bases in Morocco to the USA.

This measure proves on the one hand that the French administration in Morocco disposes of Moroccan territory at will, without consulting those mainly concerned, namely the Moroccan people themselves; and on the other hand that it intends to prove by deeds that it entirely supports the American policy of preparing a third world war.

Certain people have much to gain from spreading the belief that in this case, General Juin is pursuing a personal policy, and in support of their thesis, they refer to his legendary ambition and to the fact that he has taken care to surround himself with people whose reactionary and pro-fascist views are well-known.

In reality, it would be childish to believe that this present policy does not meet with the complete approval of the French Government, for has not the latter officially reaffirmed its confidence in him by maintaining him in his post of Resident General although General Eisenhower had selected him as his 3rd assistant? Moreover, this was implicitly admitted by the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Robert Schuman, on February 2 when he stated before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly: "General Juin can only act in the way desired by the French Government". It is true that he immediately added the hypocritical remark: ".... and only in full agreement with our natural counterpart, the Sultan".

MANOEUVRES OF THE RESIDENT GENERAL

MOROCCANS particularly appreciated the meaning of this remark at the very moment when Juin was delivering an ultimatum to the Sultan: Condemn the Moroccan national movement, or abdicate.

This ultimatum, which aroused the indignation of all the Moroccan people, was prepared a long time ago; even as far back as the appointment of Juin to the post of Resident General by the French Government.

Last December, there was the expulsion from the Cabinet of the representatives of the Nationalist Party, Istiqlal, who had had the temerity to criticise the budget submitted by the French administration and which was merely the translation into figures of the policy of "protectorate". In January, the manoeuvring became more intense and an incident was provoked with the aid of El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh. The latter is a person whose servility is well-known, wealthy and loaded down with foreign honours but despised by the Moroccan people and who, with the aid of the Resident General's armed forces, exercises despotic power over hundreds of

thousands of Moroccans whom he shamelessly exploits.

With backing from the French authorities, this individual carries on all kinds of intrigues and seeks to persuade certain Caïds that the repeal of the protectorate treaty and the establishment of a democratic regime would result in the removal of their privileges. In so doing, he encourages them to fight against the national movement, calling its aims and views subversive in order to justify the repression.

It is on such an individual, whom the Moroccans contemptuously call "the Moroccan Bao Dai" (thus comparing him with the puppet "emperor" of Indo-China), and a few others of his type that General Juin relies in his attempt to depose the Sultan, cynically claiming to public opinion that he is playing the part of "referee" in a situation which is completely of his own creation and which he intends to develop according to his own will.

It is unnecessary to state that this so-called policy of "authority" meets with enthusiastic approval from the out-and-out colonialists in Morocco, whose only anxiety is to get as much as possible out of the soil and subsoil of Morocco as well as out of its inhabitants so as to make ever fatter profits.

REPRESSION PREPARING THE WAY FOR WAR

BUT this policy has also another aim — Morocco has been brought into the Atlantic Pact and the Americans therefore intend, with French Government agreement, rapidly to transform it into a dependable bastion and aggressive base for the war they are actively preparing against the Soviet Union and the countries freed from capitalist oppression. They therefore have to be absolutely sure of the security of the area behind the fighting lines by indiscriminately persecuting all patriots, whether they be nationalists, Communists, or even active trade unionists.

It should not be forgotten that General Juin had just brought into his General Staff General Boyer de la Tour, fresh from Viet Nam and a specialist in making war against the peoples.

The colonialist courts are now in permanent sitting. Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Moroccan Communist Party, who had been in prison for several months, has just been sentenced to two years in jail. The Secretary of the Istiqlal Party is also being prosecuted. Three Communists were sent to prison for a year for distributing leaflets. The headmaster of a school belonging to Istiqlal was sentenced to two years imprisonment because he had urged his compatriots to refuse to take part in the war in Viet Nam.

Entirely arbitrary methods of government prevail in Morocco where the colonialists' word is law.

FRANCE'S "MISSION"

IN an attempt to justify this despicable policy, certain people are impudent enough to talk, in fulsome terms which are disgracefully hypocritical, of "France's civilising mission".

Anyone, provided he is honest and objective, who has stayed even a few days in Morocco can see for himself what these "humanitarian" phrases conceal.

Those who advocate placing backward peoples under trusteeship will describe at great length their alluring plans for schools, clinics, homes, vocational training, justice and taxation.

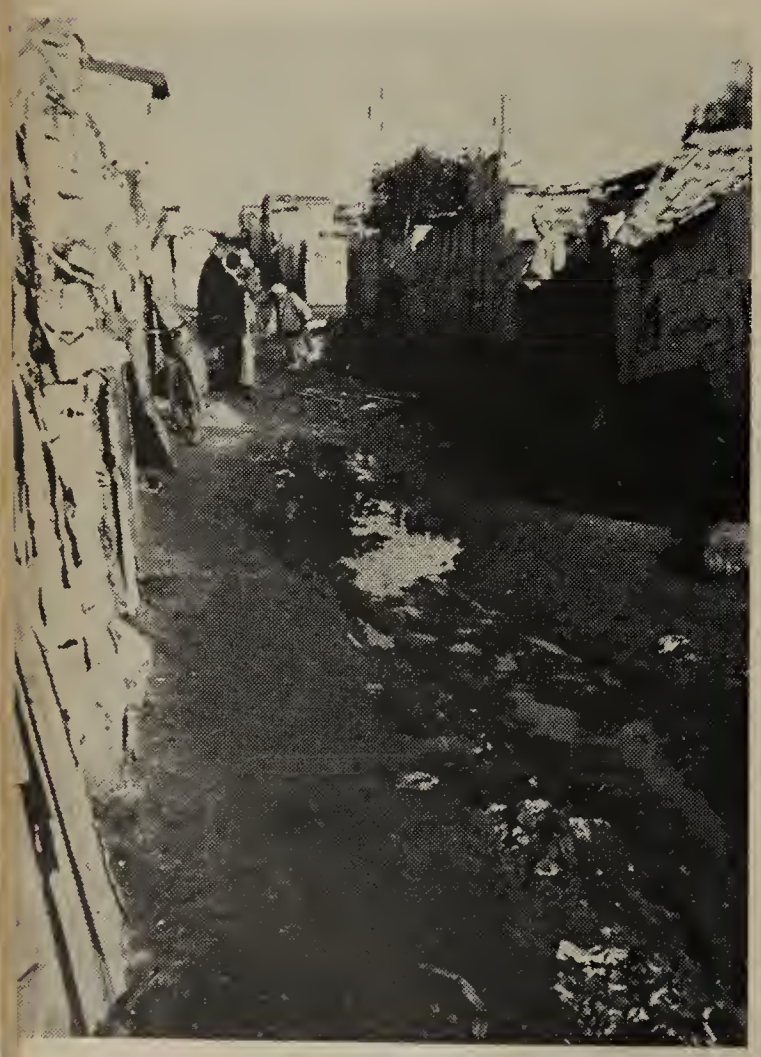
But this is a mere deception. Promises have not been spared since 1912 when French troops first occupied Morocco. These promises have been repeated year after year, but practically none of them have ever really been kept.

Official statistics certainly show that Morocco consumed three times more electricity and coal, 2½ times as much cement and 4 times as much iron ore in 1949 than in 1938.

But the undertakings installed by foreign capitalists are the ones which use this fuel and power and these materials in the exploitation of the country's wealth and the labour of its inhabitants.

Their aim is not to satisfy the needs of the working population and to raise their living conditions but to make fat profits fast.

Roads, railways, and ports have certainly been built, but primarily to make this exploitation possible, and their construction moreover represents a source of wealth for the big French capitalist companies such as Schneider, Fougerolle, Grands Travaux de Marseille, Société Générale d'Entreprises, etc. The ports, roads



Old age means complete destitution for many Moroccans.

Bottom left: A shanty town in the outskirts of Casablanca.

and railways are now increasingly being used for unloading and transporting American military material.

Food-preserving factories have increased in number, but the home market takes up only one-tenth of their output, and malnutrition is rife among the Moroccan population.

The rate of building is not being slowed down but the buildings being constructed are sumptuous ones which bring in fabulous rents, and commercial premises whose key-money alone covers building costs.

As for the big dams, they serve primarily to irrigate the big estates of the European settlers.

In spite of the savage exploitation of the Moroccan workers, a serious crisis is threatening. It is hitting small and average-sized firms to the advantage of the big companies. The number of bankruptcies is on the increase. One of the basic causes of this crisis is the flagrant inadequacy of the purchasing power of the masses.

LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE MOROCCAN WORKERS; HOUSING

THERE are many magnificent buildings in the European districts of the Moroccan towns, but surrounding all the big centres, the Moroccan population lives in shanty towns in which thousands of people are crowded together in absolutely shameful conditions.

At Casablanca alone, there are 5 shanty towns with a total population of nearly 200,000 people.

These "cities" have been called shanty towns because the hovels are built out of old sheets of iron, old tin cans and rotting planks.

The state of poverty in which this population lives is unimaginable.

We visited several shanty towns. Whole families were crowded in "homes" measuring 4 square yards, on the bare earth. When it rains, the shacks are flooded out and the narrow streets are turned into rivers of mud. And yet the rent of some of these habitations is as much as 1,000 francs (£1 or $3) per month, whereas the wages of workers whom we questioned were no higher than 8,000 francs per month.

PUBLIC HEALTH

THE expenditure on health in the 1951 budget represents only 6% of the whole budget.

This explains why the public health administration only has 200 doctors on a general average, one doctor for every 45,000 inhabitants; and when it is remembered that the doctors are mainly in the towns, we arrive at the figure for the countryside of **one doctor for every 120,000 inhabitants.**

These figures speak for themselves. The Moroccan workers suffer from malnutrition, live crowded in shacks and are practically unable to get any medical attention, and therefore tuberculosis is rife.

Finally, one remark should be made to give the real guage of colonialism: although Morocco only possesses 200 doctors, there are in contrast, **more than 14,000 policemen.**

CHILDREN LEFT TO FEND FOR THEMSELVES

THE traveller who sets foot for the first time on Moroccan soil is immediately struck by the number of children dressed in rags wandering

Here are the gifts of French „protectorate" incredible living conditions, no sanitary facilities, mud, sand and flies, in this typical shanty town only a few hundred yards from the luxurious commercial buildings of Casablanca

No schooling for these poor children living in these dreadful surroundings

bare-foot and poverty-stricken about the streets.

This physical misery is accompanied by illiteracy: 9 children out of 10 cannot read and are unable to go to school.

The colonialists consider that an ignorant mass is more easily open to exploitation. Moreover, the authorities share this point of view, only 6% of the ordinary budget being earmarked for Moslem education.

The number of Moslem schools is so inadequate that only 7% of the Moroccan children can attend them. This means that **more than 1,500,000 children are condemned to complete ignorance.**

The only prospect before them is employment as labourers in a factory where they lose the remnants of their already damaged health in return for a miserable wage.

LIBERTY IS NON-EXISTENT IN MOROCCO

BASIC liberties are deliberately trampled underfoot. The Moroccan worker has no freedom of expression, of assembly or of association. The Resident General's Administration exercises a ruthless censorship and the few democratic newspapers cannot express themselves freely.

The Moroccans are deprived of trade union rights. Since the Resident General's administration has a fairly clear idea of the real feelings of the Moroccan people towards the methods it uses, it considers it wiser to gag the workers so as to prevent them from saying what they think.

But in spite of all these precautions, discontent is springing up and growing and the workers are organising, and therefore savage repression is being exerted. Many workers have been imprisoned for having gone on strike. Bouhamida, Secretary of the Djerada miners' union was sentenced to hard labour for life although no case was made out against him. He was sentenced "as an example" and because his acquittal would have been a judgement on those who in accusing him, faithfully served the plans of the colonialists.

THE FIGHT DEVELOPS

IN addition to police repression, the Moroccan workers suffer repression from the employers who constantly hold over them the threat of unemployment.

For unemployment is on the increase in Morocco. The army of workless is swelled by the small peasants deprived of their land, by the "fellahs" who come to the towns in the illusory hope of finding less intolerable living conditions there, by ruined craftsmen and also by European workers attracted to Morocco by stories of all kinds of advantages, but without having a clearly defined contract.

Arbitrary dismissals are extremely common and there is total insecurity as to the future; the unemployed in Morocco receive no unemployment benefits and when a worker loses his job, his home is immediately invaded by terrible poverty and starvation. And usually he and his family are evicted from their miserable shack.

In spite of all this, the heroic Moroccan people is refusing to continue to live in slavery, and in spite of the repression to which they expose themselves, the workers are beginning to unite in the enterprises and are launching actions against their exploiters. They understand the necessity of organising in the factories and on a local basis, and as their class consciousness develops in the fight, they create the necessary conditions for winning recognition of their right to join trade unions.

Strikes are breaking out, and victory is sometimes won, for example in Safi where the textile workers, after a 24-hour struggle in complete unity, obtained the abolition of fines (which still exist in most factories and deprive the worker of a large part of his already notoriously inadequate wage), as well as the abolition of flogging (this disgraceful punishment is still an occasional practice).

After a 23-day strike carried on in complete unity by 2500 fishermen of Safi, Mogador, Casablanca and Apadir in August and September 1950, these workers obtained the creation of hiring centres, an agreement on the division of the catch, the introduction of an employment card valid in all ports and the recognition of shop stewards.

At Fedala, on 4th January last, 550 workers employed in the ICOMA cotton mill unanimously went on strike for the reinstatement of one of their comrades who had been arbitrarily dismissed.

This worker had merely asked, on behalf of all the workers in the factory, that wages for December be paid during working hours and as soon as the month ended, for this operation takes the whole of Saturday morning — time for which the workers are not paid.

The police immediately set to work to terrorise the workers. The ICOMA personnel manager himself struck a worker he suspected of having joined the trade union.

Four workers were imprisoned, one of them for 3 months, by the Pasha's tribunal.

The two General Secretaries of the General Union of Confederated Trade Unions of Morocco, Taieb, Buazza and Leroy, who had come to the scene of the incident, were arrested and taken to the police station where the Police Superintendent of Criminal Investigation and an inspector from the political brigade informed them of an

Poverty and disease flourish in these suburbs of Casablanca, where a mud stream runs in the middle of the road.

order issued by the Director of Public Security barring them from the territory of Fedala. In spite of their protests, they were immediately expelled and taken back to Casablanca.

Since the strike, 40 workers have been dismissed from the ICOMA factory and replaced by unemployed; but the latter are ready to fight for their demands side by side with the other workers in the factory, thereby frustrating the employers' attempts to divide the workers.

FOR A GREAT MOROCCAN NATIONAL CENTRE

THERE is at present a General Union of Confederated Trade Unions (UGSCM) in Morocco.

This Union is affiliated to the French CGT. It covers workers of all views: nationalists, Communists, Socialists, and non party. **The number of Moroccan workers who are visiting Trade Union headquarters and interesting themselves in trade union questions is growing daily.**

There are therefore enormous possibilities, and the workers of Morocco are becoming clearly conscious of the fact that they are decisive in numbers and will also be so in strength if they act in unity.

Expressing the wishes of the masses, our comrades in the leadership of the UGSCM are directing their efforts towards the creation of a Moroccan Centre directly affiliated to the WFTU.

This plan meets with enthusiastic approval from the Moroccan workers.

At Azrou, where a new U.S. air base is being built with all modern conveniences for the imperialist forces, there is no provision whatsoever for the Moroccan market, and goods for sale are placed directly on the ground.

THE DEFENCE OF PEACE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTIES

TO carry out succesfully their policy of preparing for war, the French colonialists and American imperialists are seeking to sow confusion in the minds of the people.

Knowing the intensity of the Moroccans' determination to win their national independence, the French colonialists are endeavouring to spread the idea that war would bring liberty to the Moroccan people in return for the services which they could render.... The example of the last two wars, in which Moroccan blood was lavishly spilt, is sufficient exposure of the cynical deceit contained in such a promise.

Until recently, many people thought that although war kills many people and creates poverty, French colonialism kills daily and oppresses the people (which is true) and that war could provide the opportunity of getting rid of colonial oppression. Certain people even sincerely believed that the American imperialists could help the Moroccan people to free themselves. The Moroccan workers are giving less and less credence to this argument as the situation develops, firstly because they know that the French colonialists and the American imperialists are working hand in glove to pillage their country. The workers know that the Americans have an important share in most of the big companies in Morocco. For example, they are fully aware that New York mining trusts own 49% of the shares in the Zellidja mines, that most of the output of the lead and manganese mines goes to the USA, and that American companies intend to grab the Kenifra wolfram deposits. Finally, they know that over the past few years, the Americans have been making huge profits at the expense of the population and that they intend to continue and intensify this exploitation, with backing from a regime which most effectively defends their privileges.

Certainly, there is a conflict of interests between French and American capitalists, but agreement is always reached between them when it is a question of exploiting the workers.

The Moroccans are being subjected to sharpening oppression and they are not unaware that this intensification coincides with the accentuation of preparations for a war desired by the American imperialists and accepted with eagerness by the French colonialists, their Resident General and their Government. They have no illusions in this matter and know quite well that the preparation for war is causing the intensification of repression and that war itself would bring still more savage repression whose effect would be to hold back and compromise their national liberation.

The American imperialists and the French colonialists should make no mistake: the Moroccan people will not fight for the imperialists; they will

The only water supply for the shanty-towns fringing Casablanca is what is brought in old oil drums by donkey power.

not make war on the free peoples to defend the shameful privileges of their own oppressors who, in Korea or Viet Nam, are destroying towns and massacring the populations, who want to live in freedom and independence.

On the contrary, they will fight with all their strength to defend world peace which is the essential condition for winning independence.

"WELFARE AND CIVILISATION"

IN an attempt to "justify" their presence, the French civil and military colonialists talk a great deal about the work of developing the country, which task, according to them, would bring welfare and civilisation.

As far as welfare is concerned, we have briefly examined the conditions in which the Moroccan workers live. We have seen the pay packets of young textile workers in Meknes who work hard for a whole day for an hourly wage of 10 francs! It might be said that this is an infringement of the law fixing the hourly wage at 33 francs 40, which moreover is a ridiculously low figure, but the employers are used to such infringements because they know perfectly well that the Administration is entirely devoted to their interests. They know perfectly well also that the "law" has been placed deliberately in the service of colonialism and that Moroccans are prey to arbitrary methods without any possibility of recourse to justice and are thrown into prison on the most flimsy pretexts. M. Bonnet, Dean of the Order of Barristers, affirmed this in the following terms at the General Assembly of Casablanca layers: "No law Courts, no magistrates, no laws. Defendant's rights are non-existent. Individual freedom is nil. Uncontrollable abuse of authority."

What holds for the workers in the towns is even truer for those in the country-side where, for a wage of 7 to 10 francs per hour, they work from dawn till dusk, under the gangster-like methods of the big European settlers, not benefiting from any holidays or social legislation of any kind.

The "development of the country" brings them nothing but the crushing burden of particularly unjust taxation; the Moroccan people alone bears 94% of the total amount of direct taxes and 84% of indirect taxes, whereas the wealthy are practically not taxed at all.

As for "civilisation", it is typified by the impossibility for Moroccan workers to have their children educated, to give them a profession or to make them technicians because the management posts are in the hands of Europeans, and the Office of Agricultural Education is mostly concerned with training European farmers and not Moroccan agronomists. What a strange civilisation is this, where the word "liberty" signifies nothing and where the word "independence" is grounds for repression.

In actual fact, everything which has been done in Morocco is aimed solely at serving and consolidating the present regime and strengthening colonialist domination.

THE WETU AND ALL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE BEHIND THE MOROCCAN PEOPLE IN ITS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

THIS is why the entire Moroccan people demands the independence of the country. In the fight it is waging for this noble cause, it must feel that it has the understanding and fraternal support of the workers of the whole world.

Its fight forms part of the general struggle waged by all workers for their rights and for peace. Its fight is that of all workers oppressed by the imperialists who are directed on a world scale by the most powerful among them, the American imperialists.

Unity is making great strides forward in the ranks of the Moroccan workers, and action is developing everywhere in spite of increased repression. They know who their true friends are and the confidence they have in our great WFTU is strengthened by the arbitrary measure, inspired by Washington, which was recently taken against it by the French Government, the very Government which so savagely exploits them in their own country.

Alongside all the workers of the world, the Moroccan people, with its well-known fighting spirit, has entered the battle for its liberation. No obstacle, no manoeuvre or repression will henceforth be capable of weakening its determination. It knows that all workers and all democrats throughout the world are wholeheartedly with it.

CORINNE
SNEL

SLUMS and GUNS in the NETHERLANDS

PEOPLE used to say of the Netherlands, this strange country lying partly below sea level, that it was "the only country in the world which was not created by God," they used to add that the Dutch workers themselves had created it through persistent hard work, by building dykes.

This country also had the reputation of being the most hospitable in Europe — a refuge for all who were persecuted in other countries: the Spanish and Portuguese Jews found asylum there, among them, for example, the great philosopher Spinoza's parents. French protestants and free-thinkers, such as Descartes, felt at home in the proud Republic of the Seven Provinces, which was itself born as the result of an 80 years' war against Spanish tyranny and the Inquisition.

But all this was a long time ago, and it is with a feeling of revolt that one recalls this past on entering the country to-day. The frontier railway station is guarded by soldiers who are armed to the teeth, as in war time. Travellers are met by stern-looking customs officers who go through every piece of luggage and by passport officers who examine every passport at least three times (one never knows, the traveller might well be one of those dangerous defenders of peace, with "subversive" ideas); however, an exception is made in the case of Americans. Many active trade unionists, progressive people and Defenders of Peace have been refused entrance or expelled. Only the people who are in no way suspect in the eyes of these strict officials can continue on their journey.

The train rolls on, with fields as flat as a billiard table stretching to right and left. Then it crosses over a bridge which seems to go on for ever — it spans the mouths of the rivers Meuse and Rhine. Then, on the other bank, one reaches Rotterdam, the martyred city, which was bombed in May 1940 by the Hitlerite forces. The centre of the town was razed to the ground — and remains so. More

Sapwood and tarred paper home in Walcheren.

Despite the dilapidated condition of these Amsterdam homes, with their broken

than 10 years after the catastrophe, the heart of the city is no more than an arid plain with, here and there, a few tall buildings which have been recently built: banks and stores. Next to them, the wretched "temporary" shops, built of wood and corrugated iron around 1941, are still standing.

But the train stops for only a few minutes and our journey goes on. The Hague is our next stop — the government seat, a city of ministries and Civil Servants, a city of red tape. The train moves off again. Now we are in the tulip field area. But Holland is no different from other countries, and its tulips bloom only in the Spring. At the moment, they are still asleep under a thick layer of earth. There are a few wind mills, their arms revolving under the impulse of an icy wind, which, however, does not succeed in driving indoors the many Dutchmen skating on the frozen canals. And finally we reach Amsterdam, the end of our journey, the capital which our progressive friends proudly call "the red heart of the Netherlands" on account of its strong labour movement.

Amsterdam is over a thousand years old. Its most "glorious" epoch was in the seventeenth century, the "golden century", when its great fleet used to bring in the wealth of the Indies and the Americas. The prosperity of this town was a terrible "glory", born out of the unlimited exploitation of other peoples, and prolonged in the same way for more than three centuries. To-day, these other peoples, in Indonesia for example, want themselves to get the benefit of the natural wealth of their country and are fighting for their national independence.

THE WORKING CLASS DISTRICTS OF AMSTERDAM

BUT let us have a look at Amsterdam. It is a curious city, incontestably a beautiful one, with its innumerable canals and its private mansions built in the 17th and 18th centuries. The aim of this article is not to conduct the reader on a tour of Rembrandt's house — which has been faithfully preserved — or of the Rijksmuseum (State Museum), which contains many of his paintings as well as those of other famous Dutch or foreign masters. We intend to take the reader with us on a visit to the homes of some Dutch workers, to see how and where they live.

Quite near the station, we enter at once into "Jordaan", a working class district — a series of narrow streets, where two cars could hardly drive side by side, and others where this would be quite impossible; houses leaning to right and left, towards the street or away from it; narrow doors and staircases, small windows through which the sun could not penetrate even if it succeeded in

windows and shored-up walls, their rent was increased along with that of all housing.

infiltrating into the street. On several walls, one can see a placard: "Onbewoonbaar verklaarde woning" — "This house has been declared uninhabitable".

We exclaimed: "But yet it is inhabited, isn't it?"

— "What can I do? I've been looking for a fit home for the last five years. I'm on the priority list, but there's nothing to be found, so we remain here."

It was a mother who said this. She lives in this slum with her husband and three children: one room and a kitchen. She does the best that is humanly possible with their apartment. But one cannot stop the rain — so, there is water running down the walls.

Is this Holland, the country famous for its excellent housing, the country without slums? Could it be that this reputation is as hollow as the one about its hospitality? But this is an old district (we are in the centre of the city), let us go further on, perhaps conditions will be better.

Here we are in the "Old West", an essentially working class and relatively modern district. The streets are straight, and dullness seems to rise from the very paving stones. Let us take any street, they are all nearly identical, our choice does not matter. Here is Borgerstraat, Borger Street. One wonders who dared give the name of a poet to so prosaic and dull a street. All the buildings are well aligned, exactly similar, three-storeys high. Each house has two narrow doors side by side — one for the ground floor and the other for the upper floors. On the top of each house, there is a beam — for use in hoisting up the furniture, for the stairs are too narrow. One wonders seeing all these beams, whether the architect wanted to provide for an outbreak of suicides by hanging. And the paving stones! Anyhow, here at least road-menders do not have to fear unemployment, there is plenty of work for them to do.

Here is number 74. On the ground floor lives a metal worker, who is married and has 6 children, 5 of whom still live with him.

— "The other day, when I had just finished washing my little daughter, part of the ceiling collapsed," says his wife. "My husband just had time to jump aside out of the way."

The house is collapsing, little by little. This is because the topsoil is very soft, solid ground is only to be found at a considerable depth. If the house were properly constructed, it would rest on deep foundations reaching into this solid layer of soil. But these buildings were constructed immediately after the first world war, when there was a housing shortage. The biggest profits went to whoever first put a house on the market. As strong foundations take a long time to build and cost much money, they were neglected to a certain extent, and even to a considerable extent. Of course, the result is that the construction is less strong and less durable, but the building societies were not worried about this. They sold immediately, for a good price, and took the view that the future was someone else's concern.

Three years ago the Labour burgomaster of Koog-on-Zaan stated his Party's policy on hovels like this one: they were to disappear immediately, „this minute", he declared. Labour minutes are very long: the hovels are still there.

In the home we are visiting, almost every window pane is broken and replaced with a piece of cardboard. The remaining window panes are cracked. Between the skirting board and the floor, there is a gap of about an inch; the walls are as damp as a sponge. With all these holes and cracks which one cannot stop up with just anything that is to hand, the house is a rats' paradise.

— "One day the firemen came, they had been told the house was on fire. I had merely lit a fire in the grate, but as the chimney is in a bad state, the smoke came out through the window. So the firemen ordered me not to light a fire again before the chimney was repaired. We did this, and I also had the walls papered, but with all this dampness the paper is coming off. It's disheartening."

On the first floor, the inhabitants have had to replace several window panes with cardboard. New window panes would be useless, since the house is collapsing. On the third floor, there is a 3 yard long crack in one of the walls. Next door, at number 76, on the third floor, the plaster is coming off the walls. On the second floor, the rain leaks in everywhere. On the first floor.... but what is the use of going on? In every home it is the same story.

A commission is looking into these cases. Are the buildings to be repaired, or are they to be declared "unfit"? And if the latter "solution" — which is not a solution — is chosen, where will the people go? In Amsterdam alone, there are 30.000 families living in similar slums, and there are as many again who have no home at all. While waiting until they get a home, they live with parents, friends or in "furnished rooms".

THE TRAGEDY OF THE "FURNISHED ROOMS"

"FURNISHED ROOMS" were an almost unknown phenomenon in the Netherlands before the war. There were single people living in a furnished room in someone's apartment or in a boarding house. But there was no such thing as a whole family living in furnished rooms. To day in Amsterdam there are many such „furnished rooms". For life goes on, young people meet, fall in love and want to get married. Then they look for an apartment, but they can go on looking as long as they like. Money in the Netherlands is not available for the construction of homes, it all goes to the materials which are indispensable for war preparations.

But there are some very helpful people in Amsterdam, who have large houses — often one of those very houses we mentioned which were built during the „golden century" with the money extracted from the exploitation of the colonies. These former private mansions are well-built and they have large rooms. Out of three large rooms one can, with the help of partitions, make for example 6 rooms. And as furniture is expensive and young people will never be able to afford it, the helpful owners are even kind enough to buy the most indispensable items: a bed, a mattress, a few blankets, an old table, a couple of chairs — and there is the room, furnished and ready to welcome its tenants.

In an old street along the banks of the river there is one such building turned into a "furnished room" hotel, with 27 rooms. The smallest, in the attic of this 5-floor house, is "worth" £ 1 ($ 3) per week. There are larger rooms, whose tenants, husband and wife, must work 2 or 3 days out of the week to pay the rent alone. The hotel "manager", for his part, pays the owner £ 3 per week. A couple who lived there was "lucky" enough to find another home: a furnished room (one bed, one table, one chair, clean sheets once a week) measuring 6½ feet by 9, for £ 1.15 ($ 5) per week, that is to say one third of an average wage.

Everywhere in the Netherlands, one can see pretty posters representing a man, a woman and some children, all of them healthy looking. The poster says in bold type: "A healthy family — a healthy nation". What is one to think of the health of the Dutch nation, when one knows that in many "furnished room" hotels, children are not admitted? The most they can hope for is to be allowed to visit their parents on Sundays.

During a recent court case, when an "Action Committee for better housing" sued several owners of such hotels, one of these gentlemen declared in his own defence: "Of course I do not want any children in my hotel. They leave doors open, they wet their beds, they play on the stairs, they are noisy...." How horrible! Children who play, sing and are noisy!....

A physician who is a member of one of these Action Committees, describing cases he was acquainted with, declared at a press conference that many couples living in furnished rooms are compelled to resort to abortion in order to avoid being turned out of one of these hotels where children are prohibited.

The courts have condemned a number of these exploiters of poverty to heavy fines and made them pay considerable sums to their victims for damages. This was a first success for the Action Committees, but unfortunately it does not solve the problem.

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE HEALTH OF THE WORKERS

BEFORE the war, in the Netherlands, there were 8.500 fresh cases of tuberculosis every year. To day, there are 18.000 every year. These figures were published by the Chief Medical Inspector of Public Health.

In this connection there is a story that was told by a woman social worker about a working class family. A young man of 24 was X-rayed, following a bout of flu. It was noted that he had tuberculosis and should be sent to a sanatorium. However, at the sanatorium there was no room for him. So he had to remain at home. A short while later, his father, two brothers and three sisters were in their turn infected. They are now in a sanatorium. The mother is now alone in the home, for the 24 year old son died 2 months after the illness was noted, for lack of care.

There are many tubercular children who, because there is no room in the sanatorium and not enough room in the house, sleep in the same room and often in the same bed with their little brothers and sisters. Underfed as they are, they are an easy prey to tuberculosis. This term „underfed" is correct, strange as it may seem in Holland, the land of butter, milk, cheese and eggs. After an enquiry conducted among 120 school-age children of various social strata, it came out that 60% of these children were anaemic and that their diet was clearly inadequate.

When this Zaandijk housewife saw the notice go up declaring her home uninhabitable, her only answer was ironic laughter: where could she find a habitable home?

SLUMS AND WAR PREPARATIONS

WHO is responsible for this state of affairs? The author of the pretty poster "A healthy family — a healthy nation" is the Catholic Party which is in a coalition government with the Labour Party.

Together they are responsible for the policy of poverty, rising prices, and frozen wages which prevent mothers from giving their children decent food, which compells them to keep their sick children with them together with the others, thus exposing the latter to the risk of infection.

Together, last September, these two parties drew up a budget, 22% of which is to be spent directly on military expenditure — which will in the immediate future be increased by 15% — without counting indirect expenditure on war preparations. Altogether, this makes a total of some 1.000 million florins.

At the present moment, there are in Holland 70.000 slums, and 175.000 homes meant for one family but inhabited by two or more families. 257.000 families have no home at all. The Labour Minister of Housing claims that it would be necessary to build 31.000 homes per year only to meet the increase in the population. A member of parliament refuted this figure, saying that there are 75.000 marriages per year in the Netherlands.

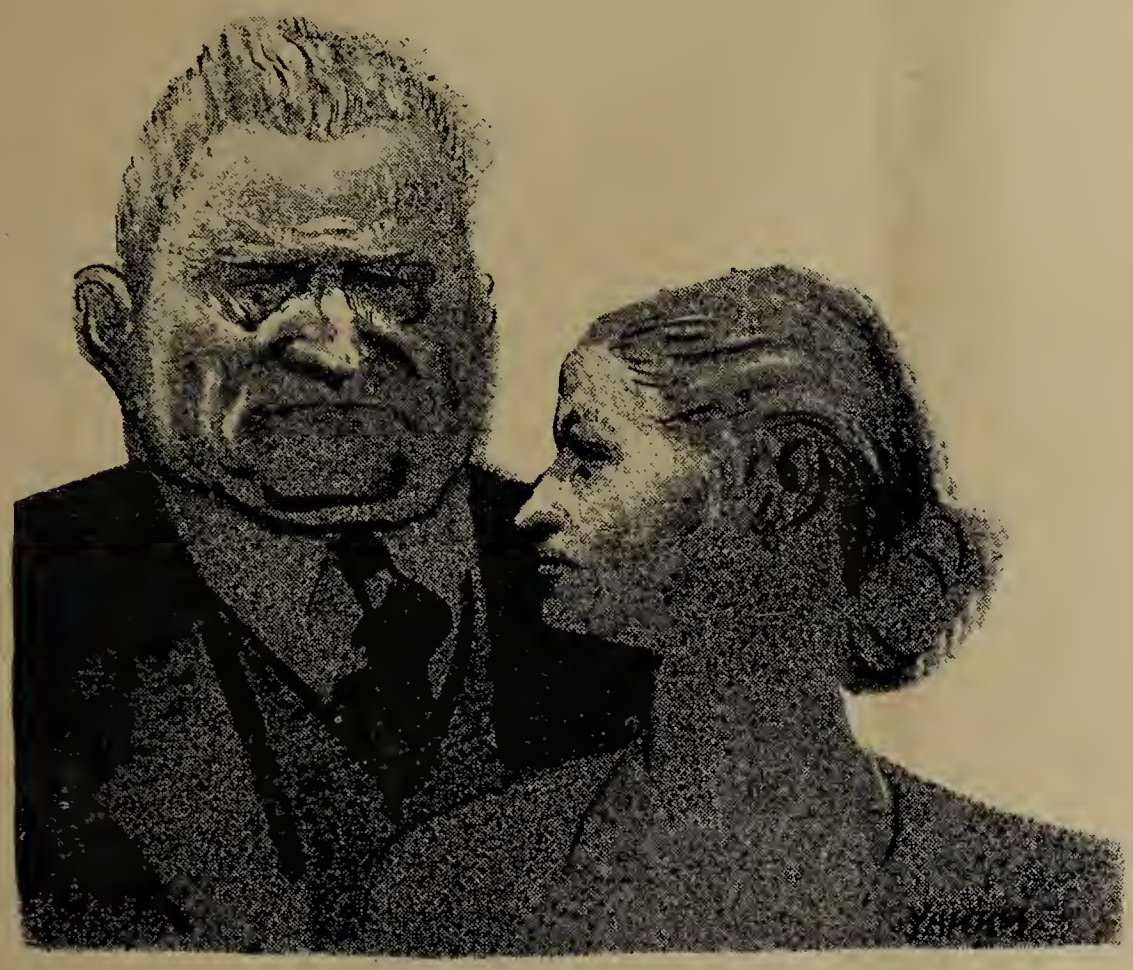
Let us for a moment suppose that the Minister's figures are correct. He reckons that by building 50.000 homes per year, and in three years time perhaps 55.000 per year, the housing crisis would be resolved — in 1964. Yet, in order to reach a production of 55.000 homes per year, it would be necessary to increase the yearly government subsidy for house building by 15.000 florins per home under construction. And this is a burden which is considered to be unbearable for a Treasury which is weighed down by a military expenditure of 1.000 million for one year alone. Between housing and guns, the Netherlands government has chosen guns.

Will the people accept this choice?

Already in June 1950, the E.V.C., the unitarian trade union centre affiliated to the W.F.T.U., organised a special Congress to protest against the increase in rents. Workers of all tendencies took part in this congress and added their protests to those of the progressive trade union organisation. Although this did not prevent the Christian and Labour leaders from voting in Parliament for a 15% increase in rents which came into force on the 1st of January of this year, this united action by the Dutch workers nevertheless compelled them to authorise a 5% wage increase on two occasions during the past year.

By unitedly carrying on their common action, the Dutch workers will be able to enforce a solution both to the housing problem and to many other problems, not in 1964 but well before then. This solution is obviously bound up with the replacement of the ruinous slum and gun policy by a policy of peace and social progress.

The RACKETEER'S DAUGHTER



A CHAPTER FROM "POWER WITHOUT GLORY"

The Banned Novel by

FRANK HARDY

In No. 2 (January 20, 1951) of this Review, we published an article by Wilfred Burchett on the attempt by political racketeers in Australia to gag the author of the novel POWER WITHOUT GLORY which exposes the ramifications of their influence on Australian social life. We are proud to have the honour of reproducing an extract from this novel which will give readers of WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT a chance of seeing for themselves why Australian workers are supporting the big solidarity campaign backing the author, Frank Hardy.

ONE afternoon in the Spring of 1930 John West sat in his office reading the first bound book he had ever purchased. It possessed a quaint title: "The Culture of the Abdomen". It claimed to illustrate how perfect health and long life could be achieved by scientific attention to diet. John West occasionally allowed himself the luxury of reading it in slack moments at the office.

Presently he was interrupted by a gentle knock on the door. The tall, gaunt figure of Frank Lammence entered.

"Miss West would like to see you, Mr. West."

Time hadn't altered Lammence much, although he was slightly stooped and his hair was turning grey. He had worked for John West for nearly 25 years, yet John West scarcely knew him. Lammence was married and had a family, but John West had never seen his wife and children; Lammence sometimes gambled on galloping and trotting, but he never discussed whether he won or lost; Lammence had business interests outside the West empire, but he mentioned them to no one. So reserved and impassive was Lammence's nature that his employer did not even think of suggesting that the term "Mr. West" could be dropped.

"Send her in."

Mary looked as beautiful as ever in a smart grey costume, but her hair was swept severely into a bun at the back, and her expression had become less vivacious, more sombre.

"This letter came in the mail this morning. It seems to be from John. Gran said to bring it in, as it may be important."

"Take a seat," he said pleasantly, intending to begin a conversation more friendly than the rare and cold ones they had had in the past two years.

She sat down and waited while he read the letter.

Mary West had built up a wall of reserve against her father. She gave him no opportunity either to recriminate with her or to become friendly. She attended to her religious duties without interest, kept reasonable hours, and behaved as she believed he expected her to. She was determined that he would never hurt her again.

She studied his face as he read the letter — a face crowned now with close-cropped white hair, and permanently fixed in a scowl. What secrets lay in that long aggressive head, between those two large ears? Was her father as evil as the rumors and legends about him indicated? Had there ever been a time when he had been kind and capable of love? Sometimes she sensed that there had been, and that, at times, perhaps at this very moment, he tried to soften towards her and the world. Suddenly she saw his lips draw into a snarl.

He threw the letter down, drummed the table with his fingers, then picked it up again.

"Is there anything wrong?". she asked.

"No," he said. "You'd better go, I'm very busy."

When she had gone he read the letter again.

Dear Sir,

I wish to inform you that the manner in which you obtained control of the business for which I am now responsible has been brought to my notice by one of your victims.

As I do not wish to continue in the invidious position of perpetuating the theft of a valuable business, I request that I be relieved of my duties as soon as possible.

Yours in disgust,

John West, Junior.

The letter infuriated John West. I'll give him relief, the ungrateful young hound!

Young John had given way and taken over the management of a big catering business in Sydney recently acquired by his father. John had begun his task with an obvious lack of enthusiasm which annoyed his father. What a priceless pair of sons he had raised! Joe just didn't care about anything; his laughing, irresponsible nature made it impossible to do anything with him. Just like his useless Uncle Joe. But John had ability. He had been given a chance that many young fellows would have given their right hand for, but he was pig-headedly refusing to take it. Well, stubborn as he was, he would be made to toe the line! Bad enough, him asking to be allowed to resign every time a man saw him, but this impudent letter was the last straw! So they were 'victims' were they? Like hell!

John West was quite proud of this particular business deal. The two brothers who had conducted the business had become bankrupt when the depression began, and he had taken over their liabilities and given them jobs. Not his fault that they couldn't make the show pay! Not his fault they hadn't had the intelligence to extricate the company from insolvency by a clever political move as he had done!

John West's pride in the finesse he had used made his son's sympathy for the former owners all the more unpalatable. The brothers, who had worked for twenty years to build up the biggest catering business in the Southern Hemisphere, had approached him six months before, and he had agreed to take the business over. Shortly afterwards, by a stroke of luck, a moratorium was being put through the New South Wales Parliament by the new Labor Premier Lane. The Bill was allegedly designed to protect small householders from the banks and the building societies, by postponing payments on houses and farms.

The catering company had two city buildings on which deposits had been paid, but it could not meet the payments from money earned. The buildings could not be sold profitably, because buildings all over the city were half empty and values had fallen steeply.

John West had some influence in Labor circles in Sydney. He approached Lane through an intermediary, and for £ 5.000 the Premier carried an amendment late in an all-night session of Parliament, widening the Bill to include larger buildings. John West was no longer required to meet the interest and instalments on the buildings, and with his son's efficient management the company began to pay. That was a stroke of business genius if ever there was one, yet his own son called it theft!

He rang for the typist and dictated a letter in reply.

Dear Sir,

In reply to yours of yesterday.

You have obviously been misinformed. Your resignation is not accepted.

I will come to Sydney to-morrow to discuss your insolent letter.

John West, Senior.

When the typist went out, he fell to bitter reflection. It seemed that his whole family was determined to defy him. They all seemed to have found means of keeping their distance from

him. Nellie evaded clashing with him, and led a tolerable life. Sometimes, he watched her at the table — she was once again mistress of her house-

child in her bedroom next to his dressing-room. He could not distinguish the words, but could sense joy and friendliness and love — never

crashed through the defence lines of the family she would parry the thrust and seal off the gap.

He sat for some minutes in a

hold. The children and their friends admired her wit and imitations of high society. Again, sometimes, he would listen to her talking to the

sorrow, never fear. Mrs. Moran, full of old age but very much alive, unobtrusively contrived to hold the household together against him. If he

tension of rage. They would see. He had forced Nellie to shoulder her responsibilities, he had cut Margaret off with a shilling, he had made

Mary mend her ways, now the others would see who was boss! John would be made to toe the mark, anyway. The bloody cheek of him!

Never before had his power been so great, but of late he felt frustrated. The depression was deepening. His accountans estimated that he had lost nearly half a million pounds; and his losses would have been more than doubled but for the success of the scheme which the Tariff Bill made possible. Business was bad and it was getting steadily worse! Many of the small traders whom he had financed were seeking further help without much prospect of ever repaying. He had begun to refuse some of them. Request for assistance along Jackson Street and elsewhere were more numerous than ever before. Try as he could to convince himself that all cases were undeserving, he could not blind himself to the deadly poverty that had smitten the land.

From Canberra came a strong rumor that the English banker, Sir Otto Niemeyer, was coming to Australia to enforce economy, especially drastic cuts in Government expenditure on salaries and social services. The sooner he came the better, if he could restore prosperity! Now that Ted Thurgood was out there seemed little hope that the Summers Government would do anything decisive.

The Mulgara scandal did not diminish John West's admiration for Thurgood. On the contrary his admiration was increased by the Treasurer's courage in face of the onslaught. Thurgood had asked him for help in the event of his being brought to trial, and he would get help.

Conscious that his lack of political direction was weakening his power in the Parliaments, John West had determined to study politics. His studies consisted in reading mainly Catholic Truth Society pamphlets and discussing politics and social questions with Archbishop Malone and leading Catholic laymen. His researches led him to become a keen admirer of Mussolini and the Corporate State in Italy. He had taken to saying occasionally: "What Australia needs is a benevolent dictator and Thurgood is the man for the job," but that hope was now dead.

The bankers and the heavy-industry monopolists had greater power over Summers than he had, even though their party occupied the opposition benches; even more powerful still, as far as he could see, were the English bond-holders. They were not losing money, but not all the combined efforts of Frank Lammence, Pat Corry, Dick Lamb and all his managers and accountants could do anything to stop him from losing. The crowds attending race meetings and boxing matches had fallen by nearly half. His political influence availed him little. His control of the Victorian Parliament through Ned Horan, "Artful-Alfie' Davison, Tom Trumbleward and others, and his undisputed sway in some suburban councils, had only the negative value of protecting his empire; he could not use them to extend it.

But they would find out yet that Jack West held the big stick and would use it! He would save Thurgood and have him reinstated in the Cabinet — make him Prime Minister.

ON leaving her father's office, Mary walked to Collins Street, then up the hill towards her favorite coffee lounge. She was wondering what had been the import of John's letter to annoy her father so obviously, when she became aware of a loud, untuneful singing. She was amazed to see a great column of marching people — four abreast — approaching along the intersecting street. Like a huge headless dragon it straggled back as far as the eye could see in the direction of the Trades Hall. A few of the marchers carried red flags or banners, and all the time the mournful defiant singing. She could read two of the banners:

Down with the bag system
Work not charity.

She watched, vaguely excited. As the demonstration reached Collins Street and turned up the hill, two policemen on the corner hesitated, uncertain what to do.

Just then two opulent women came from an exclusive shop and stared aghast at the spectacle.

"Loafers," one of them said to the other. "Loafers being led by the nose by the Communists."

Mary was surprised that she wanted to answer them. She could think of no suitable rejoinder. Instead she moved to the edge of the footpath and stared transfixed in a mixture of fear, excitement and pity. Suddenly, two tatterad figures appeared beside her — a man and a woman.

"This is the demonstration they announced at the unemployed meetin' I was tellin' yer about, Liz," the man said. "A bloke oughtabe in it."

"Oh, I dunno, Ted. They'll be in trouble again. The police attacked them last time. They'd be better to look for work."

"Look for work? How long have I been lookin'? See that banner. They're out to end the bag system. You're against it, ain't yer? Margarine insteada butter, bulk tea, a candle, cheapest brands of everythin'. Six bobs' worth a week. What do they take a man for?"

Just then an enthusiastic marcher called out. "Be in it, mate," and the man dragged the woman after him. "Come on, Liz. We gotta march with 'em."

They ran out and fell in, extending a row to six until the marchers reshuffled to welcome them. The woman walked listlessly as though she were tired, hungry and a little ashamed. The man marched animatedly

and tried to join in the singing, but clearly he did not know the song. Mary noticed that only about half the marchers were singing, and that some of them appeared timid and uncomfortable, as though marching was a new experience. Here and there a mouth-organ tried to assist the singers.

Suddenly the song ended. All was quiet save for the scraping of feet out of step; then the men in front began a new song, which was gradually taken up until Mary could hear it travel back along the seemingly endless columns of people.

She could not follow the words, except the oft-repeated line: *Solidarity forever!* More of the marchers seemed to know this song, and the singing became louder, more menacing.

Here was proof of the atmosphere of tension: the strange, intangible feeling of uneasiness that she had sensed all about her in recent months. So this was the reply of the poor to the indignities heaped upon them.

Unemployment had meant little more than reports in the press to Mary West, until one night, some months before, she had witnessed a scene that filled her with pity and revulsion. With a group of friends she had left an expensive cafe and walked through an arcade on the way to the theatre. Passing a lane at the rear, she saw a dozen or so silent ragged men outside the door of the cafe kitchen waiting around the scrap bins, — waiting, she thought, like Lazarus for the crumbs from the rich man's table. Reluctant to believe the evidence of her own eyes that men had been reduced to this animal state, she took a few steps down the lane. As she did so, the kitchen door opened and a man wearing a white coat came out and emptied a tin of scraps into one of the two big bins on either side of the door. He pretended not to notice the assembled scavengers. In the light of the door she saw in the tin scrap-

ings from the plates of diners: lettuce leaves, fruit peels, part-eaten pieces of meat, and the like, churned into a disgusting mess; and then the men surrounded the bin rummaging for it, jostling each other. Hypnotised by the horror of the scene, she moved closer.

A man at the rear, waiting for a chance to obtain some scraps, turned towards her. She could discern that he wore a cap low over his eyebrows. From under the hat, two terrifying eyes fixed themselves upon her, and a croaking voice said: "What do you want, lookin' here?"

The eyes stared like those of a strangled man. In these eyes lurked humiliation, despair, desperation, perhaps also insanity, and certainly hatred. He hated her because she wore forty pounds' worth of clothes and a hundred pound fur while he wore rags. He did not know her, but he hated her because she was rich and had just eaten a sumptuous meal, and he was poor and was waiting to rummage in a scrap bin.

She turned and ran from the lane just as her escort came back to see where she had disappeared to.

That night she dreamed of the men around the scrap bin, and in a nightmare saw the man with the terrible eyes in an old dirty house feeding little children with disgusting scraps. And all the time his eyes were staring at her.

Since then she had seen and read more evidence of how countless of people had been thrust into the lower depths. She read reports of evictions; of people living in tents, or sleeping in railway carriages in the Flinders Street railway yards; travelling the country on foot or in old vehicles seeking employment; eating meals in a cafe then telling the waiter they had no money — let him put them in jail, or better still, see the Premier, Ned Horan, and ask him to pay. Then there was the report of a man throwing a brick through a shop window, and calmly asking a policeman to put him in jail, because while there he would be fed and the State would care for his wife and child. She had taken to walking to town through Carringbush, to torture herself with scenes of squalor and suffering. The queues at the soup kitchens, the hopeless women, the groups of hungry men, the rickety, shivering children. Houses empty while people slept out of doors, shops empty and factories closed while people were idle, food thrown away while people starved.

And all the time the tension, the vague menace in the uneasy atmosphere. And now the poor were marching, singing songs of revolt!

There was a small percentage of women in the march; like their men folk they wore old clothes. This was like a rag-tag army of despair, but it pleased Mary because hitherto she had been inclined to ask: "Why do they suffer so and remain passive?"

She saw that the march had ended at the top of Collins Street and crowds swarmed around the Treasury Buildings; yet still tattered columns came, silent now but for a hum of conversation and the tramp of feet, watched by dumb crowds lining the footpaths. The electric trams had banked up in Collins Street and their bells clanged without avail.

She began to make her way slowly along the crowded footpath towards the Treasury Buildings. Unable to move quickly enough, she stepped on to the side of the road and ran holding her hat daintily, her skirts swirling around shapely legs.

She reached the outskirts of the crowd, which now extended around the grey, two-storied building on three sides, and was spreading over the Treasury Gardens. There were police everywhere, hundreds of them, but they had not yet attacked the demonstration.

She stood on tip-toe and saw four men who had led the procession ascending the wide stone steps amid cheering.

"Where are they going?" she asked anyone.

"To see Trumbleward, the Chief Secretary," a lean man answered. He looked incongruous in incredibly shabby clothes and a new pair of cheap, white sandshoes.

"What for?"

"To ask for work, not charity, and to stop the bag system."

"Bag system?"

"Yes, bag system," he said, disdainful of her ignorance.

"We want to decide for ourselves what we'll spend our miserable few bob on, not have a bag of cheap groceries thrown at us. Not that seeing Trumbleward will do any good. He turned the police on us last time — only does things for John West and such like. And he calls himself a Labor man!"

Trumbleward. He was one of father's men. He'd come to the house several times. Are all father's men like Trumbleward?

Suddenly her thoughts were interrupted by a scuffle nearby. An angry murmur went up. Mary pushed her way nearer the trouble area. A huge, unkempt individual was abusing a police-man.

"....not so game terday, you flatfoots. Not using yer batons terday. We'll tear you to pieces if you start anythin' terday!"

He was pushing the policeman. Another constable came up behind him and raised his baton to strike. The people in the vicinity were of two minds. Some tried to move towards the scene, others away from it. Just as the upraised baton was about to crash on the big man's skull, a Police-Sergeant pushed through the crowd and knocked it from the constable's grasp.

"Good God, man," Mary heard him shout. "Do you want us all to be kicked to death!"

A diverting shout went up to greet a man who climbed up on to a high window ledge and addressed the crowd which, now that the marchers had all arrived, seemed to Mary to be at least ten thousand strong. The speaker was too far away for Mary to hear any more than isolated phrases:

"....bag system...."

"Unity is strength...."

"....Labor Party has betrayed us...."

The section of the crowd nearest the man cheered.

A man near Mary said: "Communist! Too bloody extreme for my likin'," and an animated argument on politics ensued which, for a while threatened to develop into a brawl.

For nearly an hour Mary West waited for the return of the deputation, but it did not reappear. Slowly the crowd dwindled to half its size. Isolated singing of the same two songs; here and there an argument or a desultory fight; but finally quietness. The crowd, it seemed, had not eaten well enough of late to maintain its fervor for long.

Mary walked slowly away. Her feet were aching cruelly. She was tired, but no longer felt like afternoon tea. As she walked towards the tram stop she noticed that she was trembling. The spectacle had thrown her mind and nerves into chaos.

That evening at the dinner table, she found herself telling what she had seen, explaining the injustice of the bag system, speaking up for the unemployed. Her mother expressed sympathy for "the poor wretches": she had heard that at St. Vincent's Hospital they had given away over a hundred cut lunches daily, but the crowds had become so enormous that they had to stop. But what good could come of making trouble, Nellie West concluded.

John West interrupted Mary's answer. "They have been led on by the Communists. The Reds want revolution. I say: send them all to work! Half of them have been out of work so long that they'll never do another day's work while they can get a free hand-out. Put the Reds in jail, and put the others to work!"

"But, father, you've said yourself that you are employing five hundred less men than you used to. If other employers are doing the same, how can people get work?"

"Wages are too high for employers to employ labor at a profit; wages must be reduced. Not that I want to see wages cut. But we must restore prosperity or the country will go to rack and ruin. Give them any sort of work. Digging holes and filling them in again."

"But, father, they were only asking for a little more dole and...."

"Increase the dole and no one will want to work. Anyway, I won't have this table turned into a forum for communistic talk from my own daughter. What have you got to complain about? You live on the fat of the land. Don't start trying to help the poor. If you do they'll take your last shilling from you, and I know what I'm talking about."

"Oh, father, you are like all rich people. You can't understand why the poor complain," Mary said, emotionally.

Mrs. Moran adroitly turned the conversation to prospects for the forthcoming football season, and John West carried it on, declaring that he had been to a practice game at Carringbush; they had several promising recruits, and were likely to win the premiership.

Mary fell silent, but that night she lay awake for hours pondering the events of the day. Less than a fortnight later, she read in the press that the bag system had been abolished and the dole raised by 2/- per week for a married couple and sixpence for each child. She felt a wave of exultation. She had more or less taken part in the demonstration that had forced the politicians to act.

(Drawings by Yakka. Special for WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT)

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

„War is not inevitable"

We print below the published text of an interview granted by Stalin to a PRAVDA correspondent.

QUESTION: How do you estimate the latest statement of British Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons to the effect that after the end of the war the Soviet Union did not disarm, i.e., did not demobilise its troops and that since then the Soviet Union has been constantly increasing its armed forces?

ANSWER: I estimate this statement of Premier Attlee as a slander against the Soviet Union.

The whole world knows that the Soviet Union demobilised its troops after the war. As is known, demobilisation was carried out in three stages: the first and second stages, in the course of the year 1945; and the third stage, from May to September, 1946. In addition, in 1946 and 1947 demobilisation of the older age groups of the personnel of the Soviet Army was carried out, while at the beginning of 1948 all the remaining older age groups were demobilised.

Such are the facts known to everyone.

If Prime Minister Attlee were well-versed in financial or economic science, he would have understood without difficulty that no State, the Soviet Union included, can develop civilian industry to the full, launch great construction projects like the hydro-electric stations on the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu-Daria, which require tens of thousands of millions in budget expenditure, continue a policy of systematic reduction of prices of consumer goods, likewise requiring tens of thousands of millions in budget expenditure, invest hundreds of thousands of millions in the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the occupying Germans, and, together with this, simultaneously with this, increase its armed forces and develop war industry.

"It is not difficult to understand that so reckless a policy would have led any state to bankruptcy.

"Prime Minister Attlee should know by his own experience as well as by the experience of the United States that the increase of a country's armed forces and an arms race lead to developing war industry, to curtailing civilian industry, to suspending big civilian construction projects, to increased taxation, to a rise in prices for consumer goods.

"It stands to reason that if the Soviet Union is not reducing but on the contrary is expanding its civilian industry, it is not curtailing but on the contrary expanding the construction of new grandiose civilian hydro-electric power stations and irrigation systems, is not stopping but on the contrary continuing the policy of price reduction, it cannot simultaneously with this inflate war industry and increase its armed forces without risking finding itself a state of bankruptcy.

"If despite all these facts and scientific considerations, Prime Minister Attlee considers it nevertheless possible openly to slander the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy, this can only be explained by the fact that by slandering the Soviet Union he thinks it is possible to justify the armaments race in Britain now being carried out by the Labour Government.

"Prime Minister Attlee needs a lie about the Soviet Union, he has to present the peace policy of the Soviet Union as an aggressive one, and the aggressive policy of the British Government as a peaceful one, in order to mislead the British people, foist upon them this lie about the U.S.S.R. and thus embroil them through deception in the new world war which is being organised by the ruling circles of the United States of America.

"Prime Minister Attlee represents himself to be a supporter of peace. However, if he is really in favour of peace, why did he reject the proposal of the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organisation for the immediate conclusion of a peace pact between the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States of America, China and France?

"If he truly stands for peace, why did he reject the proposals of the Soviet Union for an immediate start on the reduction of armaments, for the immediate prohibition of atomic weapons?

"If he is really in favour of peace, why does he persecute the fighters of peace, why did he prohibit the peace congress in Britain? Can a campaign in defence of peace threaten Britain's security?

"It is obvious that Prime Minister Attlee is not in favour of preserving peace, but of unleashing a new aggressive world war."

QUESTION: What is your opinion of the intervention in Korea and how can it end?

ANSWER: If Britain and the United States of America finally reject the peace proposals of the People's Government of China, the war in Korea can only end in the defeat of the interventionists.

QUESTION: Why? Are the American and British generals and officers inferior to the Chinese and Korean?

ANSWER: No, they are not inferior. The American and British generals and officers are not in the least inferior to the generals and officers of any other country. As for the soldiers of the United States and Britain, in the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan they, as is known, showed themselves in their best light. What is the point then? The point is that the soldiers consider the war against Korea and China as unjust, whereas they regarded the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan as fully just. The point is that this war is extremely unpopular among American and British soldiers.

Indeed, it is difficult to convince soldiers that China, which is not threatening either Britain or America and from which the Americans seized the island of Taiwan, is the aggressor, while the United States of America, which seized the island of Taiwan and brought its troops to the very borders of China, is the side which is on the defensive.

"It is difficult to convince the soldiers that the United States of America is entitled to defend its security on the territory of Korea and at the frontiers of China, whereas China and Korea have no right to defend their security of their own territory or at the frontiers of their states. This is the reason why the war is unpopular among the Anglo-American soldiers.

"It stands to reason that the most experienced generals and officers can suffer defeat if the soldiers regard the war imposed upon them as profoundly unjust and if, as a result of this, they perform their duties on the front in a

formal way without faith in the righteousness of their mission and without enthusiasm."

QUESTION: How do you estimate the decision of the United Nations Organisation declaring the Chinese People's Republic an aggressor?

ANSWER: I estimate it as a disgraceful decision.

Indeed, one has to lose the last remnants of conscience to assert that the United States, which has seized Chinese territory — the island of Taiwan — and has invaded Korea right up to the borders of China, is the side defending itself, while the Chinese People's Republic, which is defending its borders and trying to regain the island of Taiwan, seized by the Americans, is the aggressor.

"The United Nations Organisation, created as the bulwark for preserving peace, is being turned into an instrument of war, into a means for unleashing a new world war.

"The aggressive core of the United Nations is represented by the ten member countries of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact (the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland) and 20 Latin-American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela).

"The representatives of these countries now decide the fate of war and peace in the United Nations. It was they who carried in the United Nations the shameful decision on the aggressiveness of the Chinese People's Republic. It is characteristic of the present-day regime in the United Nations that, for instance, the small Dominican Republic in America, whose population hardly amounts to two millions, has the same weight in the United Nations as India and much more weight than the Chinese People's Republic, which is deprived of the right to vote in the United Nations.

"Thus, becoming an instrument of aggressive war, the United Nations Organisation at the same time ceases to be a world organisation of nations enjoying equal rights.

"As a matter of fact, the United Nations Organisation is now not so much a world organisation as an organisation for the Americans, an organisation acting on behalf of the requirements of the American aggressors.

"Not only the United States and Canada are striving to unleash a new war. The same stand has also been taken by twenty Latin-American countries, the landowners and businessmen of which are craving for a new war somewhere in Europe or Asia in order to sell goods to the belligerent countries for excessively high prices and to earn millions from that sanguinary business.

"It is not a secret for anyone that the 20 representatives of 20 Latin-American countries constitute now the most united and obedient army of the United States in the United Nations Organisation.

"The United Nations Organisation is therefore taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations. In this way it is burying its moral authority and dooming itself to disintegration."

QUESTION: Do you consider a new world war inevitable?

ANSWER: No. At least at the present time it cannot be regarded as inevitable.

Of course, in the United States of America, in Britain, as well as in France, there are aggressive forces thirsting for a new war. They need war in order to obtain super-profits, to rob other countries. These are the billionaires and millionaires who consider war as a lucrative affair yielding colossal profits.

They, these aggressive forces, hold in their hands reactionary governments and direct them. But at the same time they are afraid of their peoples, who do not want another war and stand for the preservation of peace. This is the reason why they seek to utilise reactionary governments in order to enmesh their peoples in a net of lies, to deceive them and to present the new war as a defensive one and the peace policy of the peace-loving countries as an aggressive one. They seek to deceive their peoples in order to foist upon them their aggressive plans and draw them into another war.

It is for this reason that they fear the campaign in defence of peace, being apprehensive that it may expose the aggressive intentions of the reactionary governments. It is precisely for this reason that they turned down the Soviet Union's proposals for the conclusion of a pact of peace, reduction of armaments, prohibition of the atomic weapons fearing that the adoption of these proposals would undermine the aggressive measures of the reactionary governments and make the armaments drive unnecessary.

What will be the end of this struggle of the aggressive and peace-loving forces?

"Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and will defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new World War.

"That is why the wide campaign for the maintenance of peace as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of paramount importance.

"As for the Soviet Union, it will continue in the future as well unswervingly to pursue a policy of preventing war and maintaining peace."

Pravda (Moscow) 16.2.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Credulous Arthur

Even the reactionary press has been forced to reject the British labour bosses' latest „Red Scare" as being too clumsy and too obviously faked to do anything but hold its sponsors up to ridicule — as the following comment shows.

„Communists are making great capital out of a document headed "Agents Provocateurs" issued last week by Mr. Arthur Deakin, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and Mr. Tom Yates, secretary of the National Union of Seamen.

"It was said to have been given to British seamen in Mediterranean ports and to have come from Cominform circles. It purports to give instructions to Communist "agents" (a word which the Communists never apply to themselves) on how to "release" ships' crews from "capitalist authority".

"Experts on the Communist Party, familiar with its thought and jargon, and accustomed to interpreting Cominform documents, believe that the two leaders have been misled into accepting a fake....

"An obvious point upon which the Communists have seized is the instruction to damage "various mechanical appliances" which are listed as "ice boxes, toasting machines and coffee pots"....

The Observer (London) II.2.51

The choice facing British Labour

"This rearmament of Europe is for the purpose of waging an aggressive war by American imperialism against the forces of peace and human welfare.

"On this, there can be no doubt whatever and the sooner it is said the better.

"All this propaganda that Russia is going to make an offensive on Western Europe is nothing but bare-faced, shameless falsehood."

The only end to the policy of Western German rearmament is "the restoration to power of the Nazi war criminals, all done in the blessed name of democracy" — and Labour must make up its mind that it is no longer going to be subservient to the reactionaries of the United States."

J. B. Figgins, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, writing in the "Railway Review", 9.2.51.

U. S. A.

„Halt refashioning of Nazi Frankenstein": American Union Leaders

Trade union leaders in ten industries yesterday called the city's union members to a mass protest conference February 8 to halt the refashioning of the "Frankenstein of a Nazi army before it turns on us as upon all humankind."

Forty-one union leaders declared the "rearming of Germany is a deliberate provocation of another World War. For over a century, German rearmament has brought on war, death

and devastation — to Americans as to all peoples."

They asked "shall the same ghastly mistake be repeated again this time in the age of the atom bomb?"

Scoring the Administration's efforts to rebuild the Nazi army in violation of all pledges made to the American people, the trade unionists called instead for „immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union, Britain and France for the disarmament of Germany, and for the creation of a democratic, peaceful and united Germany."

They protested the European trip of General Eisenhower, "who helped to smash Nazi power and is now dining with Nazi generals and planning their return to power."

The 41 trade union leaders declared "an attempt is under way to make men forget the barbaric crimes perpetrated by the Nazis against mankind. But the truth cannot be so easily erased.

"The gas vans are the truth. The human guinea pigs are the truth. Six million Jewish dead is the truth. The pillage and rape of Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland and the Soviet Union is the truth.

"Yet Americans are to believe that the salvation of democracy and civilisation is to be achieved by putting guns into the hands of war criminals and mass murderers. Americans are to accept as allies and comrades in arms those who killed youth on the beaches of Normandy, in the battle of the Bulge, in the massacre at Malmedy.

"What a betrayal of those who gave their lives to rid the world of Nazism."

Calling all union members to the February 8 mass protest meeting were union leaders in the fur, clothing, furniture, shoe, electrical, maritime, ladies garment, and distributive industries.

New York *Daily Worker*, 24.1.51

CHINA

Japanese People Refuse to Serve as Cannon Fodder

"The work of the notorious warmonger Dulles during his stay of more than two weeks in Japan has clearly revealed to the world that the American imperialists are determined to prop up the Japanese militarists for their aggression in Asia. According to press reports, the agreement reached between Dulles, MacArthur and the Yoshida regime was to turn Japan into America's military base and to make the Japanese people serve as cannon fodder in America's war of aggression.

"But, in carrying out their war schemes, the American imperialists are confronted by many serious difficulties. In the first place, the masses of the Japanese people firmly oppose the aggressive plots of the American and Japanese reactionaries. They demand peace and oppose war. They hate to be America's cannon fodder.

"The movement demanding an overall peace treaty and opposing rearmament is spreading all over Japan. The growing strength of the Japanese people after the Second World War is the most serious obstacle standing in the way of the American and Japanese reactionaries.

"There are also difficulties for the Japanese ruling circles on the problem of rearmament. Japan's strength has been greatly weakened and cannot support a large-scale rearmament programme. The critical economic situation in Japan today is the outcome of the colonial policy of the United States.

"More important is the fact that the peoples of China, the Soviet Union and other peoples in the East will never allow the United States to rearm Japan and undermine the peace of the Far East."

People's Daily (Peking) 19.2.51

PAKISTAN

Atrocities in Korea

"The horrible atrocities being inflicted on the Korean people by the local allies of the forces fighting under the U.N. flag, and by some of these troops, call for the severest condemnation by every civilised human being.

"Aping Japanese and Hitlerite methods, the regime of Syngman Rhee had maintained itself in power through a policy of bestial terrorism. But the peacetime activities of the Japanese-trained S. Korean Police can be dismissed as minor excesses when compared to the campaign of murder, torture and loot unleashed by the S. Korean authorities with the outbreak of the civil war. Prisoners of war have been tortured and shot, thousands of political suspects have been murdered without interrogation or trial, whole villages have been burnt, and even women and children have not escaped the blood-lust of Dr. Rhee's army and police, and a host of semi-official organisations.

"The soul-searing crimes have invariably been connived at, if not actually aided and abetted, by the American troops, while on certain occasions they themselves have been proved guilty of such unpardonable practices as maltreating prisoners and shooting civilians.

"The eye-witness accounts and pictures of these gruesome incidents in Korea have been sent out mostly by Western newspapermen, who cannot be suspected of exaggeration or of sympathy for the N. Koreans, and have generally been accepted as authentic. It should also be remembered that the earlier charges alleging that the N. Korean troops had been guilty of similar acts were never properly substantiated, nor have they been repeated, while the accounts given by released American prisoners tend to refute these charges.

"The current retreat of General MacArthur's armies is, once again accompanied by mass murder and rapine. A number of British officers, roused by the inhuman and foul deeds of Dr. Rhee's gangsters, have not only protested to the U.N. authorities, but have also successfully intervened to save the lives of innocent men and women from the blood-thirsty maniacs who are supposed to symbolise the cause of democracy in Korea. While such honourable conduct by individual commanders or soldiers deserves praise, it cannot help very much to change the overall situation.

"The U.N. Commander has shown no inclination towards preventing the gross sins against humanity that are being committed daily in the name of democracy and Christian civilisation.

"The censorship blanket recently imposed by General MacArthur, ostensibly for security reasons, will probably prevent reports of further atrocities in Korea from reaching the outside world. However, enough reliable evidence has been made available to support the demand that immediate action should be taken against those who, directly or indirectly, are responsible for the perpetration of these shameful crimes.

"It should be remembered that the regime of brutal terror has not been confined to S. Korea and that it was deliberately allowed to cross the 38th Parallel into an area which was supposed to be directly administered by the U.N. Command.

"Since the Pakistan Government lent its moral support to the American war in Korea, a part of the responsibility for what is happening there devolves on Pakistan. If our representatives at the U.N. cannot secure the prompt arrest of the guilty persons and their trial as criminals, and the dismissal of those who have tolerated these crimes, the Pakistan Government should dissociate itself from the American venture in Korea and withdraw its approval of the U.N. resolutions that sanctioned foreign intervention in the Korean civil war."

The Pakistan Times (Lahore), 22.12.50

FRANCE

Open Letter to All Journalists

Under the above title, Jean-Maurice Hermann, President of the International Organisation of Journalists, writes:

"In a period of international tension like the present one, we have enormous responsibilities. A spark can set fire to the universe, a moment of panic can unleash the irreparable.

"More than ever, therefore, we must weigh our words, carefully verify our information, avoid anything that divides and exasperates, insist on the things that reassure and bring people together. Let us not play with fear in order to achieve a financial success, let us not peddle accusations of propaganda, let us keep constantly in mind the need to avoid anything that could precipitate a war whose horror would certainly exceed everything imagined in the "papers" of our best specialists....

"....watch your pen, always keep

in mind the need to weigh what you write and to imagine the effect that it can have on a reader less well informed than yourself. In a friendly way, make your comrades understand our heavy responsibility, the perception of which is dulled by professional habit. You will then realize that only a very few of us carry on, deliberately or blindly, damaging work...

"Continue to cut out and keep articles inciting to war, false reports, deforming and tendacious headlines designed to frighten the public.... Then, once again, we will confront the authors with their work and will appeal to their conscience. If they persist, it will remain for us to denounce them to public opinion to put it on guard and allow it to judge them."

Les Journalistes et la Paix
(Bulletin of the French National Trade Union of Journalists, C.G.T.),
February, 1950

GREAT BRITAIN

British Imperialism in Negeria

"Britsh imperialism is a brutal reality, meaning lingering death for countless colonial millions, as today's "Report of Nigerian Livestock Mission" shows.

"For almost one hundred years Nigeria has been a British Colony.

"And what is the result?

"The large majority of Nigerians", says the report, "suffer to a greater or lesser degree from undernutrition."

"Due to a lack of animal products, fats and proteins, half the children are dead before they reach the age of six. One in five die in their first year.

"Thirteen percent of children under three admitted to hospital die from malnutrition, the fancy word for starvation.

"There is British imperialism in all its glory. British colonial rule has impoverished the people and slaughters the children.

"They are sacrificed for the profits of the United Africa Company and Cadbury's, wrung out of the labour of the people in cocoa, ground nuts and palm oil.

"Agriculture has been disrupted for imperialist interests. In the last decade alone, admits the Report, these so-called cash crops have been developed to such an extent "that soil fertility has been endangered, the economic risks of the farm increased, and the proper feeding of the Nigerian peoples prejudiced."

"And even these frightening figures would never have seen the light of day in this Report had it not been for the fact that the Labour Government sent this mission to starving Nigeria to investigate the possibility of obtaining meat for Britain."

Daily Worker (London) 9.2.51

U.S.A.

„Negotiate While the Youth are Still Alive!"

The following excerpts are from a letter written by Mr. Herbert Pell, a former Congressman, who at various times served as chairman of the Democratic Party of New York State, as Minister to Portugal and as the American member of the U.N. Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.

"Today, does any sane person believe that a conflict with Russia will mean anything but mutual destruction and ruin? Do we hope to overrun Russia as Germany was overrun and occupy it as Germany was occupied, and then build it again, as we are doing in Germany and Japan, into something very like what it was before? What do we plan to do with a victory?

"It is manifest that a war with Russia will end in a collapse of common exhaustion. The representatives of a shattered Russia will meet the emissaries of a worn and exhausted United States and devise a means by which both can survive without continuing mutual slaughter and destruction....

"I do not know how it is in Russia, but in the United States today every person who dares to express the obvious fact that compromise is better than the best conceivable result of any possible war — which is the real belief of thinking Americans — finds himself attacked and stabbed on all sides by men sitting safely in public office, who know very well that come what may they will be safe from any enemy.

"Here, there and everywhere you hear them shouting against compromise, calling the world to witness that their only desire is to shoulder a musket and face the wicked foe. It is only the superior quality of their patriotism that prevents them from selfishly indulging this wish. They must for the good of the nation remain in public office while they cheer on the envied heroes....

"Such words do not come from the mouths of heroes or of patriots, but from the lips of self-seeking politicians hoping to ride into office on a wave of excitement that will conceal their own shortcomings. I have been in politics for 40 years. I was a member of Congress ten years before the oldest soldier drafted was born, and I know.

"Most of the political shouters think they are backing a winning horse — that's all. Twenty-five years ago thousands of American politicians attacked the Catholics to get the Klan vote. Today they follow McCarthy. Twenty years ago they said as they drank their bootleg liquor, "There's one more election in Prohibition". Today, safe behind desks, they think that war and hatred will keep their snouts in the public trough in 1952. It's as simple as that....

"Why not negotiate now, while the young men are still alive?"

Fur & Leather Worker (New York. Organ of the International Fur & Leather Workers Union of United States and Canada). January-February 1951.
(Reprinted from the *New York Times*, 14.1.51).

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

February 16

USSR. — In an interview with a PRAVDA correspondent, Stalin points out the contrast between the building for peace going on in the Soviet Union and the mobilisation for war taking place in Britain and the USA. He declares that the United Nations „is being turned into an instrument of war," and that by „taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations" it is „dooming itself to disintegration."

Stalin stresses that a third world war cannot at the present time be considered inevitable, adding: „Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and will defend it to the end."

USA. — Wool and worsted-mill centres of the USA are crippled by a strike of 70.000 workers, in the first industry-wide walkout in the II-year history of the Textile Workers Union of America. The walkout followed a breakdown of negotiations between the union and the American Woolen Company.

ITALY. — It is revealed that the US has told the Italian government it is willing to provide up to $ 375.000.000 to help finance a large-scale arms production programme in the next 18 months. This figures does not include the cost of providing finished American weapons to Italien armed forces.

SWITZERLAND. — The League of Red Cross Societies reveals that British, Canadian and Danish Red Cross Societies have protested against a ban by MacArthur's headquarters on wearing Red Cross insignia in Korea — a ban obviously imposed to prevent Red Cross representatives from circulating freely and seeing more than MacArthur would like them to see.

USA.— The United Labor Policy Committee, representing the CIO, AF of L, and the railroad unions, is forced by mass pressure to protest against a new wages formula which already had prompted a walk-out of labor members from the Wage Stabilization Board. The formula would limit wage increases to 10 percent above January 15, 1951, levels, and would stand until July I.

MALAYA. — Jenderam, a town in Selangor State, disappears from the map. The population of 1.500 is carried off to concentration camps, all but the few prossessions they could carry are auctioned or destroyed, and the town is wiped out by the RAF. It was suspected of giving aid and comfort to guerilla fighters.

A *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent states: dent states: „Jenderam is the biggest settlement so far eliminated in a campaign to 'resettle' 300.000 people in Malaya."

SPAIN. — The Export Import Bank announces that the United States has made a 12.2 million dollar loan to Franco, at the same time assuring the export of this amount of American goods to Spain. The credits of the Marshall Plan funds include 5 million dollars for cotton, 3.5 million for fertilisers, 3 million for tractors and parts, 700.000 for equipment for a nitrogenous fertiliser factory.

February 18

GREAT BRTIAN. — Representatives of a quarter of a million Welsh people, attending the first All-Wales Peace Conference, carry unanimously a resolution calling on the common peoples of all nations and States to build up in the world an irresistible will to peace, and demanding: a Big Five meeting; a ban on atomic weapons; one-third reduction of armaments by each country; outlawing of war propaganda as a crime against humanity; abolition of conscription.

SUDAN. — At the call of their Trade Union Federation, the workers of the Sudan launch a total strike for their wage demands.

February 19

GREAT BRITAIN. — While conversations take place between the Railway Executive and representatives of the three rail worker's unions, a number of railmen's trade union branches decide to take action for their wage demands, either by hiccup strikes or weekend strikes. 3.000 are already on strike in Manchester. The National Union of Railwaymen are demanding a 10 percent wage increase, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen 15 percent, and the Railway Clerks' Association 7.5 percent. A Court of Enquiry had recommended wage increases of about 5 percent.

USSR. — After dilly-dallying since November 3, date when the USSR first proposed a four-power conference to discuss the remilitarisation of Germany, France, Great Britain and the USA deliver their replies to the Soviet proposals. They suggest that a preliminary meetinig of the deputies om the Mi-

nisters of Foreign Affairs be held in Paris on March 5, and attempt to befog the real issue by insisting that this meeting should draw up an agenda including not only the German problem but also "European rearmament" in general and a treaty of independence for Austria.

GREECE. — The reactionary British *"Daily Mail"* publishes an interview with the Greek prime minister Venizelos in which he declares that Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia "must be ready not only to defend their territory but also to attack", calls for the admission of Greece to the Atlantic Pact, and for the conclusion of a close alliance between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey in the form of a military alliance under General Eisenhower's Atlantic command.

BELGIUM. — 2.000 Metal workers of Ghent launch a strike movement demanding a 5 percent wage increase.

NEW ZEALAND. — The dockers launch a nation-wide strike, following the breakdown of talks on their demand for an increase in the hourly wage rates from 4/3 d. to 6 s. an hour.

USA. — The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen enters a plea of guilty to charges of civil and criminal contempt of court, arising out of recent rail strikes, and is fined a total of $ 75.000. The judge presiding over the US District Court remarks that a plea of guilty by a labour union on a charge such as this is unprecedented.

TUNISIA. — Miners of Moulares go on 24-hour strike for a wage increase. Miners of Safi and Sidi Youssef also strike for 24 hours — in 100 percent unity — to demand the reemployment of workers fired, and the maintenance in their jobs of displaced workers and employees.

INDONESIA. — All strikes in essential industries are banned by the Indonesian Government. Disputes in non-essential enterprises must be submitted to government bureaus for mediation. The trade union movement organises vigorous opposition to this attempt to curb the widespread strike movement caused by the rapidly rising cost of living.

February 20

INDIA. — Parliament extends for another year the Indian Government's infamous "preventive detention" act, whose avowed purpose is to jail without trial Communists or people "suspected" of "Communism," and which has served to jail thousands of militant trade unionists.

— Almost 6.000 tons of rice, the first rice delivery that India has received from China, arrive at Calcutta from Port Dairen. This is the first installment of 50.000 tons of rice that China will deliver to India.

GERMANY. — Representatives of more than 55.000 Stuttgart metal workers demand a West German plebiscite on the question of remilitarisation and of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany this year.

GREAT BRITAIN. — 20.000 dockers strike in support of their seven comrades due to appear in court charged with "conspiring to incite" an "illegal strike." The seven are again remanded for a week.

February 21

BERLIN. — The World Peace Council begins its first meeting since the Second World Peace Congress. Pietro Nenni declares: "By its coherent and consistent struggle, the World Peace Council will win the confidence of the peoples to the same extent that UNO is losing it, and will guarantee its supreme task: the consolidation of peace and the pushing away of the spectre of a third world war."

USA. — 22.000 miners of Fairmont (Virginia) down tools in protest against measures taken to increase production to the detriment of safety precautions.

JAPAN. — The great miners' strike continues to spread, with more than half of the miners of Japan now on strike.

SWEDEN. — Having won satisfaction for their wage demands, the dockers return to work after 8 days on strike.

GERMANY. — Also after an 8-day strike, workers in the metallurgical and auto industries of Bremen win a wage increase of 16 pfennings an hour.

INDONESIA. — Several thousand democratic youths celebrate the world youth Day of Struggle against Colonialism by demonstrating in Djakarta, condemning imperialist aggression in Asia, and demanding cancellation of the so-called "round table" agreement with Holland.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Labour government makes public a new "suppression of peace" Bill which it hopes to rush through the Commons in the exceptional time of two days. Titled the "Reserve and Auxiliary Forces (Training) Bill" it would permit the arrest of anyone carrying on public work for peace, and is a proof of the government's fear of growing opposition to its calling up of army reservists.

February 22

UNITED NATIONS. — At the Economic and Social Council of the UNO, meeting in Santiago, Chile, the Polish delegate presents a motion of the WFTU asking that the Council request the French Government to annul the measures taken against the World Federation. The question is referred to the commission for non-governmental organisations, where by four votes to one, Chiang Kai Shek's representative — supported by the USA, Great Britain and Peru — rejects the motion.

GERMANY. — Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic, speaking to the workers of the Berlin-Schoeneweide electrical transformer factories, outlines a programme of action for peace and stresses the need to strengthen the struggle of the German people for a single "peaceful, independent and democratic" German Republic. He declares that the German people will find a means of presenting their demands to the four-power conference in Paris, with the aim of obtaining a peace treaty in 1951.

NEW ZEALAND. — In an "ultimatum" backed by wide powers under the Government's declaration of a

State of Emergency, the Labour Minister orders dockers to end their nation-wide strike by February 26, failing which he threatens action against the watersiders' union or any officer or member of it.

USA. — The Civil Rights Congress warns that only 25 days remain to save Willie McGee — condemned to death on a framed charge of rape — from legal lynching at the hands of American racists, and urges that letters and telegrams be sent to President Truman and Governor Fielding Wright, Jackson, Mississippi, urging a stay of execution and full freedom for the Negro truck driver. It asks that copies of such resolutions be sent to the CRC at 23 West 26th Street, New York, NY.

February 23

MALAYA. — Following the forcible uprooting of scores of thousands of Malayan peasants, General Sir Harold Briggs, Director of the Malayan War. orders his police to "move" mine and rubber estate workers te special "residential areas" by May I. More than 300.000 are expected to be affected.

BELGIUM. — Antoine Schroeder, Secretary of the Miner's Trade Unions International, and Henri Turrel, its General Secretary, are expelled from Belgium as "dangerous to the security of the country." The Belgian Government thus shows that it fears the rising working class movement and that, like the French Government, it obeys the orders of the American monopolists.

AUSTRALIA. — Prime Minister Menzies announces that the Cabinet has decided to take further legal proceedings against the three miners' leaders acquitted by an Arbitration Court on government-laid charges of contempt, arising out of the Union's decision not to work Monday until the unfavorable wage reward is rescinded. It is admitted that the Statutes are being searched for a law providing new grounds for prosecution.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Six hours before 500.000 British railmen were due to go on strike, the government and the management of the nationalised railroads are forced by the railmen's determined stand to make concessions, including a wage increase of 7½ percent, retrospective to January!

CHILE. — A 24-hour general strike takes place throughout the country. The workers call on the government to freeze prices and to fix the minimum monthly wage at 5.000 pesos (34.000 francs).

BERLIN. — Kuo Mo Jo, Vice-President of the World Peace Council, speaking in the name of the Chinese people, calls on the Council to propose to the governments of the Chinese People's Republic, the USSR, the USA and Great Britain a conference to discuss the rapid conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan in which all the allies would participate, in conformity with the Cairo declaration, the Potsdam agreements and the Yalta convention.

GERMANY. — An action committee of French and German workers calls for a European working class conference against the remilitarisation of Germany, to be held in Berlin from March 23 to 25 inclusive. They ask the national trade union centres and the three international trade union organisations to send representatives to this conference.

February 24

WEST GERMANY. — Three more German war criminals, convicted of committing atrocities in the Flossenburg concentration camp and sentenced, one to a life term, and the others to 20 years imprisonment, are freed by the Americans from the war crimes prison at Landsberg. Their release brings to 46 the number of war criminals freed since January I.

MOROCCO. — The Sultan of Morocco dissolves his cabinet, in partial capitulation to the demands of the French Resident-General, General Juin. But the French Government considers the cabinet breakup insufficient, and merely a first step towards suppressing the nationalist movement in Morocco.

USSR. — In a note to Great Britain, the Soviet Government accuses the British Government of renouncing "all efforts to cooperate," but refers to the British people's desire for peace and declares itself "ready to receive favorably" any sincere initiative tending to improve relations between the two countries. The note points out that Soviet armed forces are now at the same strength as in 1939 before the outbreak of war, whereas the combined forces of Britain, the US and France total more than 5.000.000, more than double those of the USSR, and are growing steadily.

February 25

BERLIN. — The World Peace Council votes unanimously the following resolution:

"To fulfil the hopes cherished by millions of people throughout the world, whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of a world war; to strengthen peace and safeguard international security;

"We demand the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the Five Great Powers, the United States of America, the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France;

"We would consider a refusal to meet to conclude such a pact by the government of any of the great powers, whichever it might be, as evidence of aggressive designs on the part of the government in question;

"We call upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for this Pact of Peace, which should be open to all countries;

"We set our names to this appeal and we invite all men and women of good will, all organisations that hope for peace, to add their names to its support."

February 26

BERLIN. — At its concluding session the World Peace Council passes unanimously a number of important resolutions, including calls for a campaign for a peace treaty with a peaceful, united, disarmed Germany, and for a peoples' referendum in Japan and other countries concerned on the question of concluding a peace treaty with a demilitarised and peaceful Japan.

The Council declares that the growing opposition of the colonial and dependent peoples to oppression, racial discrimination and integration of their countries in aggressive pacts, is an essential contribution to the maintenance of peace.

It approves proposals for organising as soon as possible several international conferences, including: In France or Belgium, a conference against German rearmament; probably in India, a conference against Japanese rearmament; in the USSR, a conference for the establishment of economic exchanges between countries and thc improving of the peoples' standard of living.

MOROCCO. — It is officially announced in Rabat that a „protocol of agreement" has been signed between Genenal Juin and the Sultan, in which the latter capitulates completely to the French authorities' demands, including repudiation of the nationalist movement in Morocco. The French Resident-General had used all means of pressure, including the raising by his agents of thousands of mounted tribesmen who marched on Rabat and on Fez.

FRANCE. — A 24-hour subway and bus strike called jointly by the CGT, the breakaway FO, and the CFTC (Christian Workers Union) to back the workers' demands for an immediate 6.000 francs monthly wage increase, is a complete success. The workers resist all attempts by agents of the employer-state to split their united action.

CHINA. — It is announced that a team to investigate British persecutioin of the overseas Chinese population in Malaya is being jointly organised by the Red Cross Society of China and the Chinese People's Relief Administration.

February 27

GREAT BRITAIN. — The London dockers again strike in support of their leaders, appearing in court.

NEW ZEALAND. — Troops start unloading the 150 ships "frozen" by the dockers' strike.

February 28

NEW ZEALAND. — The Government withdraws registration of the Waterside Workers Union and invites the formation of a scab union by declaring: "The way is open for registration of a new union."

AUSTRALIA. — The Minister for Labour announces the government will introduce Emergency Legislation in an attempt to end the weekly one-day stoppage in the coal mines. He also issues an ulimatum to the Waterside Workers Federation, declaring if it does not lift its ban on overtime by March 4, the government will proclaim a state of emergency.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Rank-and-file pressure forces the General Council of the TUC to decide to urge the government to rescind Order 1305, the anti-strike law under which leaders of recent strikes have been prosecuted.

USA. — The Senate Crime Investigating Committee estimates "conservatively" that $ 20.000.000.000 changes hands every year in the United States as a result of organised illegal gambling, and adds that millions of dollars of this total are paid out to police and officials as protection money.

FRANCE. — The French Government falls, torn apart by internal rivalries and by the people's opposition to its policy of war and poverty. Although the reactionary majority agreed on the need to scrap the rights of universal suffrage, it foundered while trying to choose a new electoral system which would deprive the working class and progressive parties of representatives in Parliament, while allotting the seats thus vacated to reactionary groups.

MOROCCO. — Five members of the management committee of Istiqlal, including Mohamed Lyazidi, assistant general. secretary, are arrested.

CHILE. — 17.000 miners of the Lirquen pits strike for wage increases.

USSR. — Moscow Radio announces to the Soviet people big new price cuts — the fourth general lowering of prices in the Soviet Union since the end of the war, while wages have continued to rise. The new cuts range between 10 percent and 22 percent, including 15 percent off for bread, meat, butter and cheese. They cover a multitude of foodstuffs and other articles, all the way from tobacco and perfume to bicycles, radio and sewing machines.

USA. — The United Labour Policy Committee, representing the AF of L, the CIO and the railway unions, is forced by rank-and-file pressure to withdraw its members from all the Administration's "defence" mobilisation agencies. It describes the mobilisation programme as being dominated by big business, and the new price ruling applying "margin" ceilings as "legalised robbery," with price control impossible to enforce under present conditions.

SANTIAGO (Chile). — The Anglo-American majority of the Economic and Social Council defers discussion of the WFTU's statement on violations of trade union rights in capitalist countries, refuses to discuss a Czechoslovak resolution putting forward the main proposals of the WFTU for the defence of trade union rights, and steam-rolls through a Belgian-Swedish resolution containing slanderous statements, concocted by the Scab International, about trade union rights in the USSR and the people's democracies, and proposing that all statements about violations of trade union rights be referred to the International Labour Organisation.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — MARCH 20, 1951 — No. 6

The W.F.T.U. calls on all trade union organizations, on all workers, men and women, to coordinate their ranks, to strengthen their combative unity for the better defense of their economic and social rights, for the defense of their trade union organizations. This unity is more necessary than ever, it is the most powerful weapon in the working class's and the people's hands for combating the plans of the warmongers, for barring the road of aggression and of the instigators who want to subject the peoples and to establish their world domination.

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WORLD
TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT

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of TRADE UNIONS

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THE ROAD TO VICTORY

THE WORKERS DEVELOP UNITED ACTION

DURING this first quarter of 1951, the actions of the workers throughout the world in support of their demands have been many and varied. Indeed, when we consider the actions the working people have undertaken in their fight against the greed of their exploiters, who have in recent years arrogantly intensified the social injustice of capitalism, the list is an impressive one.

Since the end of 1950, moreover, the workers' social struggle has reached higher levels. Throughout the capitalist and colonial countries, working men and women are taking collective action against the fall in their living standards, against poverty and the backbreaking burden of taxes, all resulting from the policy of preparing for war. This policy also means an unlimited rise in the profits of the capitalist monopolies. The workers know this, and for them it gives additional justification for directing their economic struggles along the most correct political lines, that is: the fight for general disarmament and for a peace pact between the USSR, the USA, People's China, Great Britain and France — in other words, the policy for which the World Peace Council opportunely asks their support.

All these economic actions of the workers require serious attention and study, because they provide two particularly important lessons.

First of all, these struggles illustrate the methods adopted by the working class, showing that in its actions the working class refuses to accept the dilemma of **a legal or an illegal strike;** and secondly, these struggles show that there is a considerable widening of the workers' **unity of action.**

LESS than a year after the end of the second world war, big social struggles broke out in the capitalist countries and colonial territories. The promises the governments had trumpeted out to the peoples during hostilities were not being kept, and the workers were indignant about it. But indignation is a passive form of protest. Grim social reality soon transformed this moral protest into positive action by the mass of workers in support of their economic and social demands.

In the United States, in 1946, strike movements grew more extensive from month to month. In this bastion of monopoly capitalism, the working class was engaged in an open battle with its exploiters who, as masters of the country's policy, gave themselves the Taft-Hartley Act as a **legal means** of resistance to the workers' claims. This legal means was established with the aim of limiting the workers' rights, particularly their traditional methods of struggle. The forces of reaction, concerned with making mass labour strikes illegal, were only interested in **organising** the defeat of the workers' demands.

At the time, the WFTU warned the workers in all countries of this legal organisation of the defeat of their claims. The WFTU issued this warning because the American monopolies gave high priority in their expansionist plans to the export of the policy of repressive action against the working class. We explained that, like the Marshall and Clayton Plans, the principles behind the American Taft-Hartley law would be "offered" by American businessmen to the countries in which they had decided to set up their overlordship.

Present social events in the capitalist world show that the repression of strike movements has been generalised along the American lines of discriminating between the legality or illegality of the workers' struggles.

These social events also show that this repression and discrimination cannot brake the movement of the mass of workers, but that there is a clear and definite extension of mass action by the workers.

CAPITALISM foments strikes. The inherent and permanent social injustice of capitalism causes and makes inevitable strike action by the workers. Not the smallest among capitalism's internal contradictions is that between the social disorders it generates and the social order it aims to impose. Capitalist "social order" is impotent, just as fundamentally the whole system on which it is based is impotent. Capitalism's law for the control of strikes is not regarded by the workers as being

founded on real justice. Consequently, there inevitably comes a time when, to enforce the observance of their legitimate rights as human beings, the workers take action without regard for the qualification tacked on to their strikes. **They take strike action, "legal" or "illegal", because there is no other way for them to get justice.** In so far as trade union organizations carry out their responsibilities in this form of struggle of the working class, they give effective service to the workers. A trade union cannot be an obstacle to the workers' winning of their demands, it must be a means whereby the winning of these demands is achieved more rapidly and with greater collective strength.

There are, however, trade union organizations which — because their leadership is weak or lacks real contact with the mass of workers — are used to put a brake on the workers' actions in support of their demands. The recent dockers' strike in Sweden gives the most convincing explanation of why trade union bureaucracy is unable to prevent the success of action for their demands by its members who lead with them into action unorganised workers.

The Swedish government, the rightwing Social Democrat leadership of the national dockers' union, and the employers unanimously decreed that the strike for a wage increase undertaken by the dockers was illegal. The dockers knew that their claim was justified and they were united in the struggle. Against the coalition of the employers and their defeatist trade union leaders, they set up their united front. They won a 20% wage increase. Victory was theirs. The rightwing Social Democrat leadership of their national trade union body discredited itself in their eyes, and all Swedish workers are in agreement with them. They realised that following this successful strike it was their duty to prevent their unions, — to which they are attached by strong bonds — from being discredited in the same way as a few inefficient and unworthy leaders. And they are right.

But there are conclusions to be drawn from this example which are not valid for Swedish workers alone, but which concern our whole international labour movement and trade unions in all countries.

SINCE the end of the second world war, trade union leaderships held by the rightwing Social Democrats have rapidly lined up on the side of the anti-labour and reactionary forces. This has resulted in a broadening and deepening of the gulf between the mass of workers and these trade union bureaucrats, who inevitably leave their old reformist positions and pass over to openly reactionary positions of anti-labour repression.

It is an obvious political fact that the attitude of these trade union bureaucrats towards the strike movements of the mass of workers is becoming more and more identical with the attitude of the reactionaries; that is, these bureaucrats call the workers' actions illegal as soon as these actions back up demands which infringe the

political and economic privileges and advantages of the capitalists and challenge the governmental policies maintaining them.

The split thus grows wider and wider between the members of certain unions and all workers, on the one hand, and those trade union leaderships which daily engage in **an open struggle against trade unionists and workers,** on the other hand.

This is not a situation which is disappearing. On the contrary, it will become more general. There are many reasons for this, but one of them must be regarded as essential.

This basic reason is the **development of united action,** which opens the road to victory for all the actions in support of their demands undertaken by the workers throughout the world. Those who attempt to use the bureaucratic set-up of certain unions to brake or stall the workers' struggle are at the same time rabid opponents of united action.

The New Zealand railway workers' strike at the end of 1950 was successful through the **united action** of the three trade union organizations in this industry which had been opposed to one another. In the same country the **united action** of the watersiders enables them to resist the repression unleashed in an attempt to break their fight for their demands. Their **unity** in the struggle arouses solidarity strikes by the freezing workers, railway workers, drivers and others.

We have already mentioned the **unity of action** among the Swedish dockers. We record the great success of **united action** in France where, in the railways, in the Paris transport system, in the mines, the engineering industry and the gas and electric power services, as a result of the **unity** achieved on the job among workers belonging to different trade union organizations, big victories have been won in a struggle for demands which is only beginning.

In Spain itself, despite Franco's bloody dictatorship, the toiling population of Barcelona have justified by their heroic strike the great confidence we feel in the working people of Spain; and it is by their **united action** that these high-spirited workers have once again exposed to the international working class the phoney character of the Falangist trade unions.

In Spain also, the question arose of the illegal character of the Barcelona strike. As elsewhere, the workers were not embarrassed by an illegality which was not of their making, but which is entirely directed against them, their aspirations and their claims. As in other countries under capitalist domination, it is through their **unity of action** that the workers of Spain have been able to express themselves strongly, and make heard far beyond its own frontiers the voice of a working class subject to abominable repression from which it will inevitably liberate itself.

THESE facts, chosen among many, show us that it is impossible to pay too much attention to the application of the pro-unity trade union policy of the WFTU. They

show that on the basis of the WFTU's unity programme, there are great possibilities of rallying the workers in all capitalist countries and colonial territories, despite the obstacles our enemies may put in our way in an attempt to prevent the normal development of the WFTU's activities.

We regard as normal those activities which contribute to the permanent defence of the economic and social interests of the workers.

We consider as normal the unceasing solidarity which our international labour movement must give the workers in their struggle for their economic and social interests, **even when they are not affiliated to our world trade union organization.**

We regard as normal the WFTU's campaign for the development of **united action** by the workers, since it is the pledge of victory for the actions they undertake against their exploiters and the splitters in their pay.

We declare that we consider normal our right to be in the vanguard of the vast movement for **unity** which, in all countries, is rallying ever greater masses of workers to unflagging resistence to the plans and aims of the criminals who are dreaming of putting the world to fire and sword in an attempt to preserve the remnants of capitalist privilege, in the name of which they refuse those demands of the workers that are behind the innumerable social battles being waged.

LOUIS SAILLANT

SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE
LATEST SOVIET PRICE CUTS

by

Yakov Ousherenko

MARCH 1st saw the publication of the decision taken by the Soviet Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party to carry out a further cut in the retail prices of major consumer goods. The prices of bread and other bakery products, of flour, meal, rice, beans, seeds and fodder, meat, pork and meat goods were cut by 15%, pastry and grocery goods by 10—21%, household and toilet soap 15%, furniture, radios, bicycles, watches, porcelain, earthen and glassware, building materials and household articles by 10—22%.

This new reduction in State retail prices will make it possible for the population of the Soviet Union to save, in one year alone, 27,500 million roubles. It should not, moreover, be forgotten that the reduction of State retail prices, as experience in previous years has shown, will undoubtedly have a similar effect on prices at the kolkhoz markets, and these prices will in their turn also be reduced. This means that the total saving achieved by the population of the USSR as a result of this new cut in retail prices will reach the figure of 34,500 million roubles. And this signifies a further big jump

forward in the living conditions and the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people.

Steady Price Cuts on Consumer Goods

THIS is the fourth retail price cut in the USSR since the end of the 2nd world war.

On February 9, 1946, at an electoral meeting in the Moscow Stalin electorate, J. Stalin said, in speaking of the basic tasks of the Soviet State in the post-war period, that "particular attention will be given to extending the output of major consumer goods, and raising the workers' standard of living by the consistent reduction of prices of all goods."

The programme sketched by the great leader of the Soviet people is being successfully carried out in the Land of Socialism. The post-war five-year period has been a period of maximum development of civilian industry, of great strides in all the branches of the national economy producing current consumer goods. This period has seen continual progress in Socialist agriculture, which is winning victory after victory in the struggle to provide the Land of Socialism with products in plenty. The generalised progress of civilian industry and agriculture in the USSR, the raising of output among the industrial and collective-farm workers, and the unceasing reduction of production costs provide the firm foundation of the consistent policy of reducing prices on all goods which has been and is being carried out by the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The first major price cut was carried out in the Soviet Union at the end of 1947, at the time of the currency reform and the abolition of ration cards. This first reduction saved the Soviet people, in one year, about 86,000 million roubles, and brought about a big increase in consumption which

The reduction in retail prices of goods for general consumption, which was put into effect in the U.S.S.R. at the same time as the monetary reform and the abolition of rationing, considerably increased the workers' real wages. Prices of clothes, food products, shoes, leather goods, and many other products were reduced.

PERFUMES: In two years, the prices of these products have fallen to the extent shown by our diagram. Three successive reductions of 20, 15 and 10 percent have brought prices down to their present level.

raised considerably the living standards of the whole people. Whereas in capitalist countries currency reforms — as is shown by the devaluation of the £ sterling in Great Britain — are attended by an increase in retail prices, it is characteristic that in the Soviet Union the 1947 currency reform was followed by a reduction of the retail prices of all goods, while the former income level of the population remained unchanged.

The second major price reduction began in April 1948 and ended on March 1st, 1949. The price of bread, flour, Italian paste products, meat, pork goods, fish and butter were cut by a further 10%, while manufactured goods dropped in price by 30%. At the same time canteen, buffet, café and restaurant prices were cut. This second major price cut saved the Soviet people, in a year, 71,000 million roubles, and there was an increase in the sales of food products and manufactured articles. By 1949 consumption by the Soviet population was already greater than pre-war.

The third major Soviet price cut took place on

PORK PRODUCTS: For these products in great demand, there have been successive reductions of 10, 24 and 15 percent during the same period.

March 1st, 1950. The retail price of bread, flour, and bakery products was reduced by a further 21—30%, meat and pork goods by 24—35%, butter by 30%, fabrics by 12—24%, leather shoes by 15—25%, and other manufactured goods by 10—30%. As a result of this third major price cut, the Soviet people saved, in a year, 110,000 million roubles.

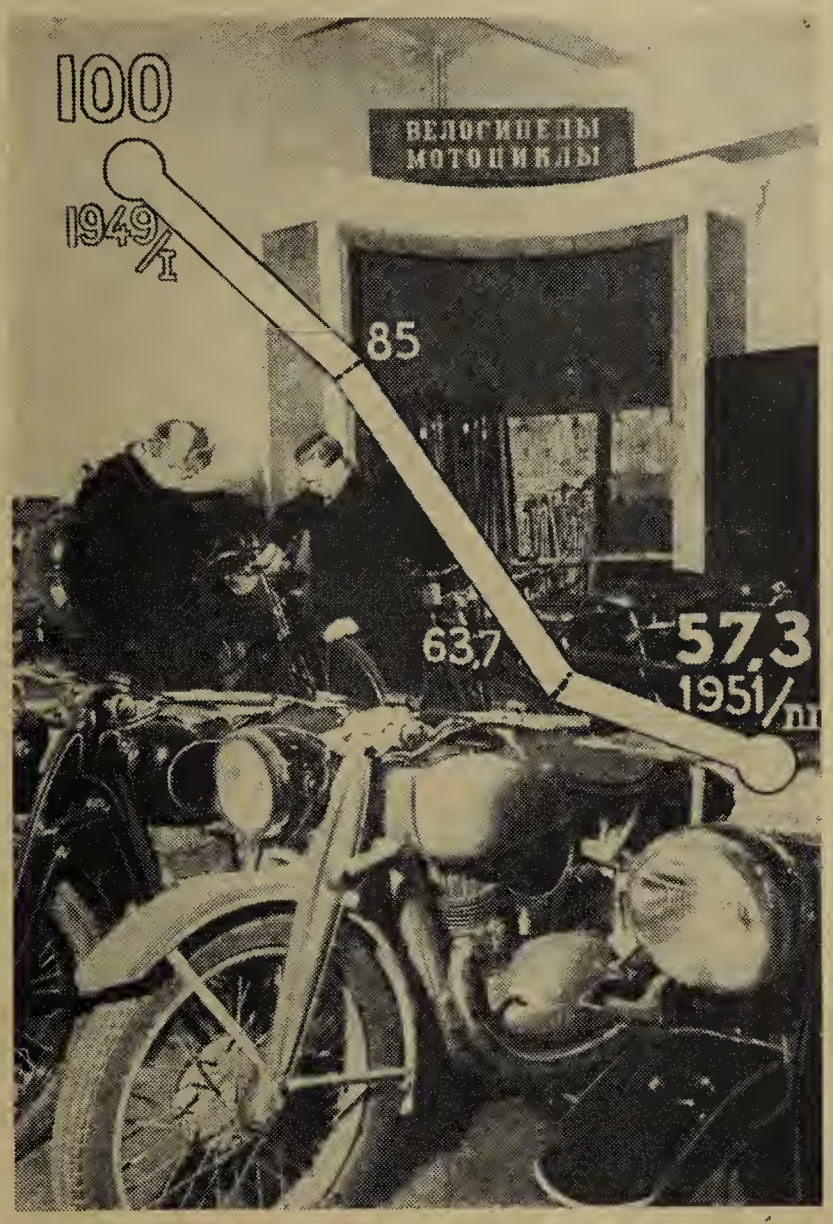
The Soviet government, answering the desires and interests of the whole multinational Soviet people, is carrying out a consistent policy of cutting prices because in the Land of Socialism the government has no interests more important than those of the workers and of the people. Care for the continual increase of the people's use of consumer goods is an absolute law of development of Socialist society.

Capitalist Demagogy — Socialist Reality

THERE is no capitalist country in the world carrying out a price-cut policy: in this field, as in others, all the deceitful promises of bourgeois politicians are just shameless demagogy. The lion's share of the State budgets of capitalist states, as can easily be seen in America, is devoted to armaments, to the organising and financing of military adventures and to the preparation of another world war. This is the precise reason for the undeniable fact that whereas in the Soviet Union the price of goods needed by the population is being cut, retail prices are soaring in the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries.

In his interview with a *Pravda* correspondent on February 17, 1951, J. Stalin pointed out that no State, not excluding the Soviet State, can "develop civilian industry to the full, launch great construct-

MOTORCYCLES: The successive reductions since the beginning of 1949 have amounted to 15, 25 and 10 percent.



MACARONI, etc.: For these products, which provide such a valuable source of nourishment, prices have dropped by 10, 25 and 15 percent since the beginning of 1949, thereby easing the budget of the Soviet workers.

The reduction in prices of stockings is all the more appreciated by the women of the Soviet Union since the quality of these articles is steadily being improved.

ion projects like the hydro-electric stations on the Volga, the Dnieper, and the Amu-Daria, which require tens of thousands of millions in budget expenditure, continue a policy of systematic reduction of prices of consumer goods, likewise requiring tens of thousands of millions in budget expenditure, invest hundreds of thousands of millions in the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the occupying Germans, and, together with this, simultaneously with this, increase its armed forces and develop war industry."

The consistent reduction of the prices of current consumer goods and commodities, the continual rise in the real wages of industrial and office workers, and the increase in the incomes of collective farm workers in the USSR form a brilliant example of the magnificent successes open to a country where there are neither landed proprietors nor capitalists, and where all the material and spiritual values created by free Socialist labour belong to all the people, to the whole of society.

The consistent and unswerving policy of systematic price reductions on major consumer commodities, as achieved in the Soviet Union, gives the peoples of the world a striking illustration of the nature of the objects on which are bent the attention, strength, energy and abilities of the peoples of the Socialist power attached to peace. Such a policy can only be put into effect by a State which is vitally interested in a firm and lasting peace and which defends the cause of peace and cooperation among the peoples of the world.

TRUMAN ORGANISES

★ WAGE FREEZE FOR WORKERS

★ PROFIT SPREE FOR WALL STREET

by WILLIAM SENTNER

International Representative
United Electrical, Radio and
Machine Workers of America

THE workers of the United States are being shocked into the realization that the war program of the monopolists and bankers is a war against their wages, their working conditions and their civil rights.

As the war in Korea drags on and the casualty list becomes greater and greater, the workers are bestirring themselves to mass protest and organized opposition to the war and its accompanying impoverishment.

This movement is seen in the growing mass sentiment to bring home the U.S. troops in Korea and for giving the Chinese People proper representation in the United Nations. This movement is developing on a wave of growing opposition to President Truman's phoney "National Emergency" decree which has frozen wages while prices and living costs are given official sanction to spiral upward.

When President Truman issued his "National Emergency" decree, the top leaders of the AFL, CIO and Independent Railroad Unions shamelessly greeted this move with loud cheers. They rushed to acclaim Truman in his new role as self appointed and Wall Street anointed would-be Fuehrer of the United States.

The role of boot-licker of the boss is not new to the $ 25,000 a year swivel chair sell-out artists of the labor movement. They had prepared for this new event. Walter Reuther, President of the 1,000,000 member United Auto Workers, and his camp followers in the CIO had prepared by tricking their membership into accepting 5 year no-strike wage-freeze contracts with the automobile and farm equipment industries. They had sought to stamp out and smash all opposition by splitting the CIO with the ouster of 800,000 members from its ranks.

Deliberate Sell-Out by Labor Aristocrats

WITH the issuance of Truman's "National Emergency" decree, these labor fakers told the workers that now everything would be just fine. They pointed to their political support for Truman, and their contribution of millions of dollars to the campaign of the Democratic Party. They said that they would soon become full-time partners with Truman in running the war preparedness program. They promised the workers both guns and butter. They promised to maintain wages and even to increase them. They promised to roll back and control prices. They promised jobs and steady employment. Their slogan was "equality of sacrifice" with bosses.

On December 18, 1950, the top brass of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Unions joined with Wall Street in issuing a "General Policy Statement" through the Truman appointed Wage Stabilization Board. It set forth a program that was supposed to control wages and prices so as to prevent inflation.

The program, of course, could do nothing of the kind. This program, based on the Defense Production Act of 1950, had as its main objective the freezing of wages and the guaranteeing of high profits. The Policy Statement of the Wage Stabilization Board was in fact the official opening gun of a full scale war of the big capitalists on the standards of living of the American working class. Its official military name could have been "Operation More Profits".

The December 18, 1950, General Policy Statement of the Wage Stabilization Board sets forth the objective to "minimize to the greatest practical degree the volume of money and credit for spending"... to "limit the supply of civilian goods and services", and to "control specific areas of the economy". In plain language the objective was to **reduce purchasing power by raising**

prices and taxes, establish forced savings, and prohibit all wage increases or improvements in pensions, vacations or holiday payments, health insurance or other welfare benefits. This policy statement was an agreement by the top labor leaders with Wall Street to go along with the reactionary anti-labor Defense Production Act passed by the reactionary 82nd Congress. It signified the surrender by the $ 25,000 a year gentlemen of labor of their demands for wage increases, repeal of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, the passage of a Fair Employment Practices Act and other important laws of interest to the workers.

Was the signing of this unholy agreement, the General Policy Statement of the Wage Stabilization Board, to be expected? Of course it was. These labor aristocrats had fully endorsed the Truman Doctrine that had helped to strangle the rising movements of the workers in Turkey and Greece to throw off their reactionary governments. It had gone all out in support of the Marshall Plan that helped the bosses of Western Europe to line their pockets with American dollars and profits from the sweat and blood of the European working class. Murray, former coal miner, now head of the CIO, did nothing when the French coal operators and police

"It boils down to this: We haven't had a strike for ten years. So we must have been overpaying them all along." (Cartoon in the New Yorker, *New York).*

The actions of the big-wigs of American Labor are not accidents. They are not the actions of naive men. They are the premeditated acts of men who, having agreed to the criminal policies of Wall Street, have little cause to show surprise when they find themselves full accomplices of the capitalist class in crimes committed against the working class.

These aristocrats of labor are not dumb or stupid. They know what they are doing. They are in agreement with the general strategy of the capitalist class. Whatever differences exist are only those related to the general or specific tactics to be used by the imperialists in their war against the people for the control of the world. This basically is what is behind the recent walkout of the labor representatives from the war agencies of the United States Government.

smashed the strike of the French miners. Reuther, the self-styled "socialist" did nothing when the fascist Syngman Rhee smashed the free trade unions of South Korea and murdered its leaders. Carey and Murray remained silent as Truman embraced fascist Franco, butcher of tens of thousands of Catholic trade unionists.

Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers and Jacob Potosky, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, did nothing when Wall Street opened the prison gates in Germany for their Nazi pals who had murdered 5 million Jews. They remained silent when these Hitler Gangsters were invited to sit in secret council with General Dwight Eisenhower and plan another invasion of the Soviet Union via the destruction of Europe and the lands of the New Democracies.

Living Standards Fall

THE workers of USA have been hard hit by inflation and the growth of monopoly capitalism. Millions of workers are beginning to understand that inflation has been caused by profiteering and not by what the Government calls "excess" income of the workers. The income figures of the workers tell the story. In 1949, 14% of all families had incomes of less than $ 1,000; 33% less than $ 2,000; 54% less than $ 3,000; and 74% less than $ 4,000. **(Economic Report of the President,** January 1951, page 226).

The value of the US dollar has shrunk to less than one-half its 1939 value. **U. S. News and World Report,** a Wall Street journal, in its February 16, 1951 issue bemoans the fact that "the 1951 dollar, compared with 1939, is half-gone before you get it". This magazine states that it takes at least $ 21 a week just for food for a family of four. The widely accepted Heller Committee minimum budget of 1949, adjusted to Dec. 1950 prices, shows a minimum need of $ 27,17 per week for a family of four. Be this as it may, 14% of all the families in America, on the basis of the smaller figure, aren't earning enough to be able to afford even this starvation diet, without consideration at all for housing, clothes and other absolute necessities. Is it no wonder that the lowest fifth of the family-income-groups contract debts equal to 41% of their earnings and the second-lowest-fifth go into debt equal to 12% of their annual income. **(Economic Report of the President,** January, 1951).

Yet in the face of these facts the top leadership of labor joined with the bosses on the Wage Stabilization Board "to minimize to the greatest practical degree the volume of money and credit available for spending", "to achieve more output per hour, working more hours", "to increase the Government's income through higher taxes" and to "encouragement of thrift and savings".

How are the 1/3 of the families in the U.S.A. who earn $ 2,000 a year or less going to live with less money, pay higher taxes, work harder and longer hours, and be "thrifty and save"? Of course they cannot.

The workers are eating less and less as the standard of living is driven downward. Official statistics compiled by the conservative U. S. Government Bureau of Agricultural Economics reveals that the drop in real workers income between 1941 and 1950 was accompanied by a drop of 11.7% in consumption of butter fats; a drop of 5% in the consumption of all fats; a drop of 6% in the consumption of milk and a drop of 14.8% in the consumption of coffee. One worker complaining bitterly about increased taxes stated that "it used to be that the government only wanted to tax the shirt off our backs, but now it is reaching down our throats and taking the food out of our bellies".

The acrobatics of Walter Reuther (Cartoon by YAKKA).

Big Business Rules

IT was no small wonder that President Truman's "National Emergency" decree started a mass movement among the workers for wage increases in an effort to beat the wage-freeze dead-line. Even before President Truman issued his "National Emergency" decree, the workers of the nation decided that it was time to act before a wage freeze was put into effect. There was good reason for this mass movement for wage increases that swept the nation.

Since the second World War, the American people have found themselves forced to sacrifice their standard of living to the greed of American corporations. They are now told to make additional sacrifices in a period of unprecedented corporate profiteering and commodity speculation. This is what happened between 1944 and the fourth quarter of 1950:

Consumers' prices	Up 40.3%
Wages and Salaries	Up 25.0%
Farm Income	Up 18.6%
Interest	Up 61.3%
Corporate Profits	Up 97.5%

While real weekly wages of workers have fallen below World War II levels, gross corporate profits have jumped from an average of $ 5.4 billion in 1936—39 to $ 22.6 billion during World War II, to $ 30.7 billion during the 1947—49 post-war inflation, **to the almost unbelievable annual rate of $ 48 billion in the fourth quarter of 1950.**

The workers sought to improve their lot out of the immense profits of industry. The bosses, supported by the government fought this movement, as President Truman rushed through the appointment of top Wall Street representatives to head up the wage-freeze profit-protection apparatus of Government*. The aristocrats of labor went right along. John L. Lewis, President of the powerful miners union, held back until a deal was worked out whereby the mine workers received a $ 1.60 a day increase and the coal operators secured a substantial increase in coal prices.

On January 26, 1951, Eric Johnson, former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce and now Economic Stabilization Administrator, issued General Wage Stabilization Order No. 1, freezing "wages, salaries and all other forms of compensation". On the same day he issued a "General Price Ceiling Regulation" which was supposed to "stabilize" prices. The wage freeze was absolute. The price "control" order a farce. The day after these orders were issued, the stock market price of securities increased one billion dollars on the New York Exchange. An Associated Press news story that day reported that one stock broker expressed the general feeling of Wall Street in this way: "What more could you ask", he said, "with prices frozen at their highest point, that means more profits for everybody". He was not wrong. With corporate profits estimated at $ 48 billions in 1950 as compared to $ 65 billions in 1939, there was little complaint from the bankers and monopolists.

The workers also saw how they had been duped. They saw the price of food and clothing leap upward. They saw their just demands for a wage increase denied. They experienced more and more speed-up on the job, piece work price-cuts and bonus rate reductions. They read of serious talk in Congress to pass a law to eliminate the 8 hour day and the 40 hour week; and to conscript labor.

President Truman's "National Emergency" swindle began to break through the press. The noted Washington columnist, Thomas L. Stokes, devoted an entire column calling attention to the fact that the war program favors the big monopolies, destroys business competition and discriminates against "small income folks". He exposed the very essence of the war program, calling it a "kissing-kin" relationship, "a cozy family affair, with the results that big business can exert its influence through its representatives in the defense program in a sort of common front to protect its preserves — and even come out in the end bigger and stronger, as in the last war".

The February 3, 1951, issue of **Business Week,** an influencial weekly magazine, let the cat out of the bag on how the so-called price stabilization program was to be used to milch the public and enrich the profiteers.

"A Presidential Advisor", it claimed, said that the program was designed to "manipulate prices in such a way as to discourage non-essential output and give incentives to essentials". Since the government removed all price controls over "war materials", this means that

* See **World Trade Union Movement,** No. 3, (1951), pg. 10—11.

The stores are crammed with merchandise — but prices are so high that buyers are few and far between. And discontent is becoming general.

The housewives of the U.S.A. have to count every penny before they go shopping, for prices continue to rise while wages are frozen.

the 100 or less companies who manufacture war materials will get the lion's share of the profits from an armament program, that is estimated to exceed $ 50 billions per annum.

This same issue of **Business Week** advises industry on how they can secure greater profits by "using cheaper materials without lowering prices", or "dropping low profit lines and using the labor and material for high priced, high profits lines". **Business Week** points out that during the last war this led to the disappearance of the $ 1.98 shirt and its replacement by the "fancy $ 6 white on white shirt". This is sufficient to show that the Wall Street agents Wilson, Ching, Johnson and DiSalle are riding herd on the workers of America faithfully carrying out the wage freeze, and profit guarantee provisions of the Defense Production Act of 1950.

Workers Fight Back

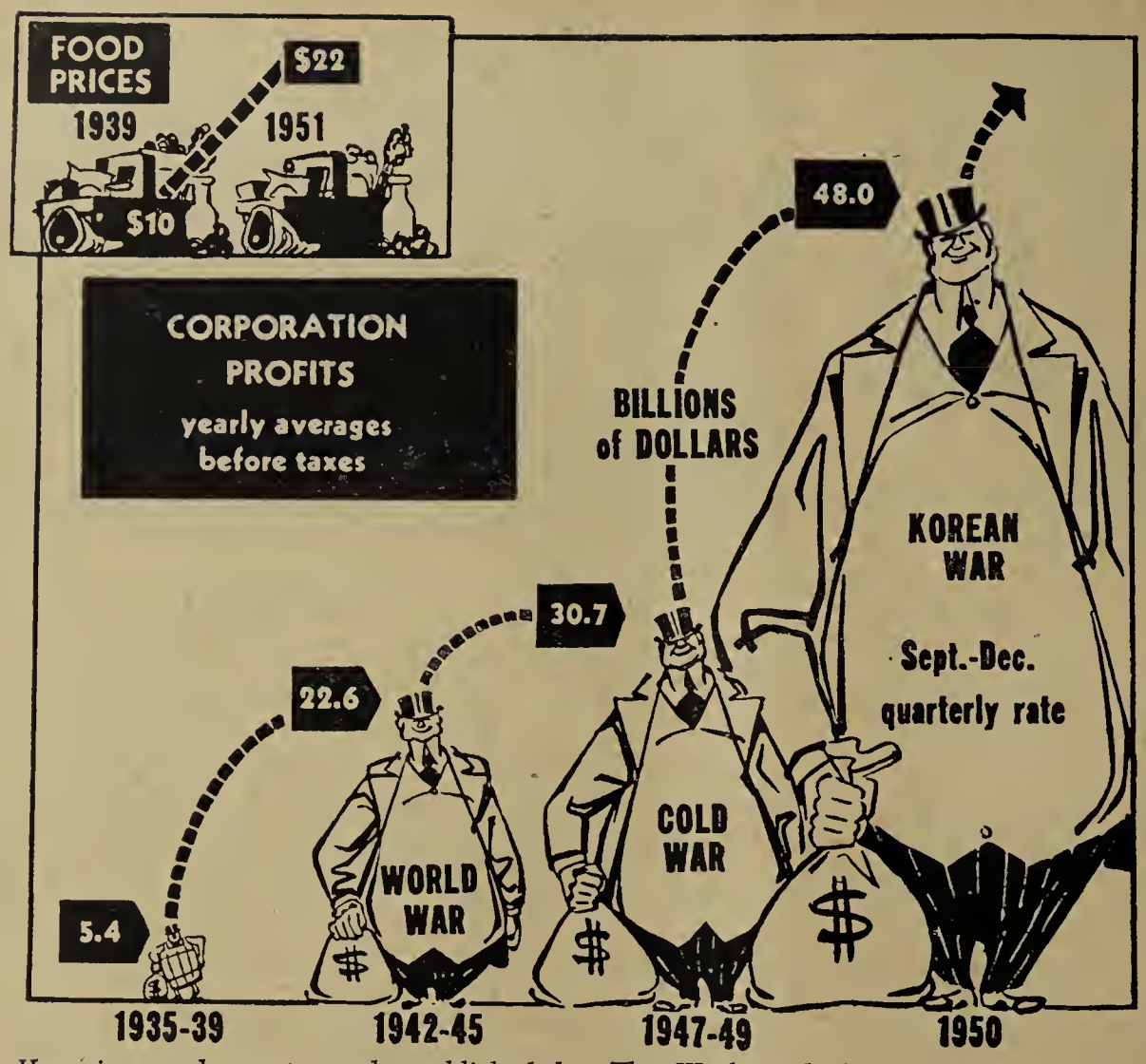
THE working people have become more and more alarmed over these developments. Progressive forces in the labor movement condemned the Wage Stabilization Program as a Wall Street-Washington plan to impoverish the working class. They exposed the so-called price freeze. They called for unity of action, pointing out that a peace program, not war, would best serve the interests of the working class and the nation.

Typical of this were the speeches of Julius Emspak, Secretary-Treasurer of the Independent Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, who spoke at union meetings throughout the country, warning that "for the first time in recent American history, the people of the United States were going to experience a continued drop in their living standards while being required to increase their work effort through speed-up methods and longer hours". (Emspak was recently sentenced to 6 months in jail and fined $ 500 for refusing to be used as a stool pigeon by the notorious anti-labor Un-American Committee of the United States Congress).

Typical of the growing concern of labor was the view expressed by Russell Bull, District Director of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union, in a speech to the Fifth Constitutional Convention of District 3 of that Union.

He said, "Today it is the government and not the employers, who tells us what wages we get, what prices we pay". Mr. Bull, in complaining about the wage freeze, stated: "Day by day we see the growing militarization of our economy. The giant corporations are robbing the people blind, and they are doing it not only in their capacity as private corporations but also through government officials like Charles E. Wilson, Eric Johnson, Averill Harriman, Stuart Symington,

The shopkeepers launch "bargain sales" in an attempt to dispose of their stocks, but usually without much success.



Here is an eloquent graph, published by The Worker, *dealing with the profits made by the big companies in the U.S.A. These profits have grown steadily, in huge proportions, since 1939, during the 2nd World War, then during the "cold war", and above all since the start of the American aggression in Korea.*

Cyrus Ching..... all of them former directors of top American Corporations". And then continuing his observations, Mr. Bull concluded his remarks by stating:

„I do not believe that the way to preserve democracy in other lands is to give it up in our own land; I do not believe that we can improve living standards in other countries by destroying the living standards of people living in our own country; I do not believe that we can win freedom of speech for the people of other lands by suppressing it in our own land; **I do not believe that in order to assist people in other countries to have free trade unions we must destroy free trade unions in our own country.**

"I do not think you can teach a Korean peasant what democracy is by dropping a bomb on his village any more than you can teach a worker what democracy is by beating him over the head with a policeman's club. I do not think that we can get peace in the world by turning America into an arsenal and shipping planes, tanks, guns, and bombs to reactionary governments around the world.

"If we are really concerned about democracy, then it seems to me that we must first be concerned with democracy in our own lives".

These speeches and many other similar ones being made in union halls indicate that the movement of the rank and file of labor has begun to have its effect on an ever increasing number of trade union officials. This rank and file movement has effected the railroad workers. The railroad switchmen in almost all railroad yards recently declared themselves "too sick to work". They demanded the 8 hour day, 40 hour week as the necessary medicine to cure their ills. Instead of granting their just demands, President Truman ordered the army to operate the roads and issued an ultimatum for them to return to work or be fired with the loss of seniority, pensions and all other rights. Instead of the 8 hour day, 40 hour week, the President of the United States used his "National Emergency" decree to break again a strike of railroad workers.

The auto workers rank and file put the heat on their leadership and forced them to declare that a strike would be called if the Government failed to approve their March 1st cost of living increase. The CIO Packinghouse Union, led by their militant Chicago section of 10.000 workers, issued a call to the AFL Packinghouse Workers for unity in action to force the Government to approve the 11½ c an hour wage increase they had won from the bosses. A unity agreement has been effected between these groups and 200,000 packinghouse workers throughout the nation are preparing to strike to force the Government to concede to their demands. 70,000 textile workers are on strike against the wage freeze policies of the Government.

It is within this frame-work of developments that the top labor officials found that their positions as advisors to Economic Stabilization Administrator, Charles Wilson, were untenable. These top labor officials had promised the workers that the Truman Doctrine was the road to peace and prosperity. When that failed, they latched on to the Marshall plan. This big business scheme soon exploded in their face. They then scurried to climb on to the Atlantic Pact band wagon. Over and over again they have promised the workers peace, jobs and security, as they became more deeply involved in the plot of the Wall Street gang to drive the United States into catastrophic atomic world war III.

Labor Big-Wigs Kowtow to Warplanners

THESE top labor leaders spent millions of the workers dues money attempting to bribe, corrupt and split the world labor movement, while the living standards of the workers in the United States continued to decline and corporate profits reached all time highs. Unemployment rose to 3½ millions by December 1949. Even today there are still 2,229,000 unemployed (Bureau of Labor Statistics for December 1950). These figures are admittedly 1½ million short of the actual number. Today, Negroes, women, and workers beyond 45 years of age find it difficult to obtain employment. When hired, these workers are placed on the lowest paying and most menial types of labor. Young workers, especially youth of draft age find it almost impossible

to secure a job. Refused employment, these youth are easy prey for the cannon fodder-seeking recruiting officers of the armed forces. The workers are beginning to get wise to the lies that have been told them by the top labor leaders who promised that an expanding war economy would guarantee full employment at high wages. The workers are beginning to realize that the war program of Wall Street has given them less security today than they had during the days of the great depression of 1929—33.

The movement of the workers seeking wage increases and a redress of their grievances has exerted a tremendous pressure on the Greens, Murrays, Careys and Reuthers, who head up the labor movement. Their self-admitted role of "window dressing" for the schemes of the capitalist class was rapidly being exposed. On February 16, 1951, they publicly announced that they would be "window dressing" no longer. They withdrew their representatives from the Wage Stabilization Board in protest against Charles Wilson and others whom they claim had "ignored the necessity for equality of sacrifice by all the people". Although withdrawing their men from the Wage Stabilization Board, they made it very clear that **they were still in full agreement with the entire war program of Wall Street.** Their only complaint was that Wall Street did not trust their "experience, good ideas and patriotism" sufficiently to let them continue their job of hamstringing the working class. Bill Green, head of the AFL, and Phillip Murray, head of the CIO, had tried unsuccessfully for months and months to peddle their no-strike pledge to industry in exchange for a few "policy making" jobs in the war program. Their February 16, 1951, statement was merely some more of this same type of crawling on their bellies, offering their sell-out wares to Wall Street, and its political stooges who infest Congress and the White House.

After their blast at Wilson they went to see President Truman. Following their visit, the President publicly announced that he was standing squarely behind his Wall Street boss, Charles Wilson. At about the same time Economic Stabilization Administrator, Eric Johnson, signed the Wage Freeze Order which the labor bigwigs had so violently opposed.

The order froze wages at a point 10% above the January 1950 levels, thus leaving the workers holding the sack. At the same time the Price Stabilization Administrator signed an order which authorized the 200,000 retail stores of the United States to raise prices and gouge the public for whatever the traffic can bear.

The labor bigwigs on February 25, 1951, withdrew all their boys from Government agencies and demanded

To combat the increase in the price of meat, these housewives, wives of Pennsylvanian metal workers, organised a buyers' strike and called for unity against the profiteers.

that they be given more responsible jobs in the Government's war set-up. At the same time they assured Wall Street that they were still in full agreement with its imperialist war policies.

These manoeuvres between the labor statesmen and their Wall Street bosses do not change the fact that the Greens, Murrays, Careys, Reuthers, et al., have always been and still remain in full agreement with the imperialist war policies of the monopoly capitalists of the United States. In fact these gentlemen of labor for a long time have led the parade of warmongers in advocating war with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and the countries of the New Democracies. These gentlemen and labor statesmen have long ago publicly advocated a war of atomic destruction against the peoples of foreign lands.

George Morris, labor columnist for the **Daily Worker** hit the nail on the head recently when he stated that "The angry outburst and walkout of America's top leaders from the war mobilization bodies was not an expression against war. It was only a complaint over the conduct of the war program and the refusal of the big business bosses to give the labor leaders a chance to do more for that war program".

WORKERS' OPPOSTION GROWS

RESISTENCE to the whole war program is rising among the workers. Poll after poll in industrial establishments indicates that an overwhelming majority of the workers desire to see American troops withdrawn from Korea and the seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The workers are awaking to the fact that the imperialist war designs of American big business mean hardship and suffering for all people, including themselves. Recently the workers of the huge 60,000 member Ford Local of the Auto Workers Union elected local officers and shop stewards who campaigned on a platform of peace and against war. A recent poll of the 12,000 member Local 1104 of the United Steel Workers of America in the Lorain, Ohio, National Tube plant showed that 71% favored withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea; 80% were against dropping of atom bombs and 78% were against the draft of 18 year olds. This poll

Jim Carey (Cartoon specially drawn by YAKKA for World Trade Union Movement).

conducted in the stronghold of a rightwing-led union indicates the growing anti-war sentiments developing among the workers that are beginning to break through the solid pro-war positions of the top leadership of the CIO.

The economic conditions of the workers will continue to grow worse unless the people force the Government to change its war policy to that of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, China and the countries of the new Democracies.

The schemes of Wall Street to continue their drive toward war by whipping up an anti-communist war hysteria will undoubtedly increase. Their effort to regiment labor and make it subservient to their im-

At table with the direct agents of Wall Street, Charles Wilson and Eric Johnston, entrusted by Truman with the task of "stabilising" wages, here are the men who agreed to assist them in their work directed against the working class — Green, Carey, Reuther...

perialist war program will continue. They probably will give their labor lieutenants more status than that of "window dressing" as the need may dictate.

But, all this will be of no avail. It is evident that the sentiments and desire of the workers for peace, against war, for democracy and against the fascization of America is increasing. It is further evident that these desires of the workers will soon bring the mass of the American working class into sharp conflict with the top right-wing leadership of labor as the workers increase their struggles against their bosses and Wall Street-controlled government.

The workers of America are somewhat like the famous Missouri River, which never stays put. As one bridge builder said, "It is easy to build a bridge across the Missouri River, but it is very difficult to keep the river under the bridge". And so it will be with the attempts of Wall Street to shackle the workers of the United States with the loss of their hard won living standards and traditional democratic liberties.

ECONOMIC NOTES

Big Trusts Pocket Record Profits

United States General Motors Corporation, controlled by Du Pont de Nemours and Company, announces net 1950 earnings of $ 821,115,724 — the highest ever recorded by any corporation in the world. The 1950 profit is 27% greater than the 1949 net income.

The parent Company of E.I. Du Pont de Nemours records a net 1950 profit of $ 307,600,000, an increase of $ 93,900,000 over the preceding year. These enormous profits result from large government contracts received by the Company's atom bomb plant at Hanford.

Readers of *World Trade Union Movement* will remember (No. 3, 1951, p. 10) that Truman's "Wage Stabilisation Director", Cyrus Ching, is "on leave" from Du Pont de Nemours' United States Rubber Company.

South Africa De Beers' diamond mines announce a 1950 profit of £ 3,164,000 over the previous year's record. While this big profit is partly due to the fact that, in the past year, as a result of the increased demand for gem stones for hoarding and industrial diamonds for factories, diamond sales rose in value by £ 22,500,000 tot the total of £ 51,000,000, the essential basis of the superprofits of this gigantic monopoly is the ever-intensified exploitation of African workers, whose slightest demand for improved conditions meets with brutal repression.

LIVING COSTS RISE IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The I.L.O. admits . . . The living costs in 24 capitalist countries rose at least from 2 to 21% last year, the International Labour Office admits from its usually extremely conservative statistics, based on governmental or other official figures, and in the main far below the actual cost of living as computed by trade union and other independent researchers.

According to the I.L.O., the increases in percentages were: Australia, 12 — Austria, 7 — Belgium, 2 — Canada, 6 — Ceylon, 3 — Chile, 17 — Dominican Republic, 6 — Egypt, 9 — Finland, 21 — France, 12 — Greece, 14 — Hawaii, 2 — Italy, 5 — Luxembourg, 4 — Malaya, 16 — Mexico, 7 — Netherlands, 13 — Rhodesia, 4 — Norway, 12 — South Africa, 6 — Sweden, 6 — United Kingdom (Britain and N. Ireland), 4 — U.S.A., 6 — Viet Nam, 9.

In Marshallised Turkey While Turkey does not appear in the above list, the Istanbul paper *Aksham* gives the following price increases for the month of January, 1951, alone:

Grain foodstuffs	40%
Fruit	92%
Olive oil	98%
Metal products	92%
Textiles	88%

Turkish Industry Being Destroyed by U.S. Imports

Istanbul newspapers can no longer be silent about the fact that Turkish industry is being destroyed by American imports. *Aksham* announced that all 40 stocking factories in Turkey, which formerly met the needs of the population, have been forced to

close down because of the import of stockings from the United States.

Aksham places the blame squarely on the Turkish Government for this situation, which "willingly ruins Turkish industry for the sake of gains to certain importers and wholesale stocking merchants."

The newspaper *Istanbul* states that "the United States Government imposes the purchase of large stocks of goods, which inflict grave danger on all branches of industry and commerce."

Korean War Cuts Japanese Living Standards

A recent survey by the semi-governmental Bank of Japan shows that the Korean war is cutting down the living standards of the Japanese people. The retail price index for February, 1951, in Tokyo, showed an increase of 5.3% from January, representing a total increase of 26.5% since last June when the Korean war started.

The wholesale price index for January increased by 5.2%, representing a 29% increase since June 1950.

U.S. EXTENDS DOMINATION OVER MEXICAN ECONOMY

Despite industrial progress since 1939, Mexican economy retains its essentially colonial character imposed by the U.S. monopolies, which availed themselves of the circumstances during the war years to tighten their grip over both Mexican exports and the Mexican market.

Since 1928, except for 3 years, Mexico's trade balance with the U.S.A. has been unfavourable, and this situation has remained unchanged in the first 8 months of 1950, according to foreign trade figures published by the Mexican Government's Bureau of Labour Statistics.

In these first 8 months of 1950, 85.1% of Mexican imports came from the U.S.A. and 85.3% of Mexican exports went to the U.S.A. The February, 1951 issue of the Review of the National Bank of Mexico states:

"Mexico's most important exports to the U.S.A. still come within the category of raw materials or semi-manufactured goods.... Our purchases from the U.S.A. are mainly articles that require a high grade of manufacturing skill."

BRITISH DOCKERS

Mobilise Against

REPRESSION and POVERTY

by a London Docker

POLICE forces of the British Criminal Investigation Bureau swooped upon a meeting of the London Port Workers on 8th February 1951 and arrested six rank-and-file dockers' leaders, the seventh being arrested later in Liverpool.

What was their crime?

The charge against them reads:

> *"That between October 8th. and February 6th. you did conspire with the accused and other persons unknown to incite dock workers to take part in strikes in connection with trade disputes contrary to Article 4 of the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order 1940 made under authority of Regulation 58A of the Defence (General) Regulations 1939" — (commonly termed "Order 1305").*

Readers of *World Trade Union Movement* *) will recall circumstances somewhat similar surrounding the prosecution in a British Court of ten London Gas Workers. The enforcement of this Regulation virtually deprives trade unionists of their traditional right to strike, no matter what are the circumstances — whether they be the wanton violation of collective agreements by the employers, or other attempts to break up, as a means to intensify exploitation, militant trade union organisation in the factories and on the job.

In fact, it has become quite a habit within recent months for employers to declare a lock-out of their workers, with other intimidatory methods to break the unity of the workers. The use of this weapon, of course, like that of strikes, is prohibited under the selfsame Order 1305; but in such cases the Government and the police have steadfastly refused to intervene under the Powers of the Law.

DEAKIN SABOTAGES WAGE CLAIM

THE incidents which led to the arrest and prosecution of the seven took place on the Merseyside, where approximately ten thousand dockers struck work in protest against a decision which granted them only one-third (2s. per day) increase, on the five-year old demand for an increase of 6s. per day.

The inadequacy of this increase was more deeply resented on the Merseyside than in other parts of the country, because of the harsh conditions, the character of which is peculiar to this area, and which, among other things, place a greater restriction on earning capacity of the workers as compared with those employed elsewhere in the industry.

The difference in terms of weekly earnings is calculated to be as much as £ 2 per week compared with the general average drawn in the London docks.

The tonnage rates which apply under the

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*) No. 13 (20 Nov. 1950).

system of piece-work on the Merseyside are so low that despite intensified efforts, the earning of the men equalled not much more than the standard working time-rate of pay.

The resort to strike action was therefore primarily a reflection of the deep sense of grievance felt by the men in respect of the extremely poor working conditions which became aggravated to breaking point immediately following the announcement of the 2s. increase. In addition, the men were angered by the tactics employed by the right-wing top trade union leaders to put over the line for acceptance of this wage increase offer, first, in their conduct of negotiations, for up to the time of the conference of delegates convened to consider the offer everything was shrouded in secrecy — no reports whatever having been issued to the union branches nor to the delegates whose responsibility it was to make the decision.

Again, in the conference itself, a request to refer the report to the branches for their comments was ruled out of order by Mr. Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, on the plea that no other resolution could be allowed until a decision was taken either for or against acceptance of the offer. Thereafter, of the 103 delegates present, only 46 voted for acceptance, 23 against and 34 abstained from voting altogether. The democratic rights of the members in the branches were clearly reduced to a farce in this stage managed set-up, and a minority opinion thrust upon some 80,000 workers.

These circumstances partly explain the reasons for the limited extent of the strike, which received a small measure of support in only one other port, namely London, where some 450 dockers struck work in sympathy. It became clear that other forms of solidarity action other than striking were called for in support of the Merseyside dockers, and to further the campaign for the remainder of the 6s. per day originally demanded.

Original Cartoon, specially drawn by YAKKA for World Trade Union Movement.

SOLIDARITY SPREADS

IT was at this stage and with this end in view that the London port workers decided to return to work. Meanwhile the dockers on Merseyside expressed their determination to continue with the strike until their demands were met.

The arrest of the seven dockers took place on the evening of the day the decision to return to work was taken, and it would therefore be reasonable to conjecture that the authorities felt strengthened to carry out their oft-repeated threat to break the back of the dockers' militant movement just at this particular time.

However, the immediate reaction of the great mass of the dockers was to rush forward in defence of the arrested men, and by the morning of the next day seven thousand London port workers stopped work, many of whom demonstrated outside the Police Court shouting for their release with such slogans as "you let the Nazis out and put our leaders in!" The London Port Workers' Committee became greatly strengthened by a rush of volunteers to augment and broaden the Committee and to widen

A rank-and-file militant, Sandy Powell, speaks to the London dockers, assembled in a big meeting at Victoria Park during the recent strike.

the scope of its work. Financial appeals were issued to all and sundry together with a stepping up of the campaign for the repeal of the Order 1305.

On the second day following the remand by the Court of the arrested men, the strike number leapt to approximately 20,000, covering three ports. Arrangements were then made for the convening of a great mass meeting in the London docks area, the success of which exceeded expectations both in regard to attendance and morale. Measures for the conduct of the strike were approved which had regard to the anticipated protraction of the legal battle in the Courts. The men agreed to return to work while the seven men were released on bail under the slogan of "Our lads in the 'dock' — we come out of the docks". This meant that for every appearance by the accused in the Court, the dockers would resume strike action on that day.

This catchy appeal led to an extension of new token stoppages to Glasgow and Greenock in Scotland, thus increasing the total numbers on strike by many thousands. This form of solidarity action has been repeated with varying degrees of success on three different occasions during the Court sittings which were supported over a period of five weeks. The demonstrators outside the Court made use of such innovations as gas balloons and huge posters bearing appropriate captions like "End 1305!", all of which, assisted by the action of the police in their attempts to either destroy them or capture them, contributed towards greater publicity and conviction for the ending of the restrictions on democratic rights and civil liberties.

At the time of writing, the arrested leaders have been sent for trial to the Old Bailey, the Central London Assize Court.

The merits or otherwise of the charge preferred cannot now be commented on until after the trial, which has been fixed to take place in April. Nevertheless *it is worth while to note that the storm of protests which emerged as a result of the prosecution of the London gas workers has grown to such dimensions within the trade union movement as to compel the Trade Union Congress in conjunction with the Government to consider the bringing forward of modifications to Order 1305.*

At a demonstration in Trafalgar Square, the people show their solidarity with the dockers struggling for bread and the right to strike, and against the repressive measures taken by the bosses and the government.

MOVEMENT TO WIN DOCKERS' CHARTER

THE struggle on the issue of wages and for the realisation of the Dockers' Charter as a whole is by no means halted, nor are the militant rank-and-file split or weakened by the attempt to behead the movement of its leaders. On the contrary, the very act of prosecuting the seven leaders has strengthened the resolve and conviction of progressive thought a hundredfold to unite more firmly and win their demands, including the repeal of the now notorious Order, and the implementation of the modest programme of demands which was approved by the National Docks' Delegate Conference of the Unions concerned, and by the Executive Committee of the biggest union in the country, the Transport and General Workers' Union, in 1945.

The Dockers' Charter calls for:

1) A basic rate of pay of 25s. per day;
2) Two weeks' annual holiday with pay;
3) Reduction in the working week to 40 hours;
4) Compensation for aged and infirm workers;
5) Introduction of a port welfare and medical service in every port.

The granting of these demands then would have been little compensation for the many sacrifices and hardships borne by the dockers in making their magnificent contribution towards the defeat of fascism during the war years, but it was only after a hard struggle in the latter part of 1945 that the rate of pay of 16 s. per day was raised to 19 s. or £ 5. 4 s. 6 d per week, and one week's annual holiday with pay granted.

Since that time, despite the rise in retail prices by 25% by the end of 1950, and with prices continuing to rise steadily, the dockers have been baulked of their justifiable demands ever since. On the other hand, the total profits of the Shipping Companies have soared, in many cases to as high as 100 per cent. Not content with these enormous profits taken out of the sweat of the dockers, the employers since the war ended have indeed made numerous attempts to worsen working conditions. With the assistance of the Government through the official Inquiry Commissions, recommendations were made in 1948 for: (1) greater mobility of labour throughout the ports; (2) relaxation of continuity arrangements, that is, the docker's right to complete his allocated job on any particular ship; (3) introduction of a shift system of working; (4) longer overtime hours of work; and (5) manning of gangs to be cut with a view to ensuring maximum exploitation of mechanical processes.

Every attempt to introduce these methods has been vigorously and successfully defeated by the mass of the rank-and-file, as have other endeavours by the employers to regain complete control of the register and disciplinary machinery.

MOBILISATION QUICKENS TO DEFEND WORKERS' RIGHTS

FROM beginning to end of these tense struggles — whether by strikes or alternative forms of action — the dockers have displayed magnificent solidarity in the face of constant persecution by the employers, the Government and the right-wing trade union leaders, who, by the way, have become the pillars of a more ruthless capitalist system of exploitation. This is true to form with the traditional methods adopted by the early trade unionists of the 19th Century. It is in keeping with the old pioneer struggles of 1889 when the "New Unionism" (the first big movement of labourers into the trade unions) was born out of the great struggles in that year for the "Dockers' Tanner" (the minimum of sixpence an hour), which was won as a result of the great strike led by such staunch working-class leaders as Tom Mann, John Burns and Ben Tillett; and again of 1911, when a further 2d an hour was secured in the face of increasing difficulties associated with the casual nature of docks' employment and the oft-repeated threat of what has been experienced in practice many times, of the use of troops to break the strike. Again, in 1920, when as a result of a long drawn out battle with the em-

Leaving the court, where he was freed on bail, one of the rank-and-file militants, accused of "conspiracy" to incite the dockers to strike, is carried on the shoulders of his mates.

ployers, a minimum wage of 16s. was achieved, and the recommendation for the decasualisation of dock labour, which, unfortunately, lay dormant till the end of the Second World War.

The fight for better wages and conditions and for a new order of things goes on, reaching new high levels of class solidarity within the industry and with workers in other industries. The dockers are confident that under the leadership of the rank-and-file, battle-hardened leaders, they will successfully resist the placing of the burden of rearmament for war for imperialist ends onto their shoulders. That is why the last has not been heard of the Dockers' Charter. The 25s. a day wage will be achieved in the teeth of opposition through the strengthened and more militant forces in the coming months. The action of arresting the seven leaders has brought into action in the ports many sections of workers who normally have stood aside from strikes. Their concern now is the protection of their traditional freedom and liberties.

The foregoing is but a brief outline of how the present day dockers are carrying forward the traditional methods of struggle against the bosses. They are staunch trade unionists with a realisation of the value of a fighting trade union machine. Many times their hopes have been frustrated by the force of a reactionary policy pursued by the top-rank trade union leaders. Their future wellbeing therefore depends on the outcome of the fight to change this policy to one which will serve the true interests of the mass of dockers.

There are thousands of other workers outside the docks industry who are showing by their financial support and by their solidarity with them that they, too, realise the great danger to the workers under Order 1305.

The demand, therefore, is of a widespread character for the withdrawal of the charges against these seven dockers and for the abolition of the notorious Order.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

Ecafe Session

WFTU Supports Representation For People's China—

The WFTU delegation to the 7th session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in Lahore presented a written statement to the acting chairman of the session expressing full support for the Soviet proposal to expel the so-called representative of the remnant Kuomintang gang, and invite the legal representative of the People's Republic of China to attend the meeting. The following are extracts from the statement:

"The WFTU is the true representative of the working class the world over. Among its affilliated national centres is the All-China Federation of Labour, the largest and most powerful trade union organisation in Asia. In this respect, therefore, the WFTU represents the interests and will and determination of the essential section of the Chinese people. For this reason, the WFTU feels obliged to express its opinion on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China."

"Since this Commission is an organisation to study the economy of Asia and the Far East, its composition should include the People's Republic of China, one of the most powerful countries in Asia. Should it exclude the representative of the People's Republic of China, which comprises 475 million people — nearly half the population of the ECAFE region — and which occupies one-fourth of the area of the region, it would mean that the Commission would lose its representative character and it would be impossible for it to carry out its work in the future."

The statement demanded that the Commission immediately adopt the Soviet delegate's proposal, which was, however, illegally vetoed by the Commission, which is under the thumb of the United States.

New China News Agency,
Daily Bulletin, 14-3-51.

— And Shows Way to Raise Workers' Living Standards.

In a memorandum submitted to the secretariat of the ECAFE conference, the WFTU delegation headed by Liu Ning-yi requested the adoption of the following proposals:

1. Safeguard the national independence and economic autonomy of the ECAFE countries, promote the development of their national industry, and condemn U.S. economic penetration in the ECAFE region as a violation of the United Nations Charter.
2. Propose that the United Nations insist that governments effectively protect trade union rights, as well as freedom of thought, expression, publication and assembly; that existing anti-labour laws be cancelled and forced labour abolished; that all discrimination based on race, sex or age be wiped out and that the living conditions of workers be effectively bettered.
3. Establish a sub-committee of the ECAFE with the participation of the representatives of the WFTU to investigate the question of safeguarding trade union rights in the countries of Asia and the Far East.

The memorandum points out that one-half of the world's population lives in Asia and the Far East, where natural resources are abundant and the people industrious and intelligent. However, with the exception of the People's Republic of China, where a fundamental change has taken place, the economy of this region is still very underdeveloped and the peoples' living standards are as low as ever. Workers and peasants of these countries are in poverty and misery, all kinds of diseases are rampant and the mortality rate is very high.

The memorandum strongly condemns the American imperialist lies which say that the backwardness and destitution of these countries are due to the lack of foreign capital, science, technology and skill. The cause of their economic backwardness is the penetration of imperialist forces which have used military, political and economic pressure to transform these countries into colonies and semi-colonies. Therefore, in order to develop the economy of their countries and to better their living conditions, the peoples of these countries should first oppose the whole colonial system and fight for their national independance.

So-called American "economic aid" and the Point Four programme to "help develop the underdeveloped areas in Asia and the Far East" are weapons to oust the forces of other metropolitan countries, to suppress the peoples' liberation movement in the East and to turn these countries into American colonies.

The memorandum unmasks the United States' aggressive schemes of "industrial Japan, agricultural South-East Asia", of rearming Japan and of using Japan as a tool of aggression in Asia.

The experience and economic and constructional achievements of China, the memorandum emphasises, are the correct road for the development of national economy and the bettering of the peoples' living standards in Asian and Far Eastern countries. China's experience has proved that only after freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism, establishing a people's government, carrying out land reform and building an independent national economy, can the people raise their living standards, improve their working conditions and safeguard trade union rights.

New China News Agency,
Daily Bulletin, 20-3-51.

U.S.S.R.

French Government's Action Has Not Weakened the WFTU

WFTU President G. Di Vittorio, discussing in Trud (organ of the All Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions) the results of the Warsaw meeting of the WFTU Executive Bureau following the French Government's ban on WFTU activities in France, writes as follows:

"The blow struck by the French Government at the Federation on the order of Washington missed its mark. The biggest international organisation of the working class has become stronger. It even more resolutely wages the struggle for improving the living standards of the working people, against brutal exploitation, against the policy of the monopolies which impose on the masses of the people unbearable burdens of military expenditure.

"The results of this important session of the WFTU Executive Bureau are outlined in the appeal to the working people of the world. The leading body of the biggest organisation of the international working class has clearly explained to the working people the objectives of the Pleven Government in banning the WFTU's activity in France. The Executive Bureau has drawn from this fact all the conclusions necessary for a fur-

ther extension of the struggle of the working people against the imperialist exploiters and brigands. The imperialists are hastily accelerating their criminal preparations for an aggressive war directed against the U.S.S.R. and the peoples' democracies. It is for this reason that they are trying to destroy the WFTU which constitutes a serious obstacle barring the way to the enemies of mankind.

"No imperialist government can rob the working masses, intensify the armaments drive and precipitate new wars without hindrance, as long as there are in capitalist countries workers' organisations fighting for peace, for bread and democracy. That is why the imperialists' preparation for war and their transition to direct acts of aggression are accompanied by the desperate attempts of the capitalist rulers to strangle the labour movement, to deprive the working people of an opportunity to defend their rights in an organised way.

"The attack on the WFTU is an attack against all trade union organisations which direct the struggle of the masses of the people in the capitalist and colonial countries for peace, and for trade union and democratic rights, against new wars and the growing fascisation of the imperialist states obeying the United States' dictates.

"The other aim pursued by the imperialist governments is to split the international unity of the working class and specifically to isolate the working people of the capitalist world from their brothers in the U.S.S.R. and the peoples' democracies. An insane dream! Let the American multi-millionaires and their European lick-spittles cherish no groundless illusions: the enslaved and hungry toilers in the capitalist countries will always regard with fervent love and sympathy the first Socialist state in the world and the countries following the road of people's democracy and Socialism.

"The special session of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU in Warsaw showed that the plans of Truman and his French lackeys to "close down" the WFTU failed completely. The measures taken in Warsaw by the Executive Bureau fully guarantee the further normal activity of the Federation.

"Moreover, these measures will make it possible to develop the work of the WFTU and all its national organisations on a broader scale and still more effectively. This is the reply of the working people to the attacks of the warmongers."

Soviet Monitor (London), 2-3-51.

CHINA

Japan's Economic Future Depends On Ties With Asian Economy

"Since Japanese markets are flooded with American goods, where will Japanese products go? To America? Rubbish. To China? But America forbids this. The only hope seems to lie in the sterling countries in South-East Asia, where resistance to them is bitter.

"America forced Dodge's policy on Japan to enable Japanese products to break through the tariffs of the sterling bloc. Taxes have been increased, wages pegged, workers speeded up and American capital poured in. This was an export policy based on hunger.

"By 1949, the consequences began to show — stocks began to pile up, villages went bankrupt and factories closed down. Unemployment reached one seventh of the population last spring.

"With the Korean war, Japan was degraded into a base for the American forces and supplies although she is short of raw materials. And this shortage becomes more acutely felt as war preparations force up the prices of materials needed in the imperialist camp. Japan planned to produce 4,000,000 tons of steel this year but it was announced that her imported iron ore stock would last for only half a day's production by the end of next month. Even with adequate iron ore imports, Japan's shipping is inadequate and the use of American vessels will in the end raise the cost enormously.

"The American reserves in Korea have made a section of Japan's ruling class more thoughtful. They foresee that to follow America into a new world war would cause starvation in Japan — not to mention the shortage of raw materials. They had this painful experience towards the end of the last war, when Japan had three times as much shipping and vast occupied areas to plunder.

"Facts show that American iron ore costs 70 % more than Chinese and American coal is twice as costly as Chinese. Japan can only solve her problems of raw materials, transport and high costs by breaking from dependence on America and becoming a component of the Asian economy.

"China and the Soviet Union have opened another road for Japan — a road that leads to peace and prosperity. This is the way of an overall peace treaty, no rearmament and the building up of peaceful industries. The Chinese people willingly offer Japan a way out on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, provided that she intends to take part in peaceful trade."

People's Daily (Peking), 3-3-51.

ITALY

Catholic Priest Condemns Warplanners

The Catholic priest of Lonigo de Vicenza has made public the following letter he has sent to Professor Alfredo De Polzer, President of the Municipal Council of the Padano Delta:

"Dear Professor,

I regret that I was unable to take an active part in the demonstration of solidarity with the people of the Delta. I associate myself with this blessed action and I bless you and all the organisers. May the Lord crown with success all your efforts and grant you the great comfort of seeing the face of this old, decadent world change into that of a new built in abundance and peace — *in abundantia pacis*.

"In the meanwhile, may they be cursed, those who are planning new wars, who, in their fury and blindness, are seeking to hurl the world into the vortex of another whirlwind. May the Lord strike down those who desire war!

Yours sincerely,
Don Tassello."

Lavoro (Rome), 14-2-51.

SOUTH AFRICA

Peace Criminals

"The release of Krupp and other Nazi war criminals in Western Germany has brought the world another step nearer to war. These men have not been released in any spirit of forgiveness or amnesty. They have been brought out of gaol to do a job of work in preparing Western Germany for war.

"It is sometimes thought — as Nehru has said often enough in recent months — that although no group of people or nation wants war, yet they seem tragically to take one step after another which makes war inevitable. The release of Krupp in Germany proves this theory untrue. There are clearly circles in America who want war and who are cold-bloodedly making their preparations for The Day....

"It is precisely because the common man in every country is against war that the American Government is forced to scour the gaols and refuse-heaps of international politics in its frantic search for reliable allies. Franco is rehabilitated and once more proudly acknowledged as a "gallant Christian gentleman"; Hirohito was never dethroned in Japan, and has now been joined by former high Japanese officials released from prison on the orders of General MacArthur; Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee — despite every atrocity and corruption which has been proved against them — are willingly accepted as friends. For who else will do the dirty work?...

"The men who are responsible for all this — the men who refuse a truce in Korea and are itching to start the atom bombs on their way, the men who are trying to blast human progress into the ground with petrol bombs and rockets — these are the criminals of peace. Their every action exposes them.

"But the peace is not yet lost. Not only are the majority of mankind against the warmongers, but their own people are against them, as recent public opinion polls in America have shown. A world not yet recovered from the ravages of the last war is desperate for peace, and is learning to organise and fight against war with ever-increasing strength and determination.

"No man may stand aside from this

struggle. Especially we in the 'in-between' states have the duty to compel our governments to break away from the mad course at present being pursued by the American Government, and stake our independent claim for peace. It is no longer enough for men not to want war. They must now act to prevent war before it is too late."

The Guardian (Cape Town), 8-2-51.

AUSTRALIA

Defeat Japanese Rearmament!

"An item in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (February 26) dispels once for all any idea that America's rulers will consult or consider any opinion outside their own on Japanese rearmament.

"For a perfect example of the insolent swaggering arrogance for which the dollar lords are today famous, take a look at this:

'Japanese demands (DEMANDS, mind you)... for 12 divisions, 300 fighter aircraft and 300 destroyers may be reduced by Australian and New Zealand pressure...'

'Japan's leaders have drafted (note the past tense) a programme for the rehabilitation of the country's heavy industry for swift rearming...'

'A panel of industrial experts has been chosen to visit the United States for urgent talks on speeding up heavy industries...'

"So the decision has already been made.

"Sure of the power of her dollar-squeeze on United Nations members like Attlee's Britain, Menzies' Australia, etc., the U.S. has already launched her plan to conscript the peoples of other countries to do her fighting.

"While the Australian public is lulled into the belief that their opinion will be sought on a question of vital interest, the American 'super-men' have already started to rearm Jap militarists who only a few short years ago subjected the youth of this nation to atrocities too vicious to bear repetition.

"Even while trials for war crimes still go on, American demagogues like MacArthur and Truman order the release of prisoners guilty of the sadistic murder of thousands of Australian prisoners during World War II.

"Make no mistake — American leaders are intent on world war.

"They are equally determined to sacrifice the people of other nations in a war they hope to keep thousands of miles from their own shores.

"And this plan includes the people of Australia.

"Our job is to defeat it — and our first efforts must be devoted to:

THROW MENZIES OUT."

Labor News (Federated Ironworkers' fortnightly), 28-2-51.

NEW ZEALAND

Government Attempts to Strait-Jacket Workers

"Police-state powers have been taken by the Holland Government under its emergency regulations. Our democratic heritage of free speech and the liberty of the individual has been handed over to the say-so of a police constable. Every condition won by any union can be swept away on the say-so of an employers' Government...

"All unionists — all democratic citizens — must rally to defend their rights as New Zealanders. If the Government will not give up its totalitarian powers the people must call on it to resign.

"Without calling Parliament (and Parliament has not been called for the same reason as the emergency regulations were thought necessary) the Government has taken powers which enable it to enforce the following against ANY union:

Manpower direction.
Abolition of the 40 hour week.
Arrest of officials.
Seizure of union funds.

"These actions can be taken against any union the Holland Cabinet 'declares' as being on strike. Almost anything a worker does can be called a strike. The regulations read in part:

"*Strike means the act of any number of workers who are or have been in the employment of the same employer or of different employers in discontinuing that employment, whether wholly or partially and* **whether by refusing or failing to work overtime or otherwise;** *or in breaking their contracts of service; or in refusing or failing to accept engagement for any work in which they are usually employed;* or **any reduction in the normal output of workers in their employment;** or *any other transaction in the nature of a strike or combination, agreement, common understanding, or concerted action on the part of any workers...*

"Not only have the ordinary rules of evidence which protect even murderers in our law courts been set aside, but the regulations go so far that the Court itself is set aside. A section reads:

"*Every person commits an offence against these regulations who is found by a constable attending at or near any premises or place where any other person resides or works or proposes to work, and fails to satisfy that CONSTABLE that his attendance is not an offence against this regulation.*

"There may be arrests without warrant, searches of homes without warrant, private or public meetings may be prohibited.

"If the regulations would or could be fully enforced New Zealand would become a vast prison. Every political right, every trade union right in New Zealand was won by the bitter struggles of our forefathers. ONLY THE DEMOCRATIC ACTION OF THE WORKERS CAN PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE NEW ZEALAND PEOPLE, THE NEW ZEALAND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE NEW ZEALAND LABOUR MOVEMENT OF THE FUTURE."

The NZ Transport Worker (Watersiders' Newspaper), 7-3-51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Wage Increase Insult To Seamen

"This journal has no hesitation in stating that the recent increase of £ 2 per month to men serving in British ships is a decided insult. Taking into consideration the terrific profits being reaped by the shipowners and the high cost of living inflicted on the workers, the minimum that could have been expected was £ 5 per month.

"New rates of pay in British Merchant Ships, effective on March Ist, have recently been announced by the National Maritime Board. These new rates are the results of negotiations between shipowners and seafarers' representatives through the Board...

"Our present rate of £ 24 per month (using the A.B. as the calculating medium), was obtained in 1943, after considerable dissatisfaction had been expressed by the rank and file, and at a time when shipowners were drawing dividends, mainly accrued from transport of war material and profits were to some extent limited.

"Since 1945, controls on profits have been released and what we have to ask ourselves now in the light of this situation, is whether a £ 2 increase is sufficient to meet the rising cost of living, taking into account the increased profits of the boss.

"We say quite definitely, that it does not; that the cost of living since 1943 has increased beyond all proportions, that the *take home* pay packet of the seamen buys considerably less and that by comparison the profits of the shipowner have trebled.

"Therefore the claim made by the Seamen three years ago for an increase of £ 5 on the basic rate is justifiable and one that should be granted without delay....

"Here is a list of profits for the year 1943, when the present figure of £ 24 per month was achieved, and a list of profits for 1950 just prior to the £ 2 increase.

	1943 £	1950 £
Elder Dempster	301,000	1,477,695
Cunard White Star	1,834,000	3,501,642
Furness Lines	547,000	1,145,905
P. & O.	2,698,000	3,339,517
Union Castle	2,029,000	2,171,012

"So we can see that whilst the employers have increased their earnings by as much as 200% and 300%, we have to be satisfied with an increase amounting to 8 1/3 %, at the same time the cost of living (using the Government's own cost of living index), shows an increase of 25%. Thus in actual fact the seaman today is worse off financially than he was in 1943...

"Since 1943 we have worked longer and harder, but have had less and less to spend, who then has derived the benefit from our work? Why, the employers...

"Brothers, let's get wise to ourselves, isn't it time we said "Halt." These people have been living off our backs for years, get together and tell them we have had enough. We who sail the ships and create the wealth are entitled to a decent share."

On Watch (New rank and file seamen's paper). February, 1951.

Capitalist Finger in the Pie

"Another obstacle the unions are up against in negotiations with the nationalised industries is the structure and composition of the governing boards. The intention of the Acts was to make the boards neutral bodies, representative of no classes or sections of the community. Members of the boards were to be appointed not as representative of this or that interest, but as persons having qualifications and experience of the industry concerned, or qualifications and experience in "industrial, commercial or financial matters, applied science, or the organisation of the workers."

"As a result, the boards are found to be heavily weighted with representatives of capitalist interests, by persons who have no faith in the policy of nationalisation or the ends nationalisation seeks to achieve. They have brought to their work not the zeal of public service, but the strategems of the capitalist administrator. Nor has the appointment of a very few top grade trade union officials made the slightest difference.

"A condition of their appointment was that they severed their official connection with their union... The unions have found facing them across the negotiating table their old general secretary or a former full-time official. He was doing the job he had left, but in reverse as it were.

"The results have not been pleasant, and it has created some bitterness."

Electron (Organ of the E.T.U.), February, 1951.

Politics and the Workers

"Some stewards still argue — not so many today as in the past: Let us get on with the trade union job and leave politics alone.

"Whatever the position was a few years ago, who can deny that the political decisions now being taken will determine our living and working conditions for years to come?

"If the arms programme is to be £4,700 million over the next three years — not counting stockpiling — then thousands of engineers will find themselves affected.

"Many will find their present jobs closed through metal shortages, many will be forced to move to new areas and the threat is made that direction of labour will be used if other measures fail.

"Dilution, speed-up, longer hours, and wages buying less and less, these are the inevitable effects of the vast arms drive.

"Is all this necessary?

"The war hysteria has been whipped up in Europe by the Americans, who have also forced a war crisis with China, although all the evidence points to the possibility of Four-Power talks to settle outstanding difficulties.

"The men who spent five years fighting to end Nazism are being asked to don uniforms again to march side by side with a German Army, officered by the same Nazis they fought to destroy.

"The Americans release men like Krupp who built up Hitler — and give him back his arms works. They release monsters guilty of murdering millions of people from all over Europe, and they are proposing to arm the same elements in Japan who slaughtered millions in the Far East.

"This year's arms budget means about 10s. per head for every man, woman and child in the country, some 41s. 6 d. per household per week, for war. This is far more than is spent on housing and all the social services put together.

"If we want a living wage, if we want regular employment over a period of years, above all if we want to avoid a slaughter such as the world has never seen, we must fight for peace and reason, against the war maniacs who would slam the door on negotiations.

"Either countries with different social systems will live together in the same world, or we shall be driven by America into a war without end, and for what? To try and turn back the clock, to force capitalism on the socialist half of the world. Our allies in this crusade will be Nazi murderers, Japanese fascists, and General Franco.

"If the Govt is made to realise that the workers will not stand for such insanity, then Britain's influence can be used to maintain peace and restrain the war maniacs and we can look forward to the future without fear."

The Metal Worker (official organ of the Engineering and Allied Trades Shop Stewards' National Council), February 1951.

UNITED STATES

A Unity Convention

The following are excerpts from the Call to the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards fourth biennial Convention to begin on May 1, 1951, in San Francisco.

"In these times, less than six years after the ending of World War II, our membership, seamen and longshoremen, and the people of America are faced with another crisis. We have to take militant action in support of peace in the world, for free and equal trade with all nations, and a genuine goodneighbor policy with the peoples of the world in order to have jobs for the membership.

"As this appeal is written we still have to work three trips on and one trip off, yet the military is the biggest single ship operator in America, and they have chartered 16 foreign-flag vessels to sail under the MSTS banner, while MCS and other seamen divide and share inadequate work opportunities.

"Martial law exists today on the waterfronts of America. The Coast Guard has been given full power and the destinies and very lives of American seamen are in their hands, even though we are civilians employed in the privately owned and operated American merchant marine industry.

"As this appeal is drawn, MCS members and all seamen are taken from the ships without hearings, without a charge, without facing their accuser, without an appeal. This un-American, un-Constitutional procedure has reversed our proud American process of innocence until proven guilty...

"In these hysterical times of raids, disorganising the organised, false shouts of "Communist control", and various and sundry other forms of red-baiting and Union-busting being used by "labor unions", we have to reunite all MCS forces and work determinedly to keep our Union.

"This fourth Constitutional Convention must be a unity Convention..."

The Voice (MCS organ). 2-2-51.

Racial Discrimination and the C.I.O.

"Sober thought and a little research covering the last year and a half, during which the C.I.O. purged the "leftist" unions, makes it evident that the crime of the ousted unions was not adherence to any "Moscow line", but that they insisted on following the line of inter-racial liberalism which the C.I.O. followed before it got fat and greedy...

"Only the unions which have been "purged", the "leftist" unions, have maintained the original interracial composition, from the top down.

"Not only on local levels but on international levels, Negroes are found in high offices and in positions of trust and responsibility in these unions.

"With so few exceptions that a three-toed sloth could count them on his fingers, there are no Negroes in top spots in the C.I.O....

"Unions that were purged from the C.I.O., without exception, were those which refused to fall in line with the C.I.O. policy that developed under Murray, Reuther, Carey and Haywood. These "labor leaders" twisted the C.I.O. to conform with traditional policies of segregation and Jim-Crow.

"And there are plenty of documented facts to prove that C.I.O. has become a Jim-Crow, white-supremist, dictatorship ruled by a handful of top brass.

"Despite the fact that more than a third of Phil Murray's own Steel-

workers are colored, there is no Negro on the union's 41-man executive board.

"Walter Reuther, Auto Workers czar, has a lily-white executive board of 22 members.

"Present policy of national C.I.O. is to organize Jim-Crow unions in the south...

"The National Maritime Union, headed by president-for-life Joe Curran, has Jim-Crow hiring halls in Houston, Texas...

"Here in California we find auto manufacturers who have no Negroes working in the plants; and no effort being made by regional brass to enforce a beautifully written "no discrimination" pledge by national U.A.W.

"What unions in California take up the fight when Negroes are intimidated, beaten, framed and killed by trigger-happy police?...

"The only unions that fight for equal rights and human dignity for colored people are those that have been purged by the C.I.O. — because they were 'Reds'."

Labor Herald
(San Francisco), 30-1-51.

"Why I Am Dangerous"

Typical of the statements made before the Board of Education by the 8 New York teachers who refused to disclose their political beliefs on the illegal request of the authorities is the following extract from the declaration made by one of them, Louis Jaffe:

"I think my record and contributions to the teaching profession are quite well known and it is a proud one. Ironically, enough, it is this proud record which is leading to my dismissal as dangerous. For I will admit that I am dangerous, but not because of insubordination, or as a potential enemy or an alleged Communist, for I would not insult your intelligence to think that you believe that nonsense. That is merely a convenient device today to remove me because I happen to be, in my small and uncompromising way, a threat to your plans to gear the schools to a war program...

"I want the record to show that the Board, in voting for my dismissal, is only continuing and intensifying its policy begun several years ago, of educating in a spirit of inevitable war, a policy which has already done incalculable damage to our educational system...

"Thus we see the fruits of the Board's insistence on education in the spirit of inevitable war. It is militarizing the schools. It is destroying decent, objective teaching. It is creating fear among teachers and students. Our dismissals are designed to increase this fear to the point where no teacher will dare to utter one word against this plot to transform our schools into barracks. I say this mental blackout, this twisting of the minds of the youngsters in the spirit of inevitable war is wrong. It is immoral. It is indecent. It is dangerous to our future.

"I want the record to show that I am being dismissed for these beliefs and for no other reason, that my dismissal be your disgrace and your betrayal of peace and democracy."

New York Teacher News, 27-1-51.

POLAND

"The Voice of Labour"

The first issue of a new daily paper Głos Pracy (The Voice of Labour), organ of the Central Council of Trade Unions, was published on February 15.

In a leading article, Głos Pracy stated the aims of the paper:

"We shall fight for a better and happier future for the working class. But, in order to build this happier future jointly, we must convince every man and woman that our fate is in our own hands, that each one of us is responsible for his own future as well as for the future of his country and of mankind. And the happy future of Poland means peace in the world and the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan in Poland.

"The path to socialism followed by the Polish working class is not an easy one. It is the path of hard class struggle, against the internal and foreign enemies of progress and peace... We shall assiduously work to unite millions of trade unionists in our conscious and fearless army of builders of socialism."

Polish Facts and Figures, 24-2-51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

March 1

U.S.S.R. — The Government agrees to the holding of preliminary talks in Paris on March 5 to draw up the agenda for a Four-Power conference.

FRANCE. — The Confederal Bureau of the C.G.T. calls for full support for the European Workers' Conference against German Rearmament, in order to make this conference a real demonstration of working-class unity.

NEW ZEALAND. — Government agents, in execution of the National Government's policy of attempting to smash the Waterside Worker's Union, locked-out by the employers, enter the Union's national offices and seize all records and cash books.

AUSTRALIA. — The assistant general secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation, E. C. Roach, is sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for "contempt" of the Arbitration Court. Within an hour, over 7,000 Sydney waterside workers stop work and hold protest meetings.

BURMA. — Contradicting its own claim to control 95 percent of the country, the Thakin Nu government overrides opposition parties' protests and extends martial law for another six months. This means that the general elections, set for May 5, will take place under military control.

March 2

MOROCCO. — Numerous Moroccan nationalists are arrested. The policy of provocation pursued by the French Government and supported by the American imperialists leads to fighting between Moroccans and occupation troops, resulting in casualties.

NEW ZEALAND. — In Wellington, the Gas Workers' Union actively supports the locked-out dockers by instructing members not to handle coal unloaded by troops.

AUSTRALIA. — The major reason for the government's attacks on militant dockers' and miners' unions is indicated in the plans for war preparations which Premier Robert Menzies lays before the Premiers of the Australian States. These plans call for tripling the armed forces by the end of 1953 and almost quadrupling expenditure on arms to £ 300,000,000.

March 3

UNITED STATES. — 183 professors and lecturers of Roosevelt College, Chicago University, and of the Technological Institute of Illinois as well as 44 other university professors send an open letter to Truman asking for the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Chinese People's Republic.

March 4

SWEDEN. — The Swedish Peace Congress adopts an appeal declaring: WE STAND FOR A PEACEABLE SWEDISH POLICY WHICH WOULD KEEP OUR COUNTRY OUTSIDE THE MILITARY BLOCS. It condemns the armaments drive, now lowering the people's living standards, and advocates free trade exchange and cultural relations between peoples.

CHINA. — 660,000 Shanghai citizens demonstrate against the rearming of Japan by the American occupation authorities.

March 5

PARIS. — The preliminary conference of the Foreign Ministers' deputies of the U.S.S.R., France, the U.S.A. and Great Britain opens. Mr. A. Gromyko, deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., states that in the opinion of the Soviet Government the following questions must be included in the agenda:

1. Fulfilment by the four Powers of the Potsdam Agreement on demilitarisation of Germany and the inadmissibility of the remilitarisation of Germany.
2. Speeding up conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and withdrawal of occupation forces from Germany.
3. Improvement of the situation in Europe and the immediate beginning of a reduction of armed forces of the four Powers.

NEW ZEALAND. — Voting in a secret ballot conducted by the Labour Department, members of the Wellington Drivers' Union defeat Government hopes of breaking their solidarity with the locked-out dockers by refusing by a large majority to transport goods normally handled by waterside workers.

AUSTRALIA. — Unable to shake the solidarity of the dockers, on strike against the 12-months sentence imposed on one of their officials, C. E. Roach, the government issues a proclamation bringing into effect the "Crimes Act" under which leaders of "illegal" strikes can be sentenced to one year in prison and, if they are foreign-born, can be deported.

— Eleven major labour unions cable President Truman "emphatically protesting attempted legal

lynching of Trenton Six Negroes and Negro war veteran Willie McGee, and demanding all be freed and all forms of racial discrimination ended in the interest of international peace, freedom and democracy."

KOREA. — Peking Radio and newspapers announce that on February 23 last two American planes dropped poison gas on a Korean village six miles south of Seoul, in defiance of all international conventions against the use of gas in warfare.

EGYPT. — The Chamber of Deputies unanimously denounces French colonialist methods in Morocco and declares its full support for the "Sultan, the Istiqlal leaders and the brave people of Morocco in their struggle for freedom and independence."

PAKISTAN. — 1500 students demonstrate against French cruelty in Morocco outside the meeting-place in Lahore of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

INDIA. — The Government clamps down a virtual ban on the Indian Peace Congress, scheduled to be held in Delhi in April.

SCOTLAND. — The Executive of the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers endorses a decision of miners at the Knockshinnoch pit (where 116 miners were trapped in a disaster last August) not to resume work until the pit officials have been removed. The Commission of Inquiry into the disaster has as yet published no findings, despite damning admissions by the National Coal Board agent for the colliery concerned and by the manager of the pit.

ARGENTINE. — Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, publisher of "La Prensa", is charged with violating Argentine's security law. The newspaper, too objective for the liking of the fascist Peron government, was closed five weeks ago, and subsequently a newspaper worker was killed when "La Prensa" employees tried to return to their jobs.

GREECE. — Seven patriots, accused of organising a "Youth Peace Front" in Salonika, are executed. The monarcho-fascists' terrorism is intensified in an attempt to break the ever-growing resistance of the people to their preparations for a new war.

March 6

BELGIUM. — The House of Representatives passes a Bill extending military service from one to two years, in line with the "Atlantic" policy imposed by the United States.

HUNGARY. — It is announced that a second Hungarian surgical team is on its way to Korea to assist the People's Army and the Chinese volunteers. The 15-men team is taking large quantities of medical equipment and supplies as well as clothing donated by the Hungarian people.

UNITED STATES. — The Government suspends all purchases of tin for the national war stockpile until the price falls "to a reasonable level." As a result of U.S. stockpiling tin prices have risen by as much as 137 percent since the start of the war in Korea.

March 7

FRANCE. — Ten Waffen SS of the Das Reich division which massacred the population of the French village of Oradour are judged by the military tribunal of Bordeaux, the same tribunal which condemned Raymonde Dien and Michel Bottin — defenders of peace — to prison terms. Nine of the Nazis are acquitted, and the tenth is given a five years suspended sentence.

ITALY. — The Chamber of Deputies approves an emergency appropriation of 250,000,000,000 lire (about $ 400,000,000) for an extra arms effort in the next three years to reinforce its contribution to the Atlantic Pact.

SPAIN. — The unanimous boycott by the population of the Barcelona tramways following an increase in fares ends in defeat for the Falangist city authorities who are obliged to reduce fares to the old rate. Despite the maintenance of tram service under police protection, the only passengers during the days of the boycott were the armed police and the governor of the province.

AUSTRALIA. — The Minister for Labour introduces a Bill into the House of Representatives which gives the Arbitration Court powers usually possessed only by judicial tribunals, including the right to impose penalties, order compliance with awards, grant injunctions against non-observance, give interpretations, and punish for "contempt of Court." This Bill would in fact make strike action against Arbitration awards illegal and provide the government and the employers with legal methods for attempting to completely suppress genuine unionism.

NEW ZEALAND. — Postcards printed by the NZ Peace Council and carrying protests against Japanese rearmament and dictation by State Department advisor John Dulles pack the post boxes of Premier Holland and Foreign Minister Doidge.

IRAN. — The Prime Minister, General Ali Razmara, is assassinated by a member of a sect which demands nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the country's rich oil fields.

In Parliament, as a result of popular pressure the Oil Commission votes by a big majority for nationalisation of the oil industry.

JAPAN. — The Japanese Socialist Party proposes a non-aggression pact between Japan on the one hand, and People's China, the U.S.S.R. and other Asiatic countries, on the other.

MARTINIQUE. — The police attack agricultural workers, on strike against the government decree fixing the guaranteed minimum wage for the Antilles at 65 francs an hour.

March 8

U.S.S.R. — The Minister of Finance presents the draft budget for 1951 to the Supreme Soviet. Out of a total of 458 billion roubles, 178 billion (almost 40 percent) are allotted for economic development; 120 billion (26.8 percent) for education and public health; and 96 billion (21.3 percent) for national defence (as compared with over 70 percent of the present U.S.A. budget devoted to war expenditure.)

GDYNIA. — The Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International and the Land and Air Transport Workers T.U.I. (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) publish a joint declaration on the defence of peace, declaring that they have decided to unite the efforts of the workers in the different transport industries to block the criminal policy of the war-mongers.

CHILE. — 2,700 office workers and miners in the Potrerilos copper mines (Atacama province) strike for a wage rise and recognition of their trade union rights.

ALGERIA. — The railway workers of the C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. (Christian centre) strike for 24 hours in support of their wage demands.

BURMA. — Premier Thakin Nu tells Parliament that no antagonism exists between his government and that of the Chinese People's Republic, and that "the peoples and the government of China have no imperialist aims. The rumors leading people to think there are difficulties in relations between China and Burma are not founded in fact."

GREAT BRITAIN. — The strike threat by 38,000 Manchester engineering workers forces H. W. Kearns Ltd., a Cheshire machine-tool firm, to withdraw the dismissal notices given to 260 men. The men have been on day work in protest against the refusal of the firm to grant increased wages to piece-workers in line with those recently awarded to the lower-paid men in the industry.

ITALY. — Miners of Abbadis San Salvatoro in Tuscany Province strike for 10 hours in protest against the new allocation of 25,000 million lire for rearmament. Limited strikes also take place in Florence, Terni, and an industrial suburb of Venice.

SOUTH AFRICA. — The non-European population stages the greatest demonstration in Cape Town's history in protest against the Malan Government's bill to deprive non-Europeans of their present limited electoral rights.

March 9

IRAN. — 15,000 women and children demonstrate for four hours in the streets of Teheran shouting: "We want peace." The demonstrators also demand that the oil companies be nationalised.

SOUTH AFRICA. — 8,000 people demonstrate in the streets of Cape Town in protest against the government's Representation of Non-Europeans Bill, which seeks to step up racial discrimination by placing coloured voters on a separate roll in Cape Province and Natal.

JAPAN. — It is learned that Robert Allen, MacArthur's semi-official spokesman, has published an article in the English-language edition of the Japanese paper MAINICHI, declaring that the USA is preparing a general invasion of China to be launched by Chiang Kai-shek's mercenary troops.

LAHORE. — The WFTU delegation presents a written statement to the acting chairman of the 7th session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), expressing full support for the Soviet proposal to expel the "representative" of Chiang Kai-shek and invite the legal representative of the Chinese People's Republic to attend the meeting.

PAKISTAN. — In an election eve attempt to swing votes away from the forces demanding settlement of the Kashmir dispute with India, land reform, and a foreign policy which will not permit Pakistan to become an American bomber base, the Prime Minister arrests leaders of an alleged "plot" to "create commotion and subvert the loyalty of the Pakistan defence forces". Those arrested include the Chief of Staff and Faiz Ahmed Faiz, editor of the PAKISTAN TIMES and chairman of the Pakistan Peace Committee.

— In the streets of Karachi, more than 100,000 demonstraters shout slogans against French, American and British imperialism, following a meeting of solidarity with the Moroccan people.

AUSTRALIA. — Following on the wide and vigorous campaign waged against Premier Menzies' Communist Party Dissolution Bill (directed at all trade union and democratic organisations), the High Court, by a six to one majority, declares the Act AN INVALID EXERCISE OF THE COMMONWEALTH'S DEFENCE POWER, and awards costs against the Commonwealth Government. The Bill was passed following a reversal of the Labour Party's previous opposition to it, and the High Court's decision is a victory for the genuine trade unions and the democratic movement in general.

— The waterside workers' union, forced by the threatened use of the Crimes Act to drop their ban on overtime, issues a statement declaring that the union will continue, by other means, the struggle for decent wages until final victory.

UNITED STATES. — The Carnegie Corporation of New York, which poses as a scientific and philanthropic institution in order to evade taxation on its enormous earnings, grants over $ 32,000 to the so-called Council of Foreign Relations for establishing espionage and sabotage rings in the People's Democracies.

March 10

MEXICO — The 4000 striking miners who have marched 850 miles, enter Mexico City, followed by thousands of Mexico City workers, students and intellectuals led by CTAL President Vicente Lombardo Toledano, and other democratic leaders. At a 25,000-strong meeting held near the Presidential Palace, the General Secretary of the Industrial Union of Mine, Metal and Allied Workers, Garcia Moreno, acclaims the support received from miners in Poland, East and West Germany, China, the USA, and other WFTU-affiliated unions, and from the WFTU's Metalworkers' and Miners' Trade Departments, and states: OUT OF THIS CONFLICT IS BEING FORGED A NEW WORKERS' UNITY IRRESPECTIVE OF TRADE UNION AFFILIATION OR RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL BELIEFS.

GREAT BRITAIN. — A conference for the defence of trade union rights called by a unity committee is attended by 163 delegates representing 214,430 London trade unionists. In a unanimous resolution, the conference demands the immediate and complete revocation of the infamous Order 1305, and the release of the 7 dockers prosecuted under this Order.

TUNISIA. — Workers demonstrate their solidarity with the Moroccan people by a 24-hour strike in protest against the repressive measures of French imperialism.

March 11

PHILIPPINES. — The New China News Agency reveals that in one week in mid-February the Quirino puppet government arrested, in the provinces of Manila and Luzon alone, 500 people, including Amado Hernandez, President of the Congress of Labour Organisations, and a number of other trade union leaders.

JAPAN. — As a result of popular pressure, the 2nd Convention of the rightwing-led General Council of Japanese Trade Unions adopts a resolution calling for a peace treaty with all Japan's former enemies, a policy of permanent neutrality, and opposition to the lending of military bases to foreign powers.

SYRIA. — All industrial and commercial enterprises cease business for half an hour in protest against the repression in Morocco.

FRANCE. — In the Paris suburb of Gennevilliers, 30,000 women take part in the Women's National Assembly for Disarmament, for a better life and for peace. The Assembly unanimously carries a resolution of greetings to the women of the world stressing the imperative necessity for a daily struggle to save peace in order to safeguard the children of the world.

SICILY. — 7000 miners in the provinces of Eppa, Agrigento and Caltanisetta, have now been on strike for 30 days for a wage increase.

SPAIN. — Following the 2nd national congress of Franco's puppet trade union centre, at which delegates were forced to express faint echoes of the mounting anger of the famine-stricken workers of Spain, Franco declares that the tone of their criticisms "exceeded the serenity necessary for the study and solution of these problems".

March 12

SPAIN. — 300,000 Barcelona workers defy Franco's massive apparatus of repression and launch a 24-hour general strike against the rise in prices. The people of the city join in street demonstrations against their famine conditions, despite the brutal attacks of Franco's police, armed with rifles and machine-guns, the arrest of hundreds of demonstrators, and the shooting down of some. In several other localities of Catalonia, workers down tools and demonstrate against Franco's regime of poverty. Franco rushes warships and police to Barcelona and troop reinforcements to the Asturias mining basin.

UNITED STATES. — A statement made at the end of February by General Eisenhower to a joint session of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees is made public. Eisenhower had declared that in the event of war, if it would be to the advantage of his country, he WOULD NOT HESITATE FOR AN INSTANT to use the atom bomb. As for the admission of Franco to the Atlantic Pact, he had stated, "whoever is really opposed to the enemy would be welcomed by me".

U.S.S.R. — The Supreme Soviet unanimously passes a law for the defence of peace and the banning of war propaganda, expressing agreement with the proposals put forward by the 2nd World Peace Congress and declaring that:

1. War propaganda in any form, undermining peace and creating a threat of war, is the greatest crime against humanity;
2. Those committing this crime will be tried and judged like the worst common criminals.

KOREA. — 279 prisoners of war, mostly US citizens, send an appeal to the United Nations in which they tell of the horrors caused by the American aggression against the Korean people and stress that the only solution to the threat of a third world war lies in following the proposals of the Warsaw Peace Congress and ending immediately the war in Korea by adoption of Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's proposals.

NETHERLANDS. — At a Congress in Amsterdam called by the WFTU-affiliated EVC and attended also by representatives of the Catholic and reformist trade union centres, a resolution is adopted declaring that Netherlands workers must strengthen their fight for their rights, for peace and against war preparations in order to put an end to the rise in prices and to win wage increases.

ISRAEL. — The Government hands notes to the USA, Britain, France and the USSR filing a claim for $ 1500 million reparations from Germany for the Nazi's gigantic slaughter and rapine of Jews in Europe.

March 13

SPAIN. — More than 150,000 workers remain on strike, demanding that all their arrested comrades be freed.

FRANCE. — The bureau of the CGT calls on French workers to organise powerful united demonstrations in support of the Spanish workers, to demand the annulment of the decree expelling the General Union of Spanish Workers from France and authorisation for deported Spanish workers and Republicans to return to France. The Bureau calls for action against the transport of anything Franco could use against Spanish workers.

ITALY. — In an address of greeting to the workers of Barcelona, the Secretariat of the CGIL acclaims their heroism in defying Franco's dictatorship and declares that their general strike has demonstrated their unshakeable determination to win justice, liberty and peace.

NEW ZEALAND. — The Cabinet decides to cancel further compulsory military training for 18 year olds and to return to their homes those now in camp, and recalls to port the cruiser BELLONA and a frigate, in order that members of the permanent military and naval staffs may be free to be used as "free labour" on the waterfront.

INDIA. — Commenting on Eisenhower's statement before the US Senate that he would be ready to use the atom bomb in event of war, Premier Nehru states that this would mean world-wide destruction, and declares: I CANNOT THINK OF ANY OBJECTIVE THAT WILL NOT BE SWEPT AWAY BY BOMBING A THOUSAND MILLION PEOPLE. APART FROM THE PHYSICAL COLLAPSE OF THE WORLD IT WILL MEAN THE MORAL COLLAPSE OF HUMANITY.

CHINA. — The Chinese Red Cross issues an appeal to Red Cross societies throughout the world to support the proposal to investigate the conditions of overseas Chinese in Malaya, where they are persecuted and arbitrarily deported by the British authorities.

— The Overseas Chinese Society protests against the intolerable repression suffered by the 180,000 Chinese residents in the Philippines at the hands of the Quirino Government, which is acting in collusion with Chiang Kai-shek. Thousands of Chinese are deported or sent to Taiwan and Korea as cannon fodder.

JAPAN. — A united front of the Japanese Socialist and Communist parties, along with rank-and-file organisations of the National Democratic Party and

local organisations of the Worker-Peasant Party is rapidly taking shape in all parts of Japan.

MALAYA. — More than 3000 workers in the rubber plantations are out on strike against their low wages. Official attempts to conceal the true aims of the strike by affirming that it has been called as a result of threats by the "bandits" are belied by the fact that while prices increased by 300 per cent in 1950, wages rose by only 24 per cent.

CHILE. — 17,000 miners in the province of La Concepción, who have now been on strike for a fortnight, maintain their refusal to accept government orders to return to work until a wage increase has been granted.

March 14

SPAIN. — With tens of thousands of workers still on strike, Barcelona is in a state of siege. Anti-Franco inscriptions appear on the walls faster than the police can remove them.

ITALY. — Work stoppages take place in support of the Spanish workers, notably in Turin, Bologna and Florence.

FRANCE. — In responge to the CGT's appeal, joined by other unions, workers in Paris and towns of South France down tools in solidarity, with the workers of Barcelona, and demand the recall of the French ambassador in Madrid.

AUSTRALIA. — The Australian people's strong opposition to Japanese rearmament forces the Parliamentary Labour Party to go on record as opposing any peace treaty with Japan that would permit such rearmament. Following this decision, but mainly as a result of his defeat over the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, Premier Menzies states that he will ask for the dissolution of Parliament and new elections.

PAKISTAN. — 3000 clerks walk out of the Punjab Provincial Government secretariat at Lahore following the dismissal of 1000 temporary clerks and the suspension of the rest of the permanent employees, on strike since March 12.

NETHERLANDS. — Military service is extended from 12 to 18 months, and it is announced that conscripts will be trained, along with British troops, in Western Germany.

BURMA. — Following a huge meeting in the City Hall denouncing the government's continuation of the war against the people's forces, a mass demonstration takes place in front of the Government Buildings demanding the resignation of the Thakin Nu Government and the formation of a national all-party government after elections in which all political parties could freely participate.

March 15

PARIS. — F. Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council, sends a letter to the Secretary-General of UNO asking him to receive as soon as possible the delegation to UNO elected at the Council's recent Berlin meeting. The delegation was mandated to ask UNO to examine and express its attitude to the Address and resolutions carried at the 2nd World Peace Congress, and to return to the role of peacemaker assigned to it by the UN Charter.

FRANCE. — Students all over the country carry out a unanimous 24-hour strike in protest against the Education Minister's decision to add a further cut of 200 million frs. to the 135 millions already taken by the Government from the students' social security budget for the benefit of war preparations.

IRAN. — The Majlis (Parliament) unanimously decides to confirm the decision of its oil committee to nationalise the oil industry, most of which is owned by the imperialist Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

CHINA. — The national Peace Committee announces that $ 100 billion people's currency have been donated by the Chinese people towards the relief of Korean refugees and for the purchase of gifts for the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean people's army.

PORTO RICO. — It is learned that sugar workers in the Lafayette Mill, the country's largest, are on strike for a 20 per cent wage increase to meet the rise in living costs aggravated by the application of Truman's wage-price policy to Porto Rico. About 5000 workers are affected, and longshoremen have refused to load any sugar from this mill or any other that may be on strike.

BELGIUM. — 500 inland waterways workers and their wives stop work to back up their demand for a 15 per cent wage rise.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

APRIL 5, 1951 • No. 7

Workers and trade union organisations of all lands! Broaden your united front in the fight for your economic and social demands, impose and widen the utilisation of unity in the labour movement! Join the appeal for the unification of the United Front between the two great powers! Fight against the rearmament of Germany and Japan! Take the cause of the preservation of peace into your own hands and go all out to succeed! Show what the lessons of international working class solidarity! Come into the ranks of the active fighters in the fight for better living and working conditions and for world peace! Come into the World Federation of Trade Unions! Unite organisations of the working class of all lands! Long live the United Front!

Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.
January 20, 1951

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Chairman of the Editorial Board:
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SUPPLEMENT
European Workers' Conference Against the Remtlttartsation of Germany
Resolution
Appeal
Message

EUROPEAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE AGAINST THE REMILITARISATION OF GERMANY

MARCH 23rd - 25th, 1951 IN BERLIN

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RESOLUTION
APPEAL
MESSAGE

SUPPLEMENT
TO No. 7 OF

**WORLD
TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT**

RESOLUTION

MORE than 900 delegates, elected by the workers from factories of 19 countries of Europe met together in Berlin at the European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Western Germany from March 23rd to 25th, 1951.

The powerful support expressed by a great and still growing number of messages of solidarity and approval sent by the workers of all countries, shows that the Conference has gained the enthusiastic and unreserved support of millions of workers, and has met with tremendous response all over the world.

The Conference has established that the remilitarisation of Western Germany is proceeding at a rapid pace: this is shown by the development of armament production, the building of aerodromes and barracks, the formation of a new German army under the command of Nazi generals and under the supreme command of an American General Staff.

The rearmament of Germany, the warlike statements which accompany these preparations, the creation of a mighty war arsenal in the centre of Europe and the artificial division of Germany constitute a deadly threat to peace in Europe and throughout the world and are contrary to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. At the same time, as a consequence of re-armament, the living standards of the workers in Western Germany are reduced. Prices are soaring, taxes are being raised and various vital goods like coal, etc. are becoming scarce.

The Conference has noted the unanimity among all workers of various opinions who were elected and mandated by the working people, on the necessity of fighting against the remilitarisation of Germany.

This is the desire not only of the Conference delegates but of all working people of Europe.

The working people of Western Germany have energetically opposed the remilitarisation of their own country, and do not want either to serve in an army of aggression or to produce for war.

The workers of other European countries have expressed their solidarity with the German workers in the common fight against the policy of rearmament.

They are of the opinion that the German working people have sufficient strength to prevent the remilitarisation of Germany. Neither the Occupation Powers nor the Adenauer Government have the right to decide on the remilitarisation of Germany, which they are now carrying out by violating the desire for peace expressed by the German people. The German people themselves must be consulted on the question.

For this reason the workers of the whole of Europe, in the name of peace and democracy, support the German people who are demanding a referendum on remilitarisation.

Remilitarisation of Germany will be prevented and peace will be preserved by the action of the mass of the working people. The workers, men and women, will take action to obtain the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united democratic and demilitarised Germany in 1951.

In this way the production potential of Germany will serve not war purposes, but the reconstruction of the country and the raising of the living standards of the working people.

By their united action, the working people can enforce their will. The unity of the working people against the remilitarisation of Germany is based upon their common and clearly expressed wish — their deep and sincere desire for peace.

The basis for every action undertaken must be the unity of all working people, to whatever trade union organisation they may belong, whether or not they are organised in any trade union or whatever view they may have on other questions than the remilitarisation of Germany. This is the guarantee of victory.

All forms of action against the policy of re-

armament must be developed in complete unity according to the will of the working people and in accordance with the situation in the different countries of Europe.

The Conference appeals to all trade union organisations, regardless of the international organisation to which they are affiliated, to take common action in every country against the remilitarisation of Germany. The Conference decides to send this resolution to the World Federation of Trade Unions, to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions and to all other organisations, calling upon them to take part in this activity.

The European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany is of the opinion that an understanding between the big powers could prevent the remilitarisation of Germany, eliminate international tension and ensure peace. The Conference, therefore, calls upon the workers of Europe to support the appeal of the World Peace Council and to sign the demand for the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the five Big Powers: the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the United States of America; France; Great Britain; the Chinese People's Republic.

In order to co-ordinate the action of all workers of Europe, the Conference decides to elect a European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany. This Committee will be composed of the representatives of the working people of all European countries. The Committee will set up a Secretariat in Berlin as a co-ordinating body.

The Secretariat will work in accordance with the instructions of the European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany.

The tasks of the European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany will be based on the decisions of the European Workers' Conference.

The main task of this Committee is the establishment of contact between the German working people and the working people of other European countries for the purpose of transmitting information and exchanging experiences on united action in the fight against the remilitarisation of Germany.

The forces organising the remilitarisation of Germany are still dangerous; but they can and will be beaten. Nothing can resist the working class if it acts in unity. The Conference has confidence in the tremendous strength of the working people who will know how to put a stop to the remilitarisation of Germany and how to enforce peace.

Berlin, March 25th, 1951.

APPEAL

Men and Women Workers of Europe!

WHILE the ruin and destruction of the Second World War are still before our eyes, when the horrors of this war are still present in our memories, a third world war is already being prepared.

In Western Germany and in West Berlin, German factories are being turned into war factories, the Nazis are getting back their old jobs, Krupp has been set free, and a German army is again being formed.

The remilitarisation of Germany under the leadership of the imperialist warmongers, is direct preparation for war.

German workers, unite in opposition to the rearmament of your country! You have no wish to pay the price of another war.

Together with the workers of other countries, you want to safeguard peace, which has been re-established after so many years of misery and suffering.

Workers of Europe, whatever your political or religious opinion may be, we are convinced that you will take an active part in the movement against the remilitarisation of Germany.

Make use of the methods most suited to you in your fight. Organise meetings, collect signatures, appeal to your governments, set up committees for united action in the factories, both nationally and on an international scale.

Men and women workers! Only by your united action against rearmament can peace in Europe be enforced. All honest and sincere people are with you in this great struggle.

Long live the unity of German workers in their fight against rearmament!

Long live international solidarity among the workers of all countries!

Berlin, March 25th, 1951.

TELEGRAM

To the Conference of the Deputy Foreign Ministers of the 4 Great Powers

THE European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany which unites working people of all opinions, met in Berlin from 23rd to 25th March, 1951.

More than 900 delegates from:

Austria	Great Britain
Belgium	Holland
Bulgaria	Hungary
Czechoslovakia	Italy
Democratic Sector of Berlin	Poland
Denmark	Rumania
Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany)	Spain
	Trieste
Finland	U.S.S.R.
France	Western Sectors of Berlin
German Democratic Republic	

participated in this Conference. 17,000 messages of greetings from factories and trade union organisations of all countries in Europe were sent to the Conference. The European Workers' Conference manifests the firm desire for peace expressed by the working people of all European countries, and *demands* that the remilitarisation of Western Germany should be stopped, in conformity with the agreements of Potsdam and Yalta.

The European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany asks the Deputy Foreign Ministers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the French Republic, who are now meeting in Paris, to give preference to the demilitarisation of Germany on the agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

MAY DAY APPEAL

from the
World Federation of Trade Unions
to the

Workers and Trade Union Organisations of the whole World

Working Men and Women of All Lands,

THE World Federation of Trade Unions sends you fraternal greetings on the occasion of International Labour Day, May 1st 1951.

On this great day of international working class solidarity, let us close our ranks still more solidly.

The strength of the working class and of all workers lies in unity.

United, we shall bar the road to war, eliminate hunger, poverty and unemployment, ensure better working and living conditions for the labouring peoples of all lands; by our common endeavours we shall oppose the imperialist camp which is exploiting the peoples and instigating war.

In their search for super-profits, the monopolists are seeking to plunge the peoples into another and still more monstrous butchery such as mankind has never known.

The policy pursued by the imperialists is one of a frantic arms race and the plundering of the working masses. They are openly preparing for another world war and are already waging a criminal war against the freedom-loving people of Korea.

The result of this policy of war preparation is that the situation of the workers in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries is daily growing worse: taxes are growing heavier, prices are rising, wages are frozen, the already inadequate expenditure on social insurance, public health, education and culture is being considerably reduced; civilian building projects and the production of consumer goods are being cut down.

The imperialists and their agents are attempting to undermine the workers' unity, and to split the trade union movement in order to smash working class resistance to the warmongers' criminal schemes.

Reaction is intensifying its offensive against the workers' democratic rights and liberties; anti-labour laws are being adopted, drastic measures are being taken against workers' organisations, such as the fascist-type decree banning the World Federation of Trade Unions from maintaining its headquarters in France.

But the workers are ranging themselves with ever-increasing determination against the anti-peoples policy of the imperialists. In all capitalist countries workers are waging resolute strike movements for increased wages, collective agreements, against speed-ups, dismissals and the closing down of their factories. They are defending their trade union rights and demanding the release of their imprisoned leaders.

A broad movement for united action has grown up among the workers in the course of this struggle, irrespective of political or religious opinions, or whether they belong to different organisations.

By re-forging their unity in common action, workers are winning victories and are becoming still more confident in their own force.

The working class, united and fully determined to beat its enemies, is growing stronger.

The World Federation of Trade Unions expresses its fraternal solidarity with the workers, who are waging a just fight for the improvement of their economic and social conditions, for freedom and peace.

The WFTU calls on all workers and all trade union organisations to give active support to this struggle, and to create a great united front by means of which the workers can win their vital demands.

The World Federation of Trade Unions warmly greets the workers of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and of all the People's Democracies, whose peaceful and creative work is a contribution of great value to the cause of human progress.

The peace policy pursued by these countries and the steady improvement of their people's welfare are an inspiration to all workers who, throughout the world, are fighting for better living conditions and peace.

The World Federation of Trade Unions salutes the workers of all

European countries who, at the Berlin Conference, declared their determination to fight against the remilitarisation of Germany. The workers of these countries will demonstrate on May Day their unshakeable determination to prevent the rearmament of Germany.

The WFTU greets the workers of Asia and Australasia who are uniting to defeat the American imperialists' plans for the remilitarisation of Japan.

The WFTU salutes the workers and people of Latin America, Africa and all other colonial and semi-colonial countries fighting for better living conditions, to throw off the colonialist yoke, against racial discrimination and for their national independence.

Workers and trade union organisations of all lands!

Broaden your united front in the fight for your economic and social demands!

Expose and isolate the splitters — agents of imperialism in the labour movement!

Sign the appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the five great powers!

Fight against the rearmament of Germany and Japan!

Take the cause of the preservation of peace into your own hands and go all out to defend it!

Bear aloft the banner of international working class solidarity!

Long live the unity of the entire working class in the fight for better living and working conditions and for world peace!

Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions, fighting organisation of the working class of all lands!

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Vienna, 18th April 1951

COMMUNIQUE

From the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U.

on the new headquarters of the federation

AT the last meeting of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the situation created by the fascist-type decree banning the headquarters of the WFTU in Paris was examined. The Executive Bureau mandated the Secretariat of the WFTU to decide on the establishment of new headquarters for the WFTU, taking the necessary steps to keep the machinery of the organisation functioning.

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions notes that the numerous protests and demonstrations against the French Government's decree by trade unions of every country have shown that the WFTU enjoys ever-increasing confidence and support from the majority of the world's trade unionists.

The Secretariat of the WFTU has received many proposals from trade union organisations inviting the WFTU to set up its new headquarters in their own countries.

In particular, the Secretariat closely examined the proposals from several Works Committees in Austria asking that, in deciding upon the new headquarters of the Federation, consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing it in Austria.

Taking into account the opportunities provided by the city of Vienna for the normal functioning of the Federation, and particularly in view of its geographical position and the warm welcome assured to the Federation by the Austrian workers, the Secretariat of the WFTU, meeting in Vienna on 17th and 18th April 1951, has taken the decision to set up the new headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions in that city. It cordially thanks the Austrian workers, in particular those of Vienna, for their expression of working-class internationalism and solidarity.

From the date of receiving this communiqué, the Secretariat asks that all correspondence should be addressed as follows:

The General Secretary,
World Federation of Trade Unions,
Vienna 1,
Seilerstätte 3,
AUSTRIA.

The Secretariat of the WFTU assures the National Centres, all affiliated trade union organisations and the world working class that the WFTU will continue to fight untiringly for the workers' demands, social justice, freedom and a stable and lasting peace among the peoples.

Vienna, 18th April 1951

THE NEXT MEETING OF THE WFTU EXECUTIVE BUREAU

The next meeting of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions will take place:

from Saturday 16th to Tuesday 19th June

at the new headquarters of the WFTU:

Vienna 1, Seilerstätte 3, Austria.

The following agenda has been drawn up:

1. Strengthening of workers' united action and the development of actions for the defence of their economic and social interests.
   Reporter: Louis Saillant.
2. The WFTU in the fight for peace, against the re-militarisation of Germany and Japan.
   Reporters: H. Warnke and Liu Ning-yi.
3. Reports on the activity of the Miners' and Textile Workers' Trade Departments.
   Reporters: H. Turrel and A. Burski.
4. Information on the WFTU's plan of work on the question of social security.
5. Report on the WFTU's budget.
6. Preparation of the session of the WFTU General Council during 1951.

The Peoples Against the Remilitarisation of Germany

THE EUROPEAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

FOR the first time in history, rank-and-file representatives of all sections of the working-class in Western Germany have signed a pact of friendship, a pact of united action to prevent a third world war, with the workers' representatives from the German Democratic Republic and 16 other European countries, ranging from the USSR and the People's Democracies to Holland, Belgium and Great Britain.

This was the great significance of the European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany, held in Berlin from March 23 to 25.

The 900 delegates of this conference, elected in the pits, the factories, docks and shipyards, had recognised that this hideous shape of a new world war is taking form in Western Germany, and that the only force capable of preventing this war is united action by the working class, regardless of political or religious differences, for the two inseparable aims they all agree on: peace and a higher standard of living.

THE proposal that such a conference be organised was first made by a worker at a meeting of the personnel of the Hagen-Haspe iron foundry at Essen, in the Ruhr. It spread like wildfire to the workers of all Europe.

The conference had its roots deep in the work places. By March 25, more than 20,000 messages of support had been received, and thousands more arrived in the days which followed.

Among the delegates there were Communists, Socialists, Christians, trade unionists, unorganised workers. More than half belonged to no political party, and more than 400 came from Western Germany.

The delegates proclaimed that the first and all-important task of the workers of Europe is to prevent Western Germany from being turned into an armed camp, which would lead to the launching of a war of aggression by the imperialist warmongers.

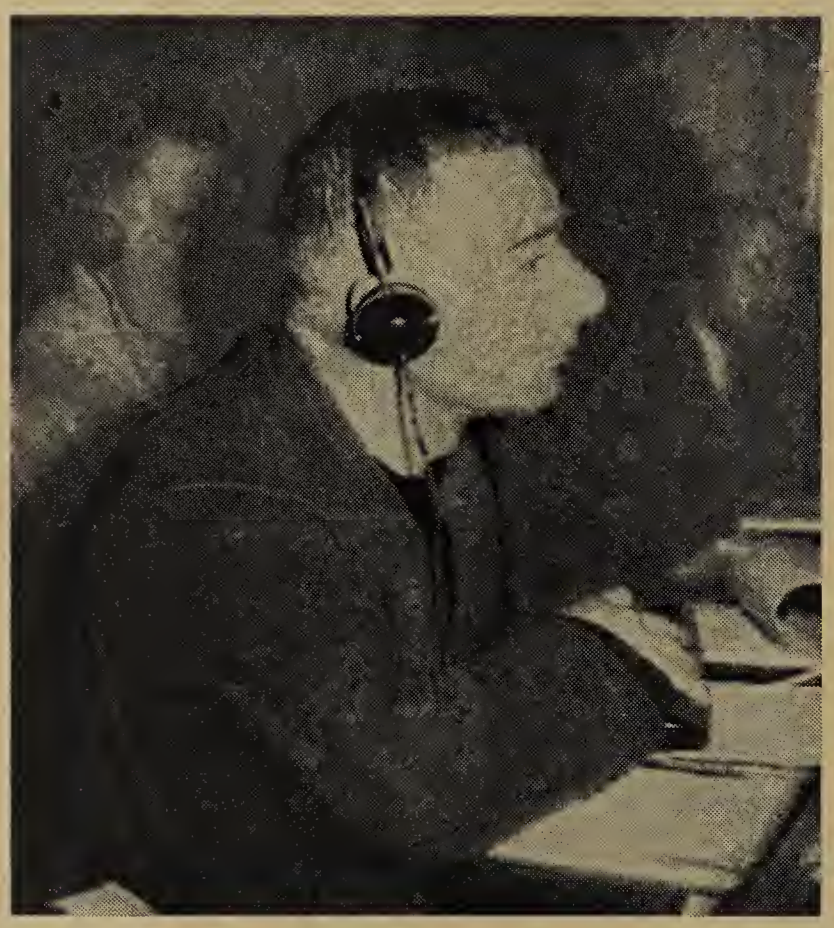
They pledged all forms of united action against rearmament; called for a Peace Pact

The European Workers' Conference.

among the Five Big Powers; and promised to support the German workers in their first large-scale action for peace, the organisation of a referendum among the German people on the question of remilitarisation.

They appealed to all the workers of Europe to take an active part in the movement against German remilitarisation and for a unified, peaceful and democratic Germany; and approved a telegram to the Deputy Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris, asking that demilitarisation of Germany be given priority on the agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

They elected a European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany, to coordinate the actions of all the workers of Europe. This Committee includes representatives of all European countries and all opinions. Its Secretariat will act as a Liaison Bureau in Berlin.



Workers' unity is the prime condition for success in the international struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany. Our picture shows a worker-preacher, Michel Lemonon, who represented the 6,500 workers employed on the Donzère-Mondragon dam (France), at the Conference.

All these decisions were taken unanimously, without a single dissenting vote or abstention.

Thus, the representatives of hundreds of thousands of European workers, organised in various trade unions or unorganised, wholeheartedly endorsed a programme which is also the basic programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions, that of the united struggle of the workers of the world for peace and a decent standard of living.

As Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., declared in his speech to the conference

> **„The ideals, the peace programme and the peace policy of the W.F.T.U. do not require permits or passports to enter Western Germany. There, as in all other countries, they spread because they correspond with the true thoughts and needs and hopes of working men and women."**

BIG MOVEMENTS SPREAD FROM DAILY ACTION

SOME of the delegates, who had suffered bitterly at the hands of the Nazis in the last war, came to Berlin with certain misgivings. They returned home with the certainty that the German Democratic Republic stands with the forces of peace; that large and ever-growing sections of the workers of Western Germany see clearly the need for action to ensure that never again shall divisions between them lead the German workers to disaster.

The explosion of enthusiasm which marked the passing of the resolutions and the closing of the conference surely has no precedent in Western Europe. With hand gripping hand, 900 workers shouted "Freundschaft" (friendship), "Frieden" (peace) and "Ami, go home" (Yankee go home) till the hall rang with their challenge. In this unforgettable moment, men and women from east and west realised their power, the invisible bonds that unite them and the glorious future they can build together.

In speech after speech, delegates had described how the imperialist warmongers and their puppets in Western Europe are draining the workers' strength, forcing them to work long hours for miserable wages while taxes and prices rise, forcing them to manufacture and pay for arms with which to kill each other. A hundred examples were given of docks or enterprises where the workers, acting together, have struck heavy blows at the "guns before butter" policy and insisted that their labour serve peaceful reconstruction instead of death.

The metal worker Müller, President of the Works Committee of the Hagen-Haspe iron foundry, declared:

> „There is no point in fobbing off the workers with talk of a great action coming some day. **Big actions by the working class grow from the little actions which the workers carry out to defend their livelihood,**

The final resolutions were adopted unanimously amid great enthusiasm.

for their social demands, for better living conditions and to prevent their production being used for war purposes."

The initiative taken by the Haspe foundries was not tied to any party principles but was based simply on the interests of the working class. **"That this was correct is shown by the success of this conference",** Müller pointed out.

WORKING-CLASS UNITY LEADS TO VICTORY

AUGUST Konieczny, miner from Essen-Schonnebeck in the Ruhr, stressed that when the German working class was united, it succeeded in defeating the Kapp-Putsch in the imperialist occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

Now, in Western Germany, the monopolies had been rebuilt and international trust connections resumed, in violation of the Potsdam Agreement. The Schuman Plan would set up an enormous monopoly larger than anything hitherto seen in Europe. American firms such as General Motors were winning an increasing share in the control of West German industry.

One airfield after another, new fortifications and shooting-butts were being constructed. Ten thousand Germans had been driven from their homes to make room for new divisions of intervention troops. Demolition chambers had been built into more than 300 bridges. Preparations had been made to flood the Rhineland.

Production of war material was already under way on a large scale. For example, 17 factories were making aircraft motors and equipment; the Bochumer Verein factory, gun barrels; IG Farben, explosives and rocket fuel; 30 factories, tank parts; 35 factories, artillery ammunition.

Pointing out that on March 9 in the Bonn parliament Adenauer demanded "international securities", that is to say the military occupation of the German Democratic Republic, he declared:

> "Not for nothing have American formations been withdrawn from Korea and posted on the zonal borders in Germany or sent to West Berlin."

Remilitarisation was leading to unemployment and poverty. Official figures showed 2 million unemployed in Western Germany, and the real figure was much higher. Bread had risen from 48 pfennig in 1945, to 85 pfennig. But the workers had begun to fight, and big strikes of building workers, metal workers and others had given proof of unity of action.

However the warmongers' plans could only be defeated by direct action against war preparations, for example that of the Hamburg dockers who refused to unload a cargo of poison gas and the miners of the Ruhr who were refusing to work special "panzer" shifts to get additional coal for armament production. And August Konieczny declared:

Müller, delegate from the Hagen—Haspe Foundries which took the initiative of launching the Conference.

Max Ferrigo, Italian delegate, giving his autograph to Berlin children.

"The heroic fight of the workers of Barcelona, who in spite of years of Fascist oppression rose to wage a successful strike showed that similar action is possible in Western Germany.

The workers have a right to demand of their trade unions that they should not sit on the fence in this fateful hour when peace and the well-being of all mankind is at stake, but take a leading part in the fight for peace and against remilitarising West Germany."

ONE SAME FEELING EXPRESSED IN MANY TONGUES

HERE are some further points from speeches by delegates.

Alexander Ossipov, USSR assured the European working class and especially the German workers of the solidarity of the Soviet workers in the fight against the remilitarisation of Germany and for the preservation of peace. The Soviet people hoped that the German people, who had so recently experienced the greatest tragedy of its history, would not be deluded and made a tool in the hands of the imperialists again.

A united front of all workers of Europe, irrespective of party or trade union allegiance, can stop the remilitarisation of Western Germany, he declared. The working class must also cooperate with all people who want peace.

Franz Bozsoki, Hungary "We mine the coal, we melt the iron, forge the steel, construct the engines, the work of our hands is the source of life. The working class of all Europe must become more conscious of its power. Only in this way shall we be able to frustrate the evil plans of the warmongers."

Friedrich Moller, Denmark described a recent conference in his country attended by 800 delegates representing more than 100,000 workers. This was the first time that non-party, Social-Democratic and Communist workers and trade unionists got together to work out a common platform against the lowering of the standard of living of the Danish working class.

Peter Perry, Great Britain was elected as a delegate to the conference by the shop stewards of the Vickers Armstrong shipbuilding yard at Barrow-in-Furness. He pointed out that the strong feeling of British workers against the remilitarisation of Germany was shown at a conference of 150 engineering shop stewards from all over Britain held in Birmingham on March 18.

They elected a delegate to the Berlin conference and collected the money for his expenses on the spot. They passed a resolution, without a dissenting vote, protesting at the release of Krupp and other war criminals and pledging support for the conference.

Finlay Hart, British delegate, a Glasgow boiler-maker.

And

Finlay Hart Glasgow

boilermaker from Blythewood Shipyard, declared that the recent round of wage struggles in Great Britain, resulting in increases for miners, engineers, railwaymen, teachers and building trade workers, revealed that the workers had no sympathy with the call to speed up production because of the strain on Britain's economy, resulting from America's domination over Britain's military and economic affairs.

DELEGATES EXCHANGE THEIR EXPERIENCE

THE delegates had a wealth of experience to exchange, drawn from their day-to-day struggles in the enterprises.

Lucien Chavrot, milling machine operator from the Berliet enterprises in Lyons, and a member of the Christian Federation of Trade Unions (C.F.T.C.) described the united action committees formed in the different workshops of his enterprise; the „hic-cup" strikes which had been going on there for a month, for a general wage increase of 15 francs an hour; the management's attempt to split the workers by singling out members of the C.G.T. for sanctions; the C.F.T.C. shop steward who refused preferential treatment and forced the management to suspend him when they suspended his comrades in the C.G.T.; the workers' united action to force the reinstatement of these men.

Paul Plantin, former prisoner-of-war and shop steward of the Cail enterprise in Denain, northern France, which produces locomotives and mine equipment, outlined the effects of war preparation and the Schuman Plan in this mining district: the closed pits; housewives going short of coal; while the miners of Denain are forced to work 10 or 15 miles away and to live like deportees in barracks, or else to get up at 3,30 a.m. in order to be on the job by 5,30.

Meanwhile, in the factory, orders for locomotives were withdrawn, the demand for trucks and other mining equipment ended. War production, shells and armour-plating, he said, had already begun, but the workers were combatting it with work stoppage and go-slow methods, and their fighting spirit was excellent.

A miner from Essen, who earns above the average wage-rate, yet cannot afford cigarettes or a winter coat, declared: "Once the rent is paid we have 95 marks to keep us for 10 days. My wife immediately takes 85 marks to the grocer and spends it on essential food supplies. The remaining 10 marks have to cover clothes for the children, light and possible emergencies.

"We haven't been to the pictures for two years. I have to pay for my working clothes on the never-never plan. But I don't and will not do overtime. I would rather do without necessities than work for war.

"The present Western trade union leaders sabotage the struggle for better living conditions. But the rank-and-file are fighting. In my district, united action committees exist in more than half the pits. In my pit, the first time the committee met four people attended. The next time there were 34.

"The difference between now and the '30s? In 1931, I was kicked out of my trade union because I opposed the reformist right-wing leaders. Now they have tried to kick me out again — but this time, the workers wouldn't have it."

Simone Bernard from Ivry (France) and Kurt Hanisch from Berlin (centre), both of them workers in electric bulb factories, talk shop.

WEST GERMAN WORKERS FIND OUT THE TRUTH

A Social Democratic employee from the Hamburg dock area was sent to the conference as an observer by 4,000 workers who were waiting eagerly, he said, to see what impressions he would bring back.

"I have been finding out how the people live here and find that most of the things said in Western Germany about the German Democratic Republic are not true. I am going to start working actively for unity as soon as I get back."

Another delegate from the Hamburg docks had been expelled from the Social Democratic Party for criticising, at a party meeting, the stand in favor of rearmament taken by the Lord Mayor of Hamburg and the district mayor.

"The bodies of my mother and father are below the ruins of Hamburg", he declared. "We refuse to walk the path of 1914 and 1939 again."

A Catholic miner from the Ruhr, non-party, was elected as a delegate by the young miners in the "barrack" where he lives.

"I don't agree with leading church policy, I

believe the church should be above politics," he declared.

"Last February a group of miners from the Ruhr were invited by the Saxony miners to visit the workers in the German Democratic Republic. On their return, they got the sack. Their trade union leaders wouldn't help them. That's why I want to help build united action. Many of my comrades talk of leaving the trade union, but I think we must work within the union.

"Wage increases? The miners had a rise in November. But their production quota went up too. Before the rise they had to fill eight wagons (each containing 18 to 20 German hundredweights) and got 1 mark 60 for each wagon. Now they get 1 mark 50 for each, and do 10 wagons a day. Since this so-called rise, the price of coal has gone up, and all other prices with it."

Elfriede Schmidt, textile worker from Halle in the German Democratic Republic, told delegates that more than half of the women working in her factory lost their husbands in the last war.

"In our nationalised factories we have day nurseries, clubrooms, medical and health services, holiday homes and so on. We shall allow no one to take away these things which we worked so hard to attain."

Among the delegates from Czechoslovakia was Bedric Macal, from Sokolov. This miner and shock-worker, though of Czechoslovak origin, was born in Germany and lived there 30 years, working in the Ruhr before the war. He spent two years in a concentration camp for telling German soldiers they would lose the war. In 1946 he came to Czechoslovakia to help build Socialism there, and raised production by studying and introducing new methods of work in his mine.

"I came to Berlin to help strengthen the German comrades," he declared. "I told my comrades from the Ruhr about how we are running our own country, our own mines, no longer haunted by the fear of hunger or unemployment." And another shockworker, Mishka Jaroslav from the Ostrava mining district, added: "In the old days, I hadn't even a bicycle. Today I drive to work in my own car."

The Peace Defence Law frustrates the warmongers (cartoon by Red.).

EXAMPLES IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

THE conference had the support of the progressive national and international trade union organisations. For the French C.G.T., Alain Le Leap, General Secretary of the C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., described the change-over from peace to war production taking place in France and its effects on the living standard of French workers, declaring:

"In 1951 more than 850 billion francs were spent on rearmament, this on the average is more than 80,000 francs for a family of four."

Delegate Misha Jaroslav, Czech miner and shock-worker.

He paid tribute to the heroic fight of the dockers who refused to handle war material despite the dreadful poverty this brought to them; and gave examples of metal-workers who forced the works' managements to replace war production by peace production; railway workers who refused to handle American war material for Germany, or repair railway coaches being used to transport such material.

"It is true that these actions did not halt all war production; it is true that the circulation of war material on our railways has not been completely prevented. But the action of the dockers, the metal workers, the railway workers was and is correct. Not only do they prove the deep feeling of solidarity towards the international working class movement shown by those who refuse to carry out actions directed against the interests of the workers of their countries, but they have made the French people realise the situation. **Such action carries us a few steps further each day in our fight against war."**

Herbert Warnke, President of the Federation of Free German Trade Unions and a member of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U., pointed out that in the German Democratic Republic, the construction of a new peace-loving democratic Germany has already begun.

"Economic power was taken away from the warmongers. Their works became property of the people. Our agrarian reform smashed the economic power of the Junkers and gave land to hundreds of thousands of peasants, agricultural workers and resettlers. The war criminals were removed from the administration and a democratic administration established. The working class is occupying the key positions in the state and in the economy."

Declaring that; "Anyone who at this decisive hour hinders the formation of the unity of action of the working class by laying down conditions is consciously or unconsciously assisting the warmongers", Warnke concluded:

Georges Lelièvre (France) proposing an amendment to one of the final proposals. His amendment is adopted unanimously.

The final resolutions have been adopted and the hall is a scene of great enthusiasm. Kurt Hanisch, Secretary of the new European Worker Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany, declares: "We must succeed and we shall succeed", to the tumultuous applause of the delegates. On his right is René Six, leader of the French delegation.

"When the workers of the world demonstrate on May Day for peace, understanding and a better life, we must see to it that the decisions of this conference have become the demands of the May Day demonstrators and the whole of Europe."

NO FORCE IN THE WORLD CAN PREVENT WORKERS' UNITY

LOUIS Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., told the conference: "The remilitarisation of Germany has become the primary problem for the international labour movement, for every national trade union organisation, for all workers irrespective of their political, philosophical or religious opinion or their nationality."

The W.F.T.U. had constantly maintained that the whole of German production should serve peaceful purposes, thus allowing the German people to rebuild their ruined cities and to contribute to prosperity everywhere and to a lasting peace.

Although, from 1947 on, the forces of reaction had prevented W.F.T.U. representatives from going to trade union meetings in the American zone of Germany, their efforts to prevent the W.F.T.U. and the workers of Western Germany from working together had met with resounding defeat.

And Louis Saillant received a tremendous ovation when he declared: "Our meeting here at this European Workers' Conference is the proof that no force in the world can prevent the representatives of the workers from reaching a fraternal agreement, from studying all problems that concern them as friends, and from fighting side by side as brothers."

The policy of remilitarising Western Germany had entered its second phase, that of creating an army instilled with ideas of revenge. The role of the German working class in the face of this situation was of historic importance, and it must be fully convinced that it was not standing alone.

In conclusion, he told the delegates that the conference, and the determination of the German workers to fight unitedly with their comrades in all other countries, form "one of the great acts of initiative which will go down in history."

TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION in the Supervision of Labour Security and Hygiene Measures

By V. Kariagin,
President of the Central Committee of the Soviet Railwaymen's Union.

IN 1933, the Soviet State disbanded the People's Labour Commissariat and handed over its functions to the trade unions. Thus the workers themselves, through their trade union organisations, supervise the application of labour legislation by the Factory Administration. This supervision by the workers, both of labour security and hygiene measures, is possible only in the land of Socialism.

In every railway undertaking, labour safety commissions, composed of workers, engineers and technicians belonging to the union, are attached to the trade union branch committee. Social labour inspectors are elected by each workshop and crew in the trade union bodies.

These inspectors are entitled to demand that the administration put an end to any infringement of the Labour Code of which it may be found guilty in the sphere of labour safety and hygiene. If the social inspector does not obtain satisfaction, he refers the matter to the President of the Labour Safety Commission who is at the same time the chief inspector of labour safety in the enterprise. Any victimisation by the administration of an inspector on account of his social activity comes within the competence of the Penal Code which provides heavy penalties for this abuse of power.

More than 150,000 trade unionist social inspectors and members of labour safety commissions supervise the strict application on the railways of general labour legislation and safety provisions.

Parallel supervision is carried out by a group of inspectors specially formed for this purpose by the Railwaymen's Union. They are the technical inspectors of the union's Central Committee.

According to the decisions of the All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, only a trade unionist possessing secondary or higher technical education and complete knowledge of the sphere of the economy in which he is called on to exercise his functions, can be appointed as a technical inspector. The candidate has to pass an aptitude test set by a commission of the union's Central Committee before being appointed by the General Assembly.

The technical inspection authority is invested with wide powers going as far as the closing down of a workshop, or even a factory, and the seizure of its machinery if a violation of labour safety and hygiene measures has been noted. It is also entitled to impose a penalty and even to prosecute the management of an enterprise or workshop which has not respected the regulations. The technical inspectors have the right to visit places of work at any hour of the day or night.

At present, there are 320 technical inspectors of the union's Central Committee on the Soviet railway network, yards and workshops.

The technical inspection authority, in charge of the general supervision of labour safety, is assisted by specialised inspection agencies, such as boiler inspection, loading machinery inspection, etc.

Legislation on railway labour safety is drawn up with direct participation by the union, whose suggestions and amendments are incorporated in the bills submitted by the Ministry of Communications. This legislation is based on the general provisions of the Labour Code which requires the effective protection of the life and health of workers in the enterprises.

Detailed regulations have been laid down for all branches of railway working: production, construction, traffic circulation, etc. The material conditions to ensure labour safety in all branches of railway activity have been examined, be it the servicing of locomotives, the upkeep of rolling stock and the railway track, work in the stations and at railway halts, electric power equipment, the construction of buildings, bridges, new railway lines, etc.

These regulations were drawn up jointly by the Railwaymen's Union and the Ministry of Communications and ratified by the praesidium of the Central Committee of the Union. The application of these regulations by the railway administration is compulsory.

Thus each branch of the Soviet railways — production and transport — possesses its own labour safety and hygiene regulations whose strict application is controlled by the workers themselves.

MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALS

Clinics, the cost of which is borne by the Ministry of Communications, have been set up in the railway depots, workshops and stations, and provide free treatment to the railwaymen. The local railway administrations have the responsibility of ensuring that these clinics get suitable accommodation. The appointment and payment of doctors, the provision of medical supplies and technical equipment for the clinics are the responsibility of the Higher Hygiene Administration attached to the Ministry of Communications. The doctors in the clinic also supervise the application of the general hygiene and health protection measures for the workers. In collaboration with the State Hygiene Inspection, the doctors ensure the cleanliness of the place of work, the functioning of the ventilation system in the workshops, good lighting and heating arrangements, etc. They organise meetings to explain to the workers the regulations on labour hygiene and health protection.

The trade union organisations supervise the activity of the clinics and help them in the application of preventive measures. The doctors' work is discussed at trade union branch committee meetings and at works and regional committee meetings.

All railway workers in the USSR are entitled to free medical care in the polyclinics, hospitals, clinics, sanatoria and rest homes. Their union has direct management of a vast network of sanatoria of various kinds where treatment can be obtained for diseases of the nervous system, the digestive system, rheumatism, etc.

Those polyclinics, hospitals and clinics which are not directly managed by the union are nevertheless supervised by the trade union agencies. The union works committees and the Central Committee of the union include highly qualified doctors among their members who are responsible for this supervision.

The children's railway in Moscow is not merely a children's amusement. Entirely run by children — who drive the locomotives and control the safety devices — it is an initiation to the working of the railway and to a sense of responsibility.

THE PROTECTION OF THE WORKERS' HEALTH

RAILWAY work is subject to strict regulations as regards health protection, the basic principles of which are valid for all industrial undertakings throughout the country.

The general provisions are combined with special regulations adapted to the various branches of railway activity and giving precise instructions on such different questions as the renewal of the air supply in the workshops by suitable ventilation, the loading and unloading of harmful or dangerous products, drinking-water in the workshops, foundries and forges, the work of painting apartment houses, lighting, the volume of air in industrial premises, rational planning of workshops, etc.

In order to prevent the accumulation of smoke in the locomotive depots, smoke dispersal units have been installed as well as special machinery to take the locomotives outside before raising pressure. All workers receive, free of charge, work clothes, raincoats when necessary, gloves, boots, etc. When work is being done in the open air, they are provided in winter with lamb-skin overcoats, lined jackets, woollen underwear, felt boots, lined hoods, etc.

Women working on the Soviet railways receive all the benefits guaranteed them by labour legislation: transfer to lighter work for pregnant women or nursing mothers, with the same pay and a 77-day maternity leave, no women may be dismissed during pregnancy or the nursing period. If a certain number of women are employed in an enterprise, the law provides for the organisation of nurseries and kindergartens.

Labour legislation also protects the youth: it is forbidden to employ young people of less than 16 years of age. Workers from 16 to 18 years of age are engaged only after a medical examination. It is forbidden to employ them on

Every year more than 1500 railway workers spend their holidays in the floating rest-home "The Railwayman", which sails the rivers of the region.

A railwayman receiving treatment in one of the railway hospitals.

rolling stock and on unhealthy work (electric soldering, foundries, etc.).

ACCIDENTS AT WORK AND INDUSTRIAL DISEASES

ACCIDENTS at work have become very rare occurrences on the Soviet railways. The number of injuries is now three times less than before the war. In many depots and stations and on many lines, they have been completely eliminated.

The director of the enterprise must, during the 24 hours following any accident at work, hold an investigation into the circumstances of the accident, and he must take the necessary measures to prevent the repetition of such an accident. The President of the local trade union branch may sign the statement on the accident only after examining the application of these measures.

Furthermore, accidents are examined at local trade union branch committee meetings, works committee and regional committee meetings. On the administrative level, they are discussed at special conferences of directors and heads of the departments concerned. The findings are communicated to the other departments in order to enable them to take similar safety measures.

The heads of department responsible for accidents are severely punished by the administration or the courts.

Independently of the administrative procedure, the technical inspectors of the Central Committee of the Railwaymen's Union carry out an individual enquiry into the

Workers' emulation is one of the typical features of the socialist economy. The names of these leading railwaymen — Tikonov, Pisklov and Ryssakov, — are known throughout the country.

circumstances of the accident. The instructions they draw up at the end of their investigation are binding on the railway directors, whatever their post.

When an injured worker is obliged to stay away from work, he receives his average wage until final recovery. In cases where his resultant state of health requires his transfer to another less well-paid job, the administration must pay him the difference between his old and new average wage. Thus the Soviet worker is subject to no material loss as a result of an accident at work.

One of the main measures aimed at eliminating accidents at work on the railways is the instruction of railwaymen in questions of labour safety. The workers must come up for examinations before special commissions set up with trade union participation. They are given instruction through courses and conferences at which documentary films are projected. The Ministry of Communications has created special workshops possessing all the educational material, which is submitted for the approval of the Central Committee of the union.

Industrial diseases have been wiped out thanks to the general working conditions and to the additional benefits given to workers employed on unhealthy work. These workers get priority in the allocation by the union of free places in sanatoria or rest homes. Twice a year, they are examined by specialists.

In order to prevent skin lesions and infections, the administration supplies the workers having to handle certain harmful products with special clothes, protective goggles, masks, special creams and soap. Hot showers are also provided specially for these workers.

In addition, workers employed on unhealthy work are legally entitled to a six-hour day, without loss of pay, and additional holidays of from 6 to 12 working days.

The credits earmarked for labour safety and hygiene measures rise from year to year. They rose from 72 million roubles in 1948 to 109 millions in 1950.

The measures taken by the administration of the Soviet railways and by the Railwaymen's Union have now created the necessary conditions for the complete elimination of injuries due to accidents at work and industrial diseases.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CLAIMS OF WEST AFRICAN WORKERS

by
ABDOULAYE DIALLO
Vice President of the W.F.T.U.,
General Secretary of the Trades Council of the French Sudan

AS we endeavoured to show in an article which appeared recently in this review *), the policy of war preparations is causing a ceaseless worsening in the poverty-stricken conditions of African workers.

The American big businessmen, who have an urgent need for "the African spring-board", for its valuable raw materials and its "cannon fodder", want Africa to be a "politically safe" continent. Therefore, the French colonial authorities are strongly intensifying their policy of oppression. By utilising the most shameful means of pressure as well as the most brutal violence, they are attempting to smash the magnificent movement for freedom which immediately after the end of the war, took on an irresistible impetus. Thousands of democrats and trade unionists are in prison. A frightful regime of terror has been reigning on the Ivory Coast since February 1949 — shootings, torture, and devastation of whole villages have become normal methods of government. Thus, early in 1950, rifle fire killed hundreds of inhabitants of the villages of Zuenola, Seguela, Buake, Dimbokro, and so on.

The British authorities are not backward in this respect, since in November 1949 more than twenty miners and miners' wives were murdered by the police in Enugu (Nigeria) — and everyone still remembers the shootings in Accra, on the Gold Coast.

Together with this intensification of repressive measures, there is, naturally, an intensification of imperialist exploitation. A few months ago, the Socialist High Commissioner Béchard, speaking before the Grand Council of French West Africa, affirmed the necessity for "developing productivity to the fullest possible extent" and for enforcing an "indispensable wage freeze".

The following are the results of this policy for the workers of Guinea: in 1946, in the town of Conakry, a labourer's daily wage would buy 16 lbs of rice; in 1950, the same labourer can buy only 5½ lbs of rice, with which he has to feed his whole family. And this means that he has nothing left with which to buy meat and clothes, to pay his rent, and so forth. True, the American trusts in Guinea are arranging for the mass exportation of iron and aluminium ore, therefore it is not by accident that the workers' living standards in this colony are particularly low. Simultaneously with their war preparations, these gentry intend to extract enormous profits from the unfortunate population.

*) *The Scourge of Colonialism in French Africa*, in No. 2, 1951.

MONOPOLIES REAP FANTASTIC PROFITS

PUBLISHED statistics make it possible already to note that the various colonial companies are, year by year, increasing their profits in scandalous proportions.

In the French colonies, the **Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain** (SCOA) declared a profit of 454 million francs for the year 1948—1949, and 650 millions for the year 1949–1950. company should have grown from a sum of 7 million francs 15 to 20 years ago to a sum of 165 million CFA francs (330 million French francs) in 1949, that is to say, it has increased 47 times. The reactionary newspaper **L'Echo des Finances** points out that the 16 directors of this company shared out between them a total of one third of the profits in 1949, and finds

Condemned to forced labour, these prisoners at Zinder, in French West Africa, are taken to work under armed guard.

The **Société Générale de Dragages et Travaux Publics,** which has many construction sites overseas has just trebled its profits: in 1949 it owned up to a gross profit of 194 million francs, and a net profit of 41 millions; in 1950 it declared respectively 531 and 80 millions.

In French Equatorial Africa, the **Cotonaf** has a privilege for the purchase of cotton over an area of 65.000 square miles; in 1949—1950, it bought this product in the fibrous state for 36 CFA (French African Colony) francs **), and is now selling it in Pointe-Noire, after packing and transporting it, at a price ranging between 121 and 162 CFA francs. In these conditions it is quite understandable that, merely by incorporating reserves and without anything being paid by the shareholders, the capital of this that they were too greedy, not because they exploit the Africans, but because they did not leave enough for the other shareholders.

Huge though these profits may be, they nevertheless seem modest by comparison with those made by the great international trusts. **Unilever,** which grabs oils and fats through its many affiliated companies in French, British and Belgian tropical Africa (and particularly through the **United Africa Company,** the master of Nigeria) made a profit of 10,223 million francs in 1948—1949, and 19,156 millions in 1949—1950.

These examples are only a few among the most striking, but the profits made by the other colonial companies are generally of the same order.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK AGAINST EXPLOITATION

TO-DAY the African workers are clearly conscious of the shameful exploitation of which they are the victims. They are firmly determined no longer to remain passive. Since 1945, trade union organisations have sprung up in all the colonies, and big struggles have been waged almost everywhere against poverty and colonial rule.

Admittedly this struggle has been waged with unequal strength in the various areas, it is of an infinitely varied character and takes on widely different aspects from country to country. It must be realised that West Africa alone is a huge area, which includes equatorial, tropical and desert regions. The forms of imperialist exploitation and oppression vary according to

**) The CFA franc is worth double the French franc, i.e., there are 490 CFA francs to the £ sterling .

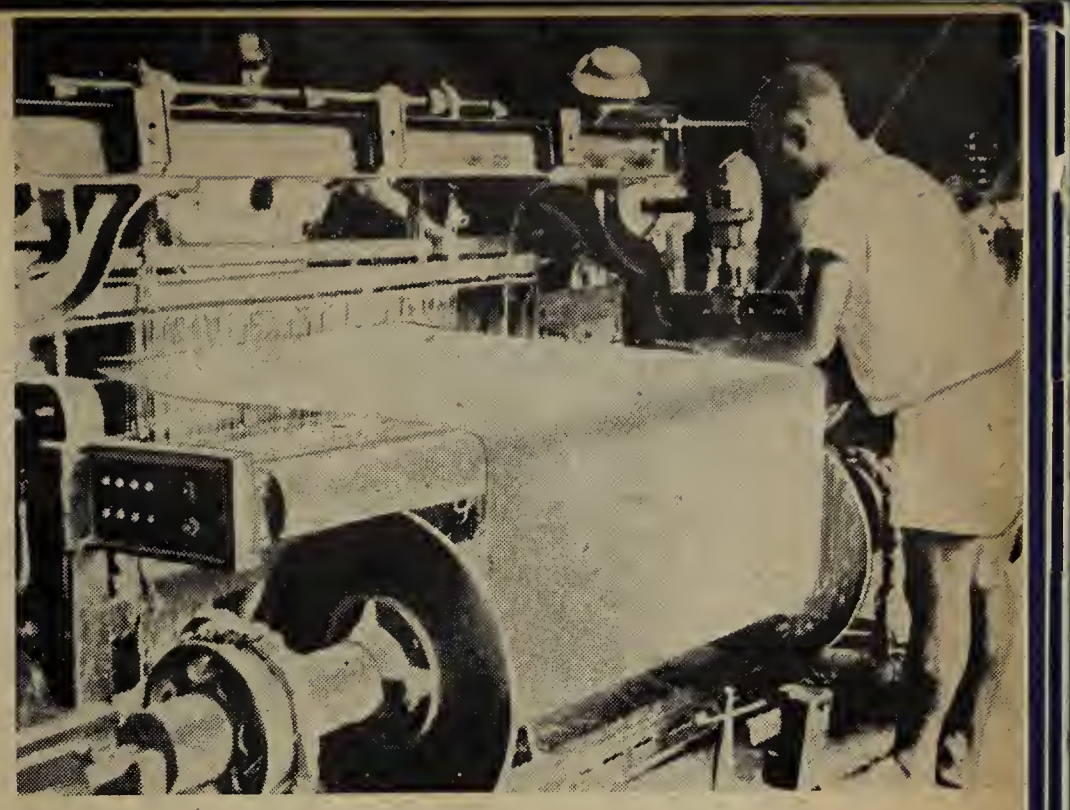
the nature of the wealth to be skimmed off (African planters for cocoa, forced labour on the Tchad-Ubangi cotton fields) and according to the character of the indigenous society concerned (compromise agreements with the feudal chiefs in the savannah areas, direct rule over the forest tribes). The forms adopted by French imperialism are not the same as those adopted by British imperialism. British imperialism, less miserly, has invested greater sums, particularly in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, whose economy is more advanced than that of the French African colonies.

It is not possible, in this article, to make a general analysis of the various movements which have developed in such vast areas.

It may be said that almost everywhere the fight was essentially against low wages, especially in private enterprises (commerce, transport, mines, plantations). At the same time the workers fought against racial discrimination, particularly in government employment (Civil Servants, railwaymen). In many cases, the workers demanded that they be granted their elementary rights (trade union rights, right to strike, Labour Code and so on). And of course the wage-earners were in all cases foremost among the broad masses of people who demanded the right to administer their own country themselves.

The example of the fight waged by the workers in Manoka (an island at the mouth of the Wouri river in the Cameroons) enables us to give an idea of the problems which the African trade unions have to face.

In the Cameroons under French rule, a series of strikes broke out in Duala and the surrounding area in November 1948. The strike was completely effective in the Manoka saw-



Workers of the Senegal textile factories.

mills (preparation of mahogany logs). The 600 workers in this undertaking, earning an average of 60 CFA francs per day, demanded a wage increase.

The employers called in the police, but the island workers welcomed the policemen with sticks and stones and compelled them to re-embark. Then, the Chief of Police blackmailed the leadership of the Trade Union Federation. The trade union leaders, frightened at the threat of a serious clash such as had occurred 3 years before, resulting in the killing of a hundred Cameroonians, agreed to serve as mediators and accompanied the police, who were thus able to land on the island on November 11, 1948. This attitude on the part of their leaders demoralised the workers, who went back to work — and the trade union branch secretary was dismissed.

A MODEL PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS

THE Trade Union Federation of the Cameroons later made a critical analysis of its action during the strike. The leadership found that, on the one hand, its ill-considered attitude had played into the employers' hands, and that, on the other, the workers' demands had not been sufficiently well thought out. It frankly recognised its mistakes and decided to make great efforts in regard to Manoka.

The trade union branch was rapidly reorganised. On December 13, 1948 a delegation undertook negotiations with the employers and presented a document embodying the workers' demands on the 16th. This set of demands is held out as an example in Colonial Africa where the trade union movement is still in its infancy.

Part of the port of Dakar (Senegal) reserved for the loading of groundnuts. The cultivation of groundnuts does not enrich the native farmers, but produces fat profits for the monopolies.

These workers of the Gold Coast, a British colony, have to work knee-deep in water to chop away the vegetation which over-runs the banks and provides shelter for the terrible tse-tse fly, carrier of sleeping sickness. The Marshall Plan also plays havoc here, by means of intensive exploitation whose aim is announced as being "to increase the mineral and agricultural riches of these African regions."

In this document, all the workers' demands were studied with great care, and not one sectional demand was left out. For example, to the demand for a wage increase, which had already been put forward, was added a demand that the cost of transport to and from work be taken into consideration, that bonuses paid to Europeans and to certain privileged sections be extended to the whole staff, and so on.

The document then dealt with payment for overtime, Sundays and holidays, the length of the working day (8 hours per day instead of 9), accidents at work, abolition of fines, holidays with pay, etc. Such guarantees are totally lacking in French Africa, and this was the first time that they were demanded by the rank and file workers in any firm in the course of a struggle. The workers in Manoka thus demonstrated that they did not put their trust in government promises, but rely above all on their fighting spirit to win a progressive "Labour Code".

Not a single one of the workers' preoccupations were neglected: improvement in the food supply, possibility of utilising boats to go to Duala, more comfortable huts to be built in healthy surroundings, clinic, freedom to own domestic animals, bonus for work carried out in the rain, etc.

The month of January 1949 was spent in strengthening the organisation and multiplying the number of delegations — and in February, the first victory was won: a 33% wage increase.

As a result, the trade union was strengthened. The leaders undertook a long-term job of explanation in order to publicise the "set of demands" among the masses — and on June 15, 1950, on the basis of these demands, the Manoka workers came out on strike. This time, the police were powerless. On June 16, the employers capitulated. Part of the demands were satisfied: improvement in the food supply, hygiene, abolition of fines and measures of violence, payment for May Day, freedom to own domestic animals, etc.

And then, the fight went on. In August 1950, after a 3-hour stoppage of work, the Manoka workers won a "rain bonus" of 200 francs per month.

Today, the trade union organisation embodies practically all the Manoka workers.

This is probably the best example in French West Africa of the organisation of a well thought-out struggle, unremittingly waged against employers who are supported by a régime of slavery. Experience has thus demonstrated that the constraint imposed by the colonial system is powerless to prevent the workers from defeating their exploiters.

REPRESSION POWERLESS IN NIGERIA

MANY other fights were waged in Colonial Africa. The 25,000 railwaymen of French

In these miserable huts live the population of French West Africa.

African wood-choppers, whose hard and dangerous labour is a source of high profits for the big colonialist monopolies.

West Africa held out for 6 months, from October 1947 to March 1948, and they won satisfaction of part of their demands (setting up of a single category of employees and abolition of racial discrimination).

In Dakar, Conakry, Duala, Cotonu, Lomé and Bangi in French Africa, Accra, Takoradi, Lagos, Enugu, etc., in British Africa, the workers, by their action, succeeded in winning substantial increases.

It is to be noted that the strikes which broke out in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria were animated by an extremely militant spirit and met with brutal opposition from the employers and the colonial police. The most typical case was that of the miners in Enugu, Nigeria.

In the Enugu coal mines, 1,500 workers demanded a wage increase. The basic wage was 3s. 6d. and the workers were demanding 5s. 10d.

The government, which owns the mines, refused to grant any increase and dismissed 200 workers. The miners then organised a strike and decided to remain at the coalface.

On November 18, 1949, considerable police forces were sent in to drive the workers out of the pits. The workers were not intimidated, and they were reinforced by their wives in an endeavour to defend their strike. There was fierce repression; the police fired on the strikers, killing 21 and wounding 50.

This massacre caused an outburst of anger throughout Nigeria. A vast popular movement developed in all towns, and a "National Assistance Committee" was set up, which demanded autonomy for the country and the recall of the Governor. In order to quieten the Nigerian people, the British government despatched a Commission of Enquiry, which concluded that the Chief of Police bore the responsibility.

A few months later, it was the turn of the Bukuru tin miners to be savagely attacked with tear gas.

Repression only succeeded in sharpening the Nigerian workers' fighting spirit — and on August 2, 1950, 31,000 workers of the United Africa Company (affiliated to Unilever) went on strike for 6 days, compelling this mighty trust to accept arbitration.

Other important strikes have occurred since then all over the country, particularly in Lagos which was completely isolated for several days by a transport strike.

Trade union leaders are the object of all kinds of measures of obstruction, and are frequently imprisoned. They nevertheless carry on the fight with great courage, and the Nigerian trade union movement plays a great part in the irresistible national liberation movement, which has already won fine victories (municipal elections in Lagos).

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORKERS' RIGHTS

A great movement developed in Haute-Volta in support of the demand that a "Labour

Water, precious because it is so scarce, is here obtained in the most primitive way, in a hole dug at the foot of the rocks.

These children of the Cameroons have to walk almost 27 miles, along a rudimentary path carrying heavy loads, to take the products of the family's labour to market.

Code" be rapidly adopted by the French parliament. For several months, the trade union organisations of this country have been exerting ceaseless pressure on their parliamentary representatives. In December 1950, 10,000 people demonstrated in Bobo-Diulasso — some of them had walked 45 miles to get there. On February 1, 1951, a strike involving 95% of the workers broke out in the Bobo region; it was supported also by the African shopkeepers, market gardeners and small craftsmen. On the evening following the strike, a meeting was held, attended by 10,000 workers, and thousands of signatures were obtained on petitions. The leading body of the Haute-Volta trade union organisation has asked the whole of the trade union movement in French Africa to wage a co-ordinated campaign to win the adoption of labour legislation.

These few examples demonstrate the ceaselessly growing maturity of the West African working class. No doubt, these struggles are not yet of a general character. They are rather vanguard battles fought by a still numerically weak proletariat (in French colonial Africa, the working class concentration varies between 0.4% of the total population in the Niger colony and 8.1% in the Middle Congo; in British Nigeria, it is only 1% of the total population), although certain areas (the ports and mining areas) have a relatively great concentration of wage earners.

But these actions are extremely important. They help to bring about a speedier awakening of the African wage earners' consciousness, enable their organisations to be improved and bring out new trade union cadres. In these actions, the fighting weapon is forged which will enable the African proletariat to engage in greater battles and to play an ever greater part in the anti-colonial movement which, sooner or later, will throw the imperialists out and free the countries of Africa from exploitation and oppression.

A report by Peggy HIGGS

THE PULSE OF DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

THE pulse of each nation beats in its factories. There are factories where the workers put the brakes on, knowing their labour is being exploited to fatten the trusts and feed the war machine. And there are factories where all the personnel, from manager to odd-jobs boy, work as one team because they know that their enterprise and their country belong to them, and that by producing more and better-quality goods they are building a peaceful and prosperous future.

To feel the pulse of the German Democratic Republic, one has to visit the factories, for example those in the eastern zone of Berlin. It is here that the new, peace-loving, democratic Germany is being built.

Certainly, the scars of the last war are still visible and not all the wounds are healed. The German people paid dear for the disunity which made it possible for Hitler to launch a war of aggression.

Rebuilding is going full speed ahead but in the heart of Berlin stand acres of ruins and below them lie the bodies of somebody's wife, somebody's child. Although the food situation is improving very rapidly, some products such as fats and milk are still scarce. Not all the workers have realised the great role they now have a chance to play, and there are still a few who adopt a "wait and see" attitude.

WHEN WORKERS REAP THE FRUIT OF THEIR EFFORTS

BUT these are the exceptions. The vast majority have put their shoulders to the wheel and are working enthusiastically for the successful carrying out of the Five Year Plan. And through the social services in their nationalised factories. and their rising standard of living, they are already reaping the fruits of their efforts.

Take, for example, the Bremsenwerk S.A.G. enterprise which produces railway brakes and employs 1,500 workers. Ruined and dismantled in 1945, it was built up into a great modern enterprise by the workers themselves. The trust which owned it was broken up and the factories expropriated. Now the workers have set to with a will, knowing the brakes

Activist workers in an engineering factory in Berlin discussing experience gained. The wall charts indicate the amount of saving achieved.

they were making were essential to the rebuilding of their country's transport system.

The technical and commercial manager of the enterprise, Theodor Becher, is a fitter by trade and has behind him 40 years of struggle in the working-class movement. It is clear that the social services have been built up by workers, for workers.

The factory's "hospital" is staffed by a doctor and a dentist, three nurses and a male nurse. Preliminary medical treatment for those reporting sick, dental care, electric and thermal treatments, preventive inoculations against 'flu' all are free for the worker and his family. The factory pays the difference between the percentage covered by social insurance and the real cost, and medicines are provided — also free — on the spot.

The number of workers reporting sick at this hospital has greatly decreased, showing to what extent better living conditions and preventive health measures have improved the health of the personnel.

In the factory's shoe-repair, children's brogues are lined up side by side with work boots, ready to be collected by their owners. Waste leather from the workshops, instead of being thrown away, is used for these repairs, and the worker can get all his family's shoes repaired here much more cheaply than elsewhere. There are well-furnished offices for the youth and sports groups and the trade unions; a special room for worker-musicians, whose musical instruments are purchased by the enterprise; a classroom for those who want to study politics or trade unionism; a bright and spotlessly-clean canteen where hot meals supplement the workers' rations; a mending service where they can bring their clothes for repairs or alterations; in the workshops, trays of free coffee circulate.

The enterprise has its own cinema where first-rate films are shown for the rock-bottom price of 30 pfennigs. (The price of admission to an ordinary cinema is 1 mark or more, and the average wage rate is 1 mark 80 pfennigs an hour). In the attractive coffee-room adjoining the cinema, excellent paintings by workers hang on the walls.

But the pride of the factory is its kindergarten, set on the roof with a view far over Berlin, where light and sunshine literally pour through the big windows, and where a roof-garden, with sand pit and tricycles, is enclosed by wire netting to prevent adventurous youngsters from taking a plunge over the edge.

This is not strictly speaking a kindergarten, since it is open to children aged from one to 15 years. The older ones come there after school to play chess, practice on different musical instruments, read or do homework, until their parents finish work.

One of the rooms in the kindergarten at the Bremsenwerk AG factory in Berlin.

The rooms are bright with flowers, gay with toys. There are sure to be two boys playing piano accordeons, and two playing leap-frog. There is a gymnasium, shower-room, library, dining-room. (The children have as many helpings as they want at meal-times). There are separate rooms for children of pre-school age, and for the babies, with their white cots and play pens.

Theodor Becher explains: "We started with nothing. Our leading elements grew with the enterprise. Those who were given important jobs and did not develop as we had hoped were replaced, until now we have a stable group of first rate leaders.

"The role of the trade union is very important in organising both production and social services. There is excellent cooperation between the director, the management and the trade union.

"A percentage of the net profits of the enterprise is reserved for social services, so that if the cost of production is reduced, the amount for social services is increased. The rest of the net profits are reinvested in the enterprise.

"Last year we were able to spend 100 million marks on a rest home for our workers. **All these advantages are the fruit of the effort and zeal of the workers."**

PRODUCTION FOR PEACE

PRODUCTION in the German Democratic Republic is for peace, The Forschritt ("Progress") Textile Factory, employing 2,000 workers of whom 1,600 are women, is a nationalised enterprise which in the immediate post-war period produced mainly uniforms for the occupation forces. Today its production is for the civilian population, and soon the entire output will be for the people of Germany.

The work is completely mechanised, organised on the chain system, and 3,000 separate articles, trousers, jackets, etc. etc. are turned out daily

An example of the opportunities provided for capable workers to train for responsible jobs is the case of Charlotte Strache, a soft-spoken, friendly woman of 40, whose curly

International workers' solidarity in creative work is one of the guarantees of growing prosperity. Our picture shows Pavel Bykov, the famous Soviet fitter, in discussion with his counterparts in the Bergen—Borsig engineering factory in Berlin.

hair is snow white. When asked why she became a factory-worker in 1945, she answers, as so many women answer: "My husband didn't come back. And there were the children to bring up."

Charlotte Strache became an outstanding shockworker in a very short time. Now she is being trained to become a department manager, and ultimately the manager of an enterprise. She acts as assistant-manager in each department in turn to learn all the tasks of management, and attends special classes one day a week.

Here is a small group of 30 women who work together. Eleven of them lost their homes and all their possessions in air raids. Two are displaced persons. And 26 lost members of their family in the war.

That is why 99 percent of the workers in this enterprise have declared against remilitarisation, and why a woman whose husband was killed on the last day of the war turns from her machine to declare emphatically:

"We've seen too much and suffered too much. Never again!"

WOMEN'S BIG SHARE IN INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

HERE is a final example of the spirit of teamwork and of high endeavour, demonstrated by the workers, technical staff and management of the nationalised "Transformatoren und Hochspannungsschalter", which produces high tension electric transformers. It is the biggest factory of its kind in Berlin, employing 4,200 workers of whom 1,000 are women.

The majority of those with managerial jobs in this enterprise are drawn from the ranks of the working class. The chief engineer for example, Alwin Engelmann, is a fitter by trade.

The workers have pledged themselves to complete a big transformer by May Day, thus achieving in eight weeks a job which normally takes eight months. During the special shifts worked over the Easter weekend, in honour of the European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany, they saw there was a danger that they would not achieve the target they had set themselves. The manager himself rolled up his sleeves and took over a machine, followed by other members of the technical and managerial staff.

One shock worker, Stanislawski, declared: "It is only natural, because we are building ourselves a new way of life. Nothing can stop us but war — and we will do everything in our power to prevent that, we appeal to the solidarity of our brothers everywhere in the world to help us to maintain peace.

"In most respects we have attained our pre-war standard of living. Five more years of effort and we will have a better life than we ever dreamed of in the old days. Perhaps, if we keep up our effort, we can even win such a life in 1953."

Women are doing all types of work in this factory, and often prove themselves to be the best and most con-

A young apprentice trying his hand at the plane in the apprentices' shop of a Berlin factory. The slogan on the wall reads "Learning is important".

All the shifts in the VEB engineering factory in Leipzig have started an emulation competition. The wall-board reminds them that "to slow down means to fall behind. Laggers are by-passed and we don't want to be by-passed".

scientious workers. To meet the shortage of skilled workers, a special workshop has been installed for professional re-adaptation. Here for example, a girl of 22, formerly ticket-collector on the tramways, is learning to operate a lathe.

Else Hubelt, smiling and confident little woman of 41, has been voted the best woman worker in the enterprise. Her job, running a stamping machine, demands great effort, concentration and precision. A moment of daydreaming, and an entire part can be wasted.

Else has always worked in the engineering industry.

"Nowadays the work is much easier because working conditions are better," she declares. "Living conditions have improved greatly in the last six months. What I'm looking forward to most of all now is an apartment really big enough for the four of us."

Another shockworker, Gertraud Frayer, who operates a drilling-machine, was formerly an accountant but likes factory work better. "At first I found the work too hard, I wept more than once into the machine. Now I would not leave it for anything."

A member of the factory Peace Committee, she is anxious to receive addresses of other defenders of peace, particularly in France, with whom she and her comrades would like to correspond.

"Our situation has been improving much more rapidly in the last year. One reason is the real participation of women in social affairs and industry. I want to take the biggest possible part in this work because it is a contribution to the defence of peace, and I want to help keep my husband and my children, and all that we have acquired up to now in the German Democratic Republic, safe from destruction."

And here is one of the young people who represent the future of their country.

This good-looking boy of 18 drives one of the small electric trucks that scuttle from one department to another. The chief engineer has only one fault to find with him: he drives too fast. His hopes for the future? He replies quickly and eagerly:

"I have two wishes, one, to be a heavy truck driver, two, that there will never be another war."

The Last Will of An Indian Working Class Hero

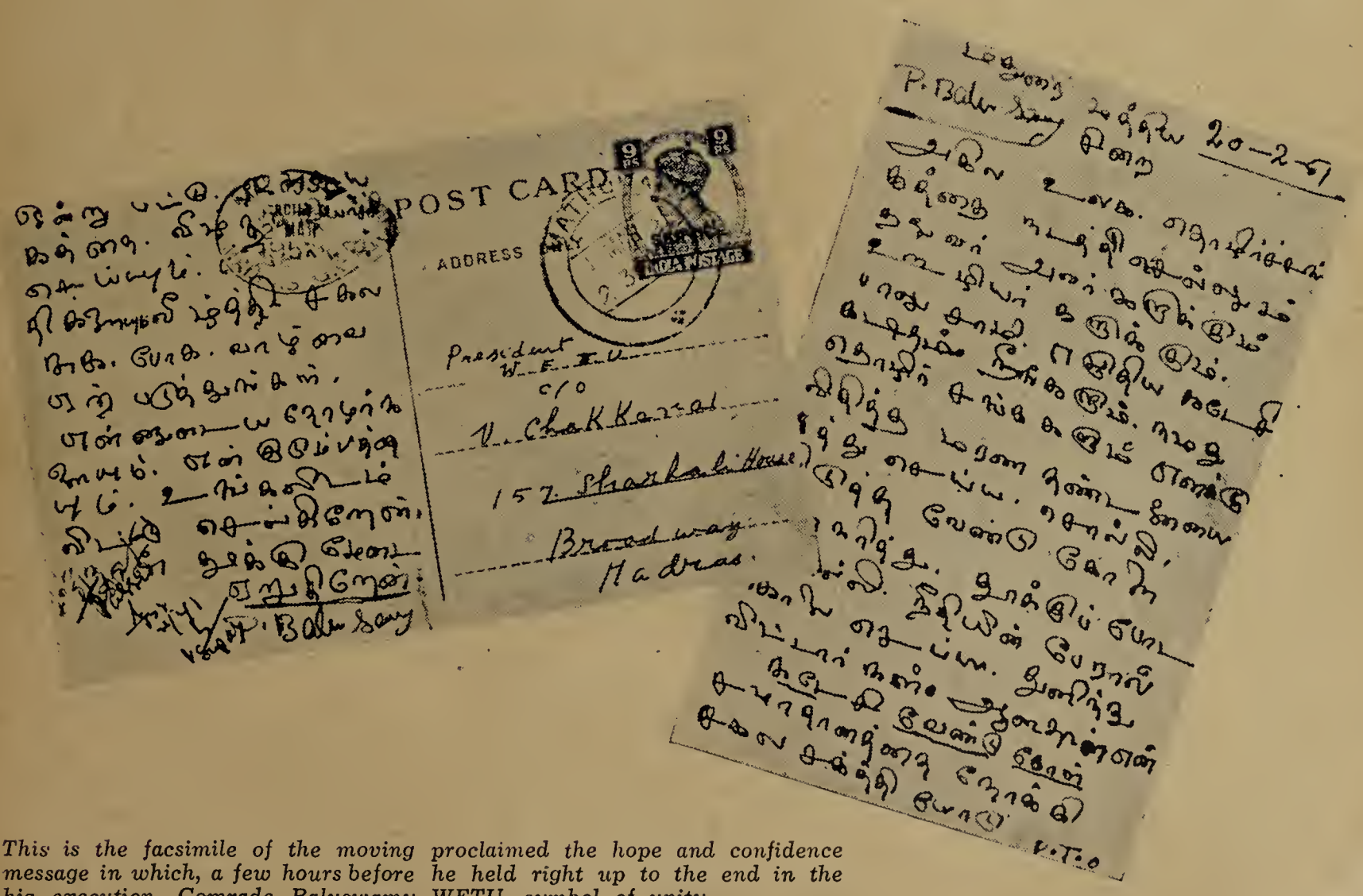
IN the early hours of February 22nd, P. Baluswamy, heroic son of the Madura (Madras) working class, was hanged for the alleged murder of a C.I.D. Chief Constable in July 1949.

He had been refused leave to appeal to the Supreme Court although the judge who sentenced him to death admitted that the prosecution's case was full of "discrepancies and contradictions."

Hundreds of telegrams, letters and resolutions adopted at public meetings and conferences were sent to the President of the Indian Republic calling for clemency, but the President refused to intervene against the death sentence.

Brother Baluswamy joined the ranks of the trade union movement in 1939 as a textile worker in Madura. Later, he joined the Armed Reserve Force and became a well-known leader of the policemen who were demanding improvements in their conditions of service.

When a group of policemen refused to proceed to Telengana as part of a punitive expedition against the peasants, Baluswamy was immediately suspended and an enquiry started.



This is the facsimile of the moving message in which, a few hours before his execution, Comrade Baluswamy proclaimed the hope and confidence he held right up to the end in the WFTU, symbol of unity.

Although he was acquitted of all charges he was discharged from the police service in June 1949.

Taking up activity again in the trade union movement in Madura, Brother Baluswamy found a situation in which meetings were being banned, strikes broken by force, trade union offices being closed down by the police, trade unionists being imprisoned and tortured and working class leaders assassinated.

Due to his courageous leadership of the Madura working class in this situation, Brother Baluswamy became a marked man.

On 30th July 1949, therefore, when a Chief Constable who was notorious for his inhuman behaviour was attacked by a crowd at Meenakshipuram and killed, Brother Baluswamy was arrested with a group of others and sentenced to death.

The sentences in the other cases were commuted to transportation for life, but the death penalty was maintained in the case of Brother Baluswamy.

Three days before his execution Brother Baluswamy told Brother Adinarayanan, Secretary of the Madura Textile Workers' Union:

"Build the trade unions strongly. My request to you is to conduct a special drive for union subscriptions every year on the day of my hanging. Let us get rid of sectarianism and break through the isolation from the people."

In a letter to Brother Chakkaria Chettiar, President of the All India Trades Union Congress, two days before his execution, Brother Baluswamy wrote:

"My last words before I mount the gallows. I had no part in the murder. All of you, irrespective of party politics, should unite all trade unions, defeat our enemies and establish peace and ensure a happy life for all people."

Another letter addressed to Brother G. Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.T.U., said:

"This is my last letter. They have decided to hang me in the name of justice, in utter disregard of the request made by you and by innumerable trade unions the world over. My last request to you is to fight for, and establish, peace all over the world. I leave my comrades and family with you."

Brother Baluswamy leaves behind him his wife, an eight-year-old daughter and a five-year-old son.

Two days before the date set for the execution a mass rally was held in Madura with the slogan "Balu shall not hang". On the following day (the 21st) thousands of workers assembled at the prison and so strong was the pressure on the authorities that 600 of them were able to interview Brother Baluswamy that day.

Fearful of this rising anger of the working class, the authorities began to take countermeasures, and on the same day proceeded to raid the offices of the Textile Workers' Union and arrest several union officials. Fifty four workers were also arrested and houses in the working class area were searched for Brother Adinarayanan, Secretary of the Madura Textile Workers' Union.

In the jail itself, throughout the whole night preceding Brother Baluswamy's execution, the other prisoners kept up a constant shouting against the execution.

At 4.15 a.m. Brother Baluswamy was taken from his cell to the gallows with a black mask over his face and hanged.

At daybreak, thousands of people assembled outside the jail gates shouting thunderous slogans; and on that day the entire people and working class of Madura vowed that Baluswamy's death should not be in vain.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

SPAIN

A few days before the heroic strike of Barcelona workers. the underground newspaper of the Spanish working class, Mundo Obrero, published an article which was very favourably received by the workers. The following passages are extracts from this article.

"Can any worker, with his present wage of 15 to 20 pesetas per day, afford to buy beans at 13.50 pesetas per kilo, chick peas at 11 pesetas per kilo, cod at 35 pesetas, meat at 35 and 40 pesetas per kilo, butter at 40 pesetas, and eggs at 36 pesetas a dozen?

"The price of rice, potatoes, oil, shoes — of absolutely all necessities — is soaring. Urban transport fares have risen to an outrageous extent and a 40% minimum increase in rents has been announced for the near future. Yet there has been no increase, but rather a fall, in wages because their purchasing power is declining from day to day.

"The people's protest and the workers' discontent are turning into anger. The Francoites — who cannot deny something which is so obvious — are trying, through the vertical trade unions, through the press and from the pulpit, to calm the anger of the masses. They talk demagogically about the need for a "just wage" but go no further than this, on the pretext that "production and the national income" must first be increased.

"This means that not only do they oppose a wage increase — while being forced to admit to their inadequacy — but they also demand a greater effort from the workers to the benefit of the capitalists.

"With their usual cynicism, they are seeking to create illusions about 'American aid'.

"But the result is that immediately after the announcement of the concession of 62½ million dollars to Franco, prices rose to the extent of 35 to 40%.

All taxes, both direct and indirect, have been increased in order to finance American arms, the work of building and laying out aerodromes, ports and roads with a view to war, out of the hunger of the workers.

"The workers must organise an independent struggle for a minimum living wage: their health, their lives and those of their children depend upon it.

"Every factory, workshop, mine, port, etc. must be transformed into a centre of activity, into a field for action for increased wages. This is possible only if the workers unite and create their own fighting organisations under the leadership of the most faithful defenders of their class interests.

"In setting up these organisations, the wealth of the workers' fighting experiences must be borne in mind. All wage improvements won by the workers, in the form of bonuses, etc., have been the result of their unity and their struggles and not of gracious concessions by the employers and the vertical trade unions.

"Account must be taken of these experiences of struggle and unity in creating bodies for uniting the workers in order to help them to understand clearly a task of such paramount importance.

"The victory of their economic demands depends on the unity and fighting spirit of the workers."

Mundo Obrero — underground Madrid issue. February 1951.

FRANCE

"Shielded by their police, their CRS (armed police force), their radio and their lying press, our rulers pretend to be unaware of the workers' demands and their anger.

"Events are bringing them back to a little realism.

"Not that they or the bosses are prepared to meet the wage-earners' just demands, but they are now forced to admit that wages are too low. One section of them — is it not so, Guy Mollet? — talk vaguely about the necessity of solving economic and social problems.

"But they are all together in mobilising the police and army against the valiant transport workers. When they leave the realm of abstraction, this is their only method of solving problems.

"The proletariat intends to solve them in quite another way.

"They want their wages increased. They refuse to make the sacrifices entailed by preparations for a war they do not want.

"Their immediate demand is that the wage increases cover the rise in the cost of living, namely 15%. Certain are asking for more in order to catch up.

"Since they are fed up with having to make repeated demands, they want the sliding scale.

"The movement which is spreading in the Paris area and in certain provincial centres only goes to show the state of mind and general determination among the workers.

"Be confident and united, workers of all views and every industry! And in the end, those people who recently generously bestowed a 10,000 francs increase on themselves (reference to increased salaries for French members of Parliament voted by the reactionary majority) will be forced to listen to you.

"Be it a question of the railwaymen, the gas and electricity workers, or of any other strikers, the Government has been unable, in the present struggle, to apply the reactionary policy of mass reprisals which it practised quite recently.

"And yet, the railwaymen, gas-workers and others refused in their tens of thousands to answer the requisitioning orders.

"It was obliged, under duress, to act in this way because it knew that reprisals would have made the struggle flare up again and that all the workers concerned would have taken part.

"A further lesson which should be drawn from the recent events is that:

"In order to divide the working class, the Government and the employers publicly declared that they did not want to have any contact with the CGT organisations.

"At the same time, they ostentatiously received the leaders of the CFTC and FO, who represent only a small fraction of the working class and who thought to eliminate their unpopularity by the publicity given to their talks.

"This is still going on, but the working class has just struck a very severe blow at this divisionist manoeuvre, first of all by scorning the appeals for betrayal issued from these bargainings between accomplices. Then by imposing the discussion of these problems in the presence of the representatives of the trade unions, including those of the CGT.

"This was the case as regards the Paris transport workers. This is also the significance of the recent conference of workers in marine arsenals, which was attended by both the national CGT, CFTC and FO federations and the representatives of the unions belonging to the three federations in all plants.

"These results are evidence of a high

level of class consciousness among the workers and a will for unity about which we shall have more to say.

"They demonstrate to all workers that they can wage a successful battle against repression, the dismissal of their best leaders and for the reinstatement of those dismissed."

Benoit Frachon,
General Secretary of the CGT,
in *l'Humanité* — March 20th and April 4th, 1951.

U.S.S.R.

"Socialism Means Peace",

"Our devotion to peace is a policy inherent in the very nature of the Soviet socialist system, as a new social system which has proclaimed as its main goal the elimination of each and every kind of oppression and exploitation, and creative constructive labour for the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. In our country, illumined by the light of the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin, everything is being done for man and in the name of man. After a few years, the gigantic Kuibyshev and Stalingrad dams will raise the water level in the powerful Volga and bring life-giving moisture to the arid lands along its banks. Electric power will be transmitted to Moscow and other cities, bringing new plants, mines and oilfields into being and radically changing the nature of agricultural work. The Kara Kum desert will be turned into a flourishing area. Another dam will be erected on the Dnieper near Kakhovka and canals will cut across the desert areas in the southern Ukraine and the northern Crimea. The quiet Don will be linked with the Volga by a shipping canal and this waterway will connect the five seas of our country.

"This great constructive work most convincingly shows to the whole world and to millions of plain people in all countries the profoundly peaceful nature of our strivings and the powerful constructive force of socialism as the most advanced and progressive social system.

"Socialism means peace. The great truth contained in these words is corroborated by the whole history of the Soviet State. It is also borne out by the historic events in the People's Democracies, which have also taken to the path of socialist development. This truth, penetrating deeper and deeper into the minds of millions upon millions of working people in the capitalist and colonial countries, rouses them to struggle for their liberation, for peace, against the warmongers."

Izvestia — 22.3.51.

The wide scope of social insurance in the Soviet Union.

In an interview on the approval of the State Social Insurance Budget for 1951, amounting to 21,100 million roubles, Mr Kiktenko, assistant head of the administration for State Social Insurance of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions said:

"Allocations for the social insurance of workers and other employees increase from year to year. These huge sums are spent to improve the well-being and public and cultural services of the working people. Much attention has been paid to the restoration, construction and equipment of trade union sanatoria and rest homes. The number of trade union health institutions has grown in the course of five years from 345 to 823 and last year 2.5 million persons spent their vacations there.

"The expenditure of the State social insurance budget on health services and vacations of the working people will increase by 158 million roubles. About 2.7 millioen factory and office workers will spend their vacations in trade union sanatoria and rest homes. In addition, hundreds of thousands of people will get accommodation in one-day rest homes.

"Appropriations for Young Pioneer camps have been increased. In the coming summer, 2,760,000 children will spend their vacations in Pioneer camps of the general or sanatorium type. For the first time, organised vacations will be arranged for pupils of the eighth and ninth grades of secondary schools. Tens of thousands of them will spend the summer in Pioneer camps.

"The budget provides funds for payments during sick and maternity leave, for pensions to labour invalids, for special diets and for construction and equipment of stadiums and clubs".

Tass News Agency 22.3.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Militant Dockers Speak to their Judges.

The true voice of working-class Britain was heard at the Old Bailey when the seven dockers' leaders were committed for trial on charges of conspiring to incite an illegal strike after their union officials refused to press the workers' claims laid down in the Dockers' Charter.

The following passages are extracts from the statements made by some of the men when they pleaded not guilty to the charges.

..**William Johnson:** 'I am charged with incitement, but I believe I am one of those people who is being incited by the so-called leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union.'

Joseph Harrison: 'If the leading officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union dock section had not lost touch with the rank and file, there would be no need for unofficial committees.'

Edward Dickens: 'I am a trade unionist of 27 years' standing. I am convinced that no legal action will prevent the port workers or trade unionists in general from striking in defence of their legal conditions or for improving same.'

Joseph Cowley: 'The dock workers have always stood together and no action that the Government may take will prevent them from doing so.'

Albert Timothy: 'I was bred and born in a militant part of dockland. Therefore I had a militant spirit which has grown up in me from the time of my birth.'

'I have been a trade unionist for 32 years, and if the powers or people who have brought this unjust charge against us think that by doing so they will crush that militant spirit, they are making a big mistake.'

Henry Constable: 'It is obvious to any intelligent person that the wrong people are in the dock. The persons who should be here are Mr Arthur Deakin and many of his selected officials.'

'Whatever the ultimate outcome of this trial, I am confident that the seven men here in dock will continue to fight for and on behalf of their fellow men.'

Daily Worker — 17.3.51

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"Schuman Plan" Aggravates the Dismemberment of Germany.

"Commenting on the initialling of the Schuman Plan, Albert Norden, chief of the press department of the Information Bureau of German Democratic Republic declared at a press conference on March 20th that the Plan "represents nothing but a conspiracy of the former owners of the cartels of Europe under the patronage of the United States. The "Schuman Plan" aggravates and renders more acute the dismemberment of Germany. This is a plan violating the Potsdam Agreement which in Paragraph 12, section 3, states that 'at the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralised for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as examplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

"Going on to discuss the increase in Western occupation expenditure, Albert Norden stated:

"The Ministers of the Bonn Government, Erhard and Schaffer, stated in Bonn that the annual occupation expenditure will increase to 9,000 million Western marks. This means that in Western Germany every worker works three months of the year to maintain occupation troops. And there will be no end to it as Adenauer and Schumacher themselves asked for the strengthening of the American occupation divisions and this means that they asked for an increase in occupation taxes."

ADN News Agency — March 20th.

IRAN

The Iranian People Oppose the Aggressive Plans of the U.S.A.

"People arriving from Teheran say that anti-American feeling in Iran is growing and that this state of mind has already spread to all sections of the Iranian people who have understood that the United States is not concerned with the defence of Iran or of other economically backward countries, but thinks only of taking advantage of these territories and their inhabitants for purely military aims.

"The Iranian people are openly protesting against the American plans for agression. Iranian public opinion is becoming more and more aware of the fact that the deliveries of American arms for Iran represent a provocation against the USSR.

"At the end of last January, the inhabitants of the port of Bender-Chatchpur, organised a protest demonstration and surrounded the port when an American ship loaded with arms and war material came into dock. The Iranian dockers refused to unload the American ship. On the request of the population which had assembled near the docks, the local authority refused entry into the port to the First Secretary of the American Embassy in Iran who had come to Bender-Chatchpur to supervise the delivery of the arms."

Achchark — Beirut, 9.3.51.

ARGENTINE

Peronist Trade Union Leaders Offer Themselves to Wall Street.

"Scuttling the so-called "third force" in trade unionism, the leaders of the Argentine General Confederation of Labour rushed off to Mexico to take part in the formation of the anti-communist "workers" Trade Union Centre set up by Serafino Romualdi, Bernardo Ibanez and other pirates in the service of the Wall Street trusts.

"We know that Santin and his accomplices were received in a very discourteous fashion when they arrived — they had the door slammed in their faces.

"But the leaders of Peron's General Confederation of Labour believe in the saying 'If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again'. They therefore sent another delegation to Mexico led by Cabo Pretos, in order to examine the possibility of forming another anti-communist "Trade Union" Centre.

"The Confederation leaders are more or less saying to the Wall Street capitalists: 'You see, these bad boys have not taken us as servants in the new Centre. Let us create another one. Thus, instead of one gang of stooges, you will have two, Romualdi-Ibanez and Espejo-Morones.'

"But the working class knows them and flings its contempt in their faces and continues to support the World Federation of Trade Unions and the CTAL, its genuine organisations."

Nuestra Palabra
Buenos Aires, 18.2.51.

BRAZIL

Hunger, Exploitation and Terror Intensify.

"The Brazilian people are beginning to feel more directly the disastrous consequences of the Government's policy of war and national betrayal. Their living conditions are being drastically affected.

"In order to cover its war expenditure, the dictatorship is intensifying inflation, daily increasing the banknote circulation, systematically raising the prices of consumer goods and reducing the workers' real wages.

"Exploitation is being intensified, since, for the industrial sharks, the preparation for war is also a way of more violently attacking the workers' wages and wiping out working-class rights such as statutory holidays, holidays with pay, the stability of employment, etc.

"Recently, the Dutra dictatorship issued a decree seeking to introduce the disastrous 'war regime' into industry: the Yankee Duperial trust was given the authorisation to work day and night and even on Sundays and statutory holidays, without respecting the 8-hour working day or weekly rest periods.

"In order to maintain this situation, the dictator has intensified police terror. This was experienced during the campaign for the Christmas bonus when the police opened fire in the streets on civil servants and workers and imprisoned and beat them up because they were fighting against starvation.'

Voz Operaria —
Rio de Janeiro, 27.1.51.

Against the Barbaric Methods of the Argentine Government

The World Federation of Trade Unions has been informed that the progressive trade union leader, Vicente Marischi, was kidnapped on February 24th last and imprisoned by the only too well known "special branch" of the Peron police, which savagely tortured him after giving him the drug pentathol in order to try and force him to denounce his comrades-in-struggle in the "Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions."

Marischi was General Secretary of the Argentine Woodworkers' Union until the advent of the Peron dictatorship which rapidly sought to smash the free unions. He is also one of the most active leaders of the Argentine Workers for Peace Movement, and he was delegated by this movement to attend the 2nd World Peace Congress in Warsaw.

He was a member of the Argentine delegation to the Southern Latin-American Trade Union Conference last year, and he took part in the joint meeting between the representatives of the CTAL and the WFTU Executive Bureau in Bucharest last December.

It is because of this legitimate activity as a defender of peace and on behalf of the vital interests of the working class of his country that Vicente Marischi has fallen victim to the barbaric fascist methods of the Peron Government.

The WFTU energetically protests and will submit this flagrant case of the violation of the most elementary rights to the United Nations Human Rights Commission which is now in session in Geneva.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

March 16

TANGANYIKA. — Following the development of a go slow movement and growing demonstrations against their slave-labour conditions among the 3000—4000 Africans working at the Broken Hill lead and zinc mines, owned by the millionaire Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the North Rhodesian police arrest five African workers for "inciting" their fellows to protest.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Seven dock leaders are committed for trial on grounds of conspiring to incite illegal strikes. Nine thousand five hundred London dockers come out in token strike as their leaders appear in court. In their statements to the court the leaders declare that "if the leading officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union had not lost touch with the rank and file there would be no need" for an unofficial dockers' committee, and that the persons who should be in the dock in their place were Arthur Deakin and many of his selected officials.

INDIA. — The Supreme Court refuses to reverse the death sentence passed on 12 Telengana peasant leaders by a Hyderabad tribunal.

UNITED STATES. — As a result of world-wide protests against the legal murder of Willie McGee, young Negro condemned on purely racial grounds, the Supreme Court puts off his execution set for March 20.

— Twenty-five hundred peace delegates arrive in Washington. Despite police barrages and intimidation their spokesmen succeed in handing the government demands for an end to the war in Korea, to war preparations, to the dispatch of U.S. troops to Europe and for a genuine effort by the U.S. to reach agreement with the other major powers to ensure world peace.

— The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions calls on workers in the motion picture industry to "challenge with all resources at their command" the renewed attack of the Committee for Un-American Activities on „the right of members of the film industry to privacy and independence of opinion" and asks: "Are we going to lie down before this sinister effort of a small, powerful and coercive minority to stampede us into surrendering our minds and our integrity in the face of a deliberately calculated war hysteria? Or are we going to recognise the real issue and stand up and fight?"

ITALY. — After a 110-day occupation of their factory in Florence, the workers of the Ginori ceramics plant oblige the management to withdraw its decision to dismantle the plant. Dismissals are cut from 350 to 150, and favorable conditions granted to those dismissed.

IRAN. — The British Government sends a note to Teheran in which it declares that the operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company cannot under the terms of its agreement legally be terminated by an act such as Nationalisation.

JOHANNESBURG. — As a result of inter-imperialist rivalries, the British-Portuguese-South African-French-Belgian-United States Central and South African Transport Organisation, whose main task was to coordinate the rail systems of Central and South Africa for facilitating American exploitation of African war materials and improving means of transport between the network of imperialist bases in Africa, collapses.

FRANCE. — Thirty-four thousand Paris metro and bus workers, led by an all-union strike committee, begin a united strike for a flat 6000 franc monthly wage increase for all grades following governmental refusals to negotiate for the granting of this rise.

March 17

ALGERIA. — The co-ordinating committee of the Confederated Trade Unions of Algeria (C.G.T.) puts forward the demand for a minimum hourly wage of 100 francs or 17,500 per month for 173 hours work, a sliding scale and the abolition of wage differentials according to the region of the country.

CHINA. — The All-China Federation of Labour cables its deep respect and the wholehearted support of the Chinese working class to its 300,000 brothers on strike in Barcelona.

FINLAND. — The two-week old strike of icebreakers' crews ends in victory for the workers' demand for higher wages. In the meantime, the plumbers' strike, now going on for several weeks, continues.

CYPRUS. — Twenty-one more persons, mostly trade unionists, who took part in the demonstration against the suppression of civil rights and press freedom and against the high cost of living last February 21, are sentenced to terms of imprisonment or heavy fines by the Famagusta District Court.

March 18

AUSTRALIA. — A big No-Conscription Conference is held in Sydney with the participation of many trade union and workers' delegates.

IRAN. — The Senate confirms the nationalisation of oil resources, already passed by the Lower House. The British Government threatens intervention.

— Anniversary of the Paris Commune, celebrated by workers' and other democratic organisations throughout the world. The world labour press carries articles drawing the lessons of the Commune's experience in relation to the present-day problems of the working class.

NEW ZEALAND. — As a result of continued mass solidarity with the locked-out waterside workers the Government orders the police to enforce the emergency regulations which make it an offence to contribute to, or solicit, funds for the union.

March 19

SPAIN. — Under pressure from the working class the Franco dictatorship is forced to authorise the payment of wages by the employers for the period during which the workers were on strike.

NETHERLANDS. — As a consequence of the ruinous war preparation policy, imposed by the Atlantic Pact, various manufactured articles and food products, amongst the latter being bread, fats, and margarine, are raised in price by between 10% and 40%.

DENMARK. — In an attempt to cut the standard of living required by the "Atlantic" rearmament program, the Government decides to cut the people's purchasing power by introducing compulsory "saving" to the tune of more than 200 million kroner and to institute further indirect taxation on footwear, beer, railway fares and postal charges, bringing in another 200 million kroner.

FRANCE. — State gas, electricity and railway workers join the Paris metro and bus workers already on strike for a wage rise.

SWEDEN. — Four thousand employees of the nationalised passenger car services come out on strike.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The U.S. Government announces that it has persuaded Great Britain to open joint discussions on the future of British oil interests in Iran following the decision of the Iranian Government to nationalise oil.

— Thousands of engineering workers on Tyneside begin a ban on overtime and piecework following the employers' refusal to grant pieceworkers an extra 11 s. a week in wages.

CYPRUS. — In the town of Larnaca 500 unemployed workers and poor peasants take part in a hunger procession to the British Commissioner's Office demanding bread and work. The Commissioner in Larnaca — where British imperialism is building a new military base— tells the deputation he has no solution and that the demonstration is unlawful.

AUSTRALIA. — The Menzies Government, defeated in its attempt to ban the Communist Party and to destroy militant trade unions, dissolves Parliament and calls for General Elections.

March 20

ALGERIA. — Oran dockers again refuse to load 2 ships with material for the colonial war against the Viet-Namese People.

NETHERLANDS. — Following the new Government's announcement of heavy price increases on major consumer goods in order to pay for the American-imposed rearmament program, protest strikes break out in Amsterdam, The Hague, Leyden and other towns.

USA. — Nelson Rockefeller, American financier and Chairman of the International Development Advisory Board, responsible for the application of Truman's Point Four programme for underdeveloped countries, declares that the programme would be a factor in forestalling an economic slump in the United States.

AUSTRALIA. — The Imperial Chemical Industries of Australia and New Zealand, a branch of Britain's gigantic munitions trust, announces large-scale extension of its Australasian factories in view of "the rapidly growing demand for the company's products."

BURMA. — Eighteen Opposition members of Parliament stage a stay-in strike in Parliament to protest against government foreign policy in relation to Korea and the Marshall Plan, and its pursuance of civil war.

IRAN. — The Senate unanimously ratifies the law nationalising oil resources. Martial law is proclaimed. The latter event is welcomed with satisfaction in London where it is interpreted as a move in line with British desires. Throughout the provinces, and in Teheran, strikes and demonstrations reaffirm the people's desire for national independence.

March 21

IRAQ — Popular demands for the nationalisation of oil resources following their nationalisation in Iran, lead the Government to state that it intends to raise the oil duty paid by imperialist companies to the same level as that charged in neighbouring countries and that a State oil refinery is to be constructed.

ITALY. — A collective agreement is signed by the CGIL and other trade union centres with the Association of industrialists. It grants workers a wage rise and provides for a sliding scale adjusting wages every two months.

TURKEY. — Istanbul students demonstrate against the Government's policy of complete subservience to American interests. 56 are arrested, including the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Students' Union.

INDIA. — Vigorous protests are received by the Indian Government from the CGIL in Italy and other trade union centres, against the barbarous hanging of Baluswamy, a Madura trade union leader, and the sentence to life imprisonment of 5 other trade unionists.

NEW ZEALAND. — The right-wing Executive of the Federation of Labour appeals to workers to stop their solidarity strikes with the watersiders, whose demands for higher wages are described as "a challenge to the State". The movement, despite the Government's dictatorial powers and activity, remains unbroken.

SWEDEN. — A general tram and bus strike takes place in Goteborg and Malmoe following the breakdown of wage negotiations.

TUNISIA. — Phosphate miners of Moulares strike against increased work load. The Government fills the area with police "to re-establish order".

SPAIN. — In a move to get at the leaders of the growing movement against the Falangist regime, Franco orders the issuing of new identity cards to all over the age of 16.

FRANCE. — The railway strike for a 6,000 francs monthly increase, which began at two of the biggest Paris stations on March 16, is now effective throughout France. Workers at the nationalised Renault auto works hold a stopwork meeting on their demands, as do other metalworkers in the Paris region.

BULGARIA. — The Government announces an immediately effective 20—45% price cut on current consumer goods and food, the ending of rationing for manufactured goods, an increase in pensions, and a wage rise ranging from 47% to over 100% for the lowest paid workers. These measures are the result of the success of the Five Year Plan in 1949 and 1950.

WESTERN GERMANY. — While the American authorities grant war criminal Krupp permission to open another foundry and another steelworks to swell West Germany's arms potential, 80,000 workers demonstrate in Nuremberg against soaring prices and demand Adenauer's resignation; in the Ruhr town of Wuppertal, public utility workers strike for 24 hours, and in Munich the representatives of a further 100,000 workers demand Adenauer's resignation.

IRAN. — General Hedjazi, new military governor, follows up the previous day's proclamation of martial law by publishing a decree banning all public meetings; newspapers are forbidden to publish anti-government articles and the death sentence is announced for any person qualified as "guilty of activities aiming at a rising or the fomenting of trouble."

March 22

IRAQ — Twenty four prominent people, including former Premier General El Hashemi, publish a manifesto pointing out that Middle East countries are regarded as pawns in a vast strategic plan rejected by the peoples concerned. The manifesto declares that the Iraqi nation firmly desires to co-operate with the other Arab nations and with all peace loving countries in the formation of a front of absolute neutrality in the event of a world war.

TURKEY. — Instanbul students send a delegation to the Prime Minister to protest against the administration's dictatorial methods.

ITALY. — Eight thousand Sicilian sulphur miners who have been on strike for 33 days return to work following the granting of their demands for a wage increase and employers' contribution to the workers' pension fund.

March 23

ARGENTINE. — Georges Fischer, WFTU representative to the Economic and Social Council meeting in Santiago (Chile) is arrested and illtreated by the Special Section of the Argentine police while passing through Buenos Aires after the ECOSOC meeting. After protests are made he is released.

NEW ZEALAND. — Despite a virtual state of martial law, and with the Government using troops against the dockers to load ships for Britain, the dockers' movement continues through its fifth week with the workers' front unbroken.

GUATEMALA. — More than 2,000 people take part in a meeting organised by the National Peace Committee calling for denunciation of the US-sponsored Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers' Conference and a determined struggle for the programme of the World Peace Council.

BELGIUM. — As a result of the rising cost of living numerous strikes break out among coke and furnace workers and in the Liege basin.

PARIS. — The World Peace Council receives a cable from the UN General Secretary accepting its request for a meeting between the Council's delegation and the Secretary-General. The meeting will take place shortly in Europe.

FRANCE. — Striking railway workers throughout the country through their united front force the Government to grant an increase in the basic wage of 11.5%, that is, from 78 to 87 francs per hour.

BERLIN. — The European Workers' Conference against German Rearmament opens with 900 delegates present from 19 countries.

March 24

UNITED STATES. — A Conference meets in New York to plan this year's May Day on the basis of demands for the preservation of the democratic heritage of the USA, for Negro rights and for the defence of the economic needs and political rights of the American people.

The WFTU sends a message to the Conference wishing it success and pointing out that in the present situation "workers of the USA have a special responsibility and an urgent task to perform."

March 24-31

— Throughout the world Youth Week celebrations led by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and its affiliates are held, marking youth's determination to fight for peace, democracy and a better life.

March 25

BERLIN. — Close of the European Workers' Conference against German Rearmament with the unanimous adoption of the resolutions by delegates of all trade union and political affiliations. (See **Supplement** for text of resolution).

ARGENTINE. — A demonstration against the Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington takes place outside the US Embassy in Buenos Aires.

EGYPT. — Despite brutal police attacks and the arrest of 14 people, a successful demonstration for peace

is held in Cairo, reflecting the great advances recently made in the formation of local, factory and student Peace Committees.

March 26

CYPRUS. — Diomedes Ghalanos, General Secretary of the Cyprus Peace Committee, and 22 trade unionists, are sentenced to fines and prison terms for taking part in an "unlawful procession" protesting against four new laws restricting civil liberties and press freedom.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Delegates to the annual conference of the National Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers express concern at the rising cost of living and put forward a minimum wage demand of £ 6.10 s., ten shillings higher than their claim for the previous year. A delegate from Birmingham attacks the Labour Government for allowing "big business" to make continually bigger and bigger profits.

UNITED STATES. — Economic "Stabilisation" Chief Johnston reveals the true character of Truman's wage-price freeze by stating that business profits showed a 30% increase in 1950 over 1949, while farm product prices showed a 27% rise since the U.S. aggression in Korea in June 1950. At the same time he asks that workers stick to the 10% rise on January 1950 wage levels allowed by present regulations.

WASHINGTON. — Opening of the Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers' Conference, called by the United States in order to enforce increased production of strategic materials in Latin-American countries, to impose the formation of an inter-American army, and in general to increase the overlordship of the U.S.A. in North and South America so as to provide the materials and cannon fodder necessary for its plans of aggression. These plans call for the suppression of democratic working class movements and unions.

BRAZIL. — Demonstrations take place in many towns against the strengthening of U.S. domination being organised through the Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington.

March 27

GREECE. — The personnel of three air companies strike for a wage increase.

EGYPT. — Following the general anti-imperialist upsurge in the Middle East, the Egyptian Parliament considers a Bill for the nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

FRANCE. — Paris gas and electricity workers go back to work, winning a partial victory.

— Sixty thousand miners join the strike movement spreading throughout France in the mines, steel and engineering plants, transport and government services, in support of the workers' demand for a wage increase to offset the soaring cost of living resulting from the rearmament program.

TUNISIA. — The Soussa tribunal tries 32 workers arrested during incidents at Enfidaville on 21 November 1950 when 7 people were killed by the police. A total of 135 months imprisonment was inflicted upon the accused, two of whom were sentenced to 2 years.

CHILE. — The National Miners' Federation denounces the U.S.-sponsored Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers' Conference as "a conspiracy against the independence of the American continent."

NEW ZEALAND. — The Government de-registers the Freezing Workers Union branches in Wellington, Nelson, Marlborough and Taranaki provinces on account of their continued solidarity with the watersiders. Despite frenzied government appeals for the formation of scab watersiders' unions, only four tiny groups in minor ports have broken the solid front the workers are maintaining against governmental repression.

CHINA. — The All-China Federation of Labour sends greetings to the Provisional United Labour and People's Committee for May Day in the U.S.A. stressing that "in the struggles against the Wall Street warmongers' intrigues, the Chinese working class always marches together with the fraternal American workers."

March 28

IRAN. — The British Foreign Office admits that at the request of the British Ambassador in Teheran Iranian troops have been sent to the Anglo-Iranian oilfields.

MEXICO. — President Aleman rejects the demands of 4000 miners who marched to Mexico City, offering re-employment to only one quarter of them under worse conditions than before, recognising the labour racketeers the Labour Minister had previously failed to impose on them, and surrounding the miners' camp in Mexico City by police and secret service agents in an attempt to isolate them from the rest of the population.

LIBERIC (Czechoslovakia). — A Polish-Czechoslovak-German Youth Conference calls on the World Federation of Democratic Youth to sponsor a European Youth Conference against the remilitarization of Western Germany, already asked for by French, Belgian and other youth.

AUSTRALIA. — Despite the refusal of the High Court to accept Premier Menzies' contention that Australia was in fact already at war this theme is taken up by the Director General of Recruiting in an attempt to stampede Australians out of their 'apathy' and into joining the army.

March 29

WESTERN GERMANY. — 10,000 workers in Bamberg demonstrate for an improvement in their living standards.

— Two hundred and ten representatives of Lower Rhine workers meeting in Conference at Krefeld call for a popular referendum on remilitarisation and on the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951 as well as all-German negotiations. The delegation submitting these decisions to the Bonn Government calls on the Federal Chancellor to sit down at the same table with Herr Grotewohl for the purpose of re-establishing the unity of Germany and ensuring peace for the German people. It demands that the money for the remilitarisation of Western Germany be immediately used to improve the conditions of war disabled.

PAKISTAN. — Despite the fact that he has been held arbitrarily in jail for 6 months without trial, Mizra

Ibrahim, President of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, is elected to the West Punjab Provincial Parliament as representative of a workers' constituency in Lahore.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Workers at Woolwich Arsenal and several other Royal Ordnance factories give notice of their intention to suspend over-time work in protest against the government's refusal to grant them two weeks' annual holiday wich pay instead of one.

— The Conference of the National Union of Women Teachers unanimously passes a resolution declaring that educational opportunities are being jeopardized by the continuance of large classes, the lack of new school buildings, the inadequacy of equipment and the whittling down of accepted standards.

March 30

AUSTRALIA. — The Army Minister announces the reduction of the enlisting age for the Regular Army to 17 years.

FRANCE. — The Prime Minister is interviewed by the all-union strike committee of the Paris Metro and bus workers but maintains the Government's refusal to grant their full demands, particularly the pledge that there would be no victimisation among the strikers.

— There is a 24 hour strike of tax employees and stop work meetings of other civil servants in most Government departments.

IRAN. — The striking oilworkers are joined by the textile and transport workers in several regions.

GREECE. — Three Greek patriots are condemned to death by the military tribunal at Larissa for 'infringing the law on subversive activities'.

March 31

WESTERN GERMANY. — The second Conference of Nuremberg Workers against the remilitarisation of Western Germany meets in Nuremberg. One hundred and fifty representatives of workers from 36 different firms discuss ways of fulfilling the decision taken by the European Workers' Conference against the remilitarisation of Germany. Delegates include Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Democrats and non-party workers. The resolution unanimously adopted at the close of the conference welcomes the decisions of the European Workers' Conference, protests at Adenauer's refusal to conduct negotiations with Eastern Germany, condemns the onslaught on the workers' living standards by the Adenauer Government and calls on the trade unions to come out resolutely for the working people's demands. The delegates call on the trade unions to organise a powerful May Day demonstration under the slogan of international workers' solidarity, against remilitarisation, for a peace treaty in 1951 and against every form of war propaganda.

April 1

U.S.A. — Police break up a demonstration in Times Square, New York, in protest against the planned execution of Willie McGee, a Negro, on a framed charge of rape. Six persons were arrested, one of them being accused of cruelty to animals for having kicked a mounted policeman's horse.

SPAIN. — 3000 students of Madrid University demonstrate against an increase of tramway fares and clash with Franco's police.

April 2

LONDON. — Ignatius Musazi, ex-President of the Uganda African Farmers' Union, arrested on his arrival in Uganda from Britain, is deported without trial to the Sudan frontier area.

U.S.A. — 40,000 textile workers employed in five southern states go on strike for increased wages, cost-of-living clause in their contracts, and pensions.

April 3

FRANCE. — Dockers at La Pallice refuse to unload an American Cargo of military equipment, shipped as part of Atlantic Pact rearmament.

ITALY. — A 24 hour strike breaks out in the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services.

SPAIN. — Workers in the town of Azcoitia near San Sebastian go on strike for wage increases.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The **British Economic Survey** notes that military expenditure will be increased from £ 830 million in 1950—51 to £ 1,300 million in 1951—52. The textile and metal industries will go over still further to war production and production of goods for export to pay for the increasing cost of British imports owing to the stockpiling of vital commodities in preparation for war. The Survey states that there will thus be less clothing and other goods available to the private consumer, and it predicts a rise in prices as being inevitable.

April 4

FRANCE. — Paris metro and bus workers return to work, after winning a wage rise of over 3,000 francs a month, thanks to their solid trade union unity, which sets an impressive example for all French workers.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Delegates to the National Conference of Labour Women call on the Government to take back the airfields allotted to the United States Air Force in Britain, and demand that Britain pledge herself never to allow this country to be used as a launching place for atomic bombs. The Conference also called for price control on essential goods.

April 5

U.S.A. — Right-wing leaders of the American trade unions are persuaded by President Truman to return to participation in the so-called "Defence Mobilisation" agencies after rank and file pressure had forced them to walk out on the grounds that labour's participation was "merely for window dressing" and that the placing of American economy on a war footing was controlled by big businessmen, to ensure them huge profits.

NOTE: The Editor wishes to apologise for two errors which inadvertently crept into No. 6 of WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. The photos on pages 12 and 25 should be interchanged; and the cartoon on page 18 was wrongly credited to Yakka.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — APRIL 29, 1951 : No. 8

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

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EDITORIAL

WORK HARDER FOR UNITY!

THE need for unity of the workers is so natural that we have only to link up our persistent support for the idea of unity with a constant and alert use of initiative, for the unity drive in the ranks of the working class to become irresistible.

To be sure, a good deal of perseverance is required in working for unity. There is a need for strong conviction and firm assurance. All this is not always easy, especially when considerable resources are used to divide the workers, including even the apparatus of the State. We have had many examples of this in recent years in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries.

What can these tremendous material resources do against the powerful and resurgent idea of unity, which invariably attracts the workers because it provides the best way out of their poverty, their suffering and their difficulties?

The policy of division and disruption derives from a spirit of submissiveness. Every pro-unity policy of the workers—unity of action first, then unity of organisation—bears within itself all the possibilities of emancipation and liberation. All great working-class victories, all the successes of the workers in winning their demands, are achieved at times of wide unity, and the gains won are largely guaranteed by the maintaining of unity. The workers have often experienced this, and the experience is always fresh in their minds.

When unity is defeated or suffers a setback under the pressure of reactionary forces, inevitably—we may well say infallibly—a regrouping takes place and the ranks are closed again; in the heat of the struggle, the workers' united front reforms, the drive for unity wins through and the successes of the workers' daily struggles then provide new methods for strengthening unity among them.

IT would be a grave mistake to think that unity does not have to be worked for. No doubt we believe that the workers build and rebuild their unity. But unity isn't like spring, it doesn't just appear at a given time or regularly at all. What makes unity of action and organisation inevitable is *the policy carried out and worked for in order to make it inevitable.*

The WFTU and its affiliated unions are pro-unity organisations because their *essential line of policy* in undertaking any action whatsoever is fundamentally based on the unity of the workers and, where this is necessary and possible, on united action by workers' groups of differing opinions.

We may take as an example the European Workers' Conference against German Rearmament. The WFTU was invited to attend by the Organising Committee, and accepted the invitation, promising its fullest support in carrying out the decisions of the Conference. The Conference elected a Committee responsible for the application of these decisions and there is no doubt that the WFTU Executive Bureau, at its meeting in June this year, will determine the help our world trade union organisation can give the European Workers' Committee against German Rearmament.

This Conference, which was held in Berlin on March 23, 24 and 25, was not made up solely of workers affiliated to the WFTU. The political line-up of the Conference was very wide : Communists, Socialists, Christians, non-party people, all sat fraternally side by side.

It must be noted that more than 50 per cent of the Conference delegates belonged to organisations not affiliated to the WFTU.

The "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" and the Christian Trade Union International had been invited by the Organising Committee. Their silence, illustrating a scornful and cavalier attitude towards the millions and millions of working men and women represented at the Berlin Conference, demonstrates their contemptible policy.

The WFTU can feel no scorn, have no cavalier attitude towards the initiatives of the workers, especially when they are directed at strengthening the opposition of the masses of working people to the preparation of war.

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IT is by its deeds, by the attitude it adopts, that an organisation's policies are judged and summed up. The WFTU was there in Berlin because the WFTU stands for the unity of workers of all opinions, and because the WFTU stands for peace.

All workers who are free from a sectarian attitude and untroubled by petty differences of opinion, approve the WFTU when it declares its clear and unmistakeable agreement with the decisions of the Berlin Conference.

The fact that the WFTU was the *only* international workers' organisation which thus promised its support to the representatives of the workers of Europe, without setting down preliminary conditions or looking for pretexts in order to refuse, proves that the WFTU is the *only* one of them to have a pro-unity policy. It is also the *only* one of them that takes the desires and opinions of the working class as the source of all its activities, the basis of all its judgments. It is the ONLY one of them that has taken up a correct position for the defence of peace, and *it is because the WFTU accepts the control of its activities, policy and programme by the mass of workers that it really is a pro-unity organisation.*

We not only accept this control, *but we ask for it.* There can be no international trade union activities more confident, more honest, more concerned with defending the workers' interests than those which are voluntarily placed in the control of the working class and never lose contact with the working class.

To be sure, the "very democratic" scab International cannot accept such stern democracy. Its origins cut the idea right out. But it does not for that reason escape the severe judgment the workers pass on it. But this judgment is not in itself enough. The more the workers' control over the functioning and activities of their trade unions becomes permanent and efficient, the easier it is for them to move forward along the right road of unity and the effective defence of the daily claims of the working masses.

Many workers belonging to national trade union centres that are affiliated to the scab International are convinced that the union leaders of this branch of the State Department indulge in disruptionist activity, carry out the demands of those who are seeking to provoke war, support colonialist oppression and sabotage the majority of strikes for wage increases and improved social legislation.

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BUT the essential thing is not that workers outside the WFTU should pass judgments. The most important thing is that they should act *within their organisations* for the defeat of their leaders' disruptionist activity; so that their unions will favour a peace policy and not one that provokes war; so that their unions will show their solidarity with the workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries, who are fighting for their independence; so that actions backing up their claims will not be subject to the intrigues and machinations of trade union leaders who are defeatists, cowards or "politicians."

The workers must keep the defence of their interests in their own hands. They must retain their responsibility, their right to decide; they must enforce the democratic functioning of their unions, wherever labour leaders have forgotten or are forgetting this elementary rule.

There is no doubt that if these principles are applied the workers' drive for unity will grow in speed and scope. Nothing must be left undone to improve the trade union situation in the majority of capitalist countries and also in world trade union affairs.

Very real dangers have piled up and are threatening the masses of workers —the spectre of a third world war stalks about the world, and the conditions of millions of working men and women have worsened as a result of the war policy pursued by the American monopolists.

The united front of the workers of the world is a firm bastion of peace. Their united front in the daily economic battles is their best weapon in gaining their demands and leading them to victory.

We must advance boldly along the road to unity, and work harder to achieve it.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

THE WFTU PAYS TRIBUTE TO THE HEROIC WORKERS OF SPAIN

In the name of the World Federation of Trade Unions, its President, G. Di Vittorio, has sent the following message to the courageous leaders of the Spanish workers.

For the second time in six weeks, the valiant Spanish workers have come out on strike against Franco's exploitation and oppression, and for work, bread, and democratic liberties.

After the strike of 300,000 Catalan workers last March, the Basque and Santander workers launched a magnificent protest movement.

The WFTU pays tribute to the Spanish workers and people for their heroism and unity. It declares its solidarity and calls on the workers of the world to do everything in their power to support the struggle of the Spanish workers.

G. Di VITTORIO,
President of the WFTU.

"SPANISH SPRING, 1951"

UNITED ACTION WINS BIG VICTORY IN FRANCE

by HENRI RAYNAUD

Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour

A FRESH wave of great strike movements pounded against the foundations of social life in France during the month of March, 1951.

This is not something new, but a particularly important episode in the struggle of the French working-class. Under C.G.T. leadership, the working-class has since 1947 waged an unrelenting struggle against the policy of poverty and war pursued by the governments which have followed each other since the Communist ministers were thrown out of the Government by order of the American imperialists.

The preparation for aggressive war has taken the form in the economic sphere of the maintenance of a wage-freeze in spite of the steady rise in the cost of living, and this contradiction has intensified the class struggle. The " freeing " of prices led to an increase in industrial prices and, while it intensified the workers' poverty, it swelled the profits of the big capitalist firms.

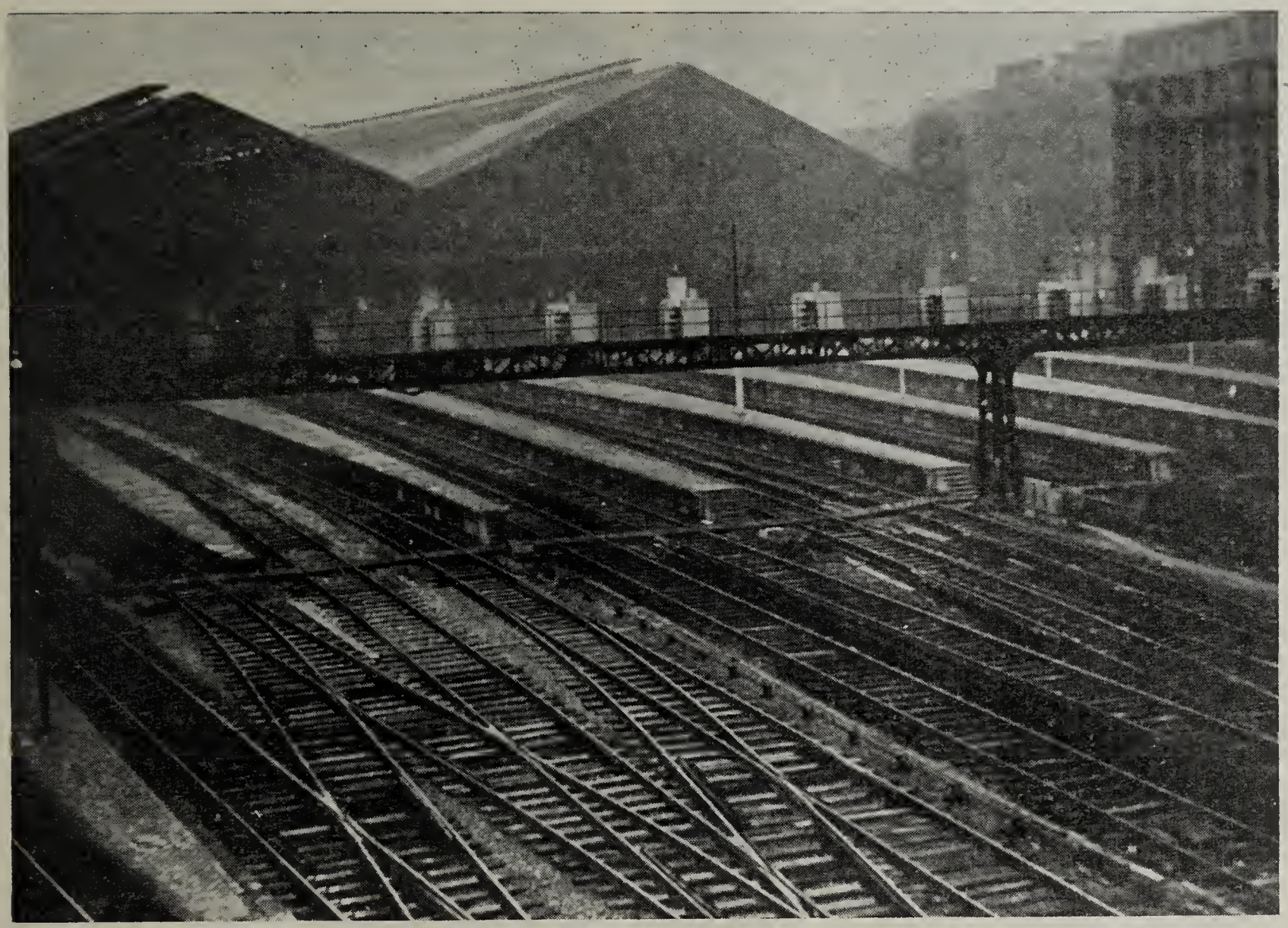
As self-protection against the workers' pressure, made inevitable by such a policy, the agents of the American multi-millionaires in the French Government, and their backers throughout the country, resorted to the services of their valets, the disruptionist bosses of the French labour movement, the old hands at betrayal like Leon Jouhaux, in an attempt to split the C.G.T. and to divide the working class, thereby weakening its action.

But in carrying out this plan they came up against growing opposition from the workers.

1948, 1949 and 1950 were years of struggle for working-class unity and for an all-round wage increase.

The split within the C.G.T. in 1947 undoubtedly created certain difficulties, particularly in the first months. These difficulties were the reason why the gains won in the fight for demands from 1948 to 1950 did not succeed in breaking up the government wage freeze policy, but simply lessened its effects.

Thousands of Paris transport workers demonstrate outside the Ministry of Transport their determination to continue their united strike until victory is won.



St. Lazare, the great Paris main-line station, is deserted. Traffic will begin again only after the satisfaction of the railwaymen's just demands.

It should nevertheless be noted that, thanks to ever-growing unity of action, the workers did manage to win some improvements. Although these do not correspond to basic aims, they were nevertheless a source of embarrassment to the employers and the government and represented a retreat on their part.

At the end of 1950, in particular, the working class succeeded in forcing the adoption of the Bill on Collective Agreements which, at least partially, thawed wages within the framework of free negotiations with the employers.

The fixing of a minimum national inter-occupational wage, in June, 1950—also imposed by the workers' movement—made possible an all-round wage increase of the order of 10 per cent.

Rising Tide of Anger

BUT the beginning of 1951 marked the speeding-up and intensification of the all-out arms drive, making the already heavy war budget a still more crushing burden. This gave rise to a fresh wave of price increases and deepened the discontent of the workers.

The fixing by the government in June, 1950, of the minimum national inter-occupational guaranteed wage at 78 francs per hour for the Paris area, with the maintenance of zonal differentiations in the provinces, was not in line with the demands put forward by the workers. The C.G.T. was then demanding a general minimum hourly wage of 100 francs with the complete abolition of zonal differentiations.

Taking 1938 as 100, the wage index at 1,050 compared with a price index of 2,400, representing a 50 per cent. decrease in the purchasing power of wages.

And yet, big new price increases in basic commodities such as coal, gas, electricity and transport were being considered in January, 1951.

The workers' anger reached boiling point.

The continuous treachery of the disruptionist bosses, who played the rôle of strike breakers and accomplices of the bloody police repression

launched by Jules Moch (Right-wing Socialist Minister of the Interior), was meeting increasingly clear condemnation by all the workers. The desire for unity spread from factory to factory and from industry to industry, until it embraced the entire working class.

Expressing the workers' needs, the C.G.T. was demanding a minimum guaranteed wage of 115 francs per hour, the sliding wage scale, and the complete abolition of zonal wage differentiations.

tion to the railwaymen's and gas and electricity workers' strike movements and to the launching of actions for demands in very many firms in other branches of industry.

Surprised by the militancy and above all by the force of the drive for united action, the government took fright. It convened an emergency meeting of the Higher Commission on Collective Agreements on March 20th. The C.G.T. had been calling for such a meeting since January 17th, but up till then

☆

Paris transport workers come out in an all-union strike. The Minister of Transport was forced to meet delegations from the four unions: C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christians), F.O., and Independents.

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Actions for demands were undertaken everywhere.

This was the situation in which the metro and 'bus workers in Paris launched their strike.

From the outset this movement was a magnificent success and completely paralysed the capital's transport system. It aroused the enthusiasm of workers in other trades and made a great contribu-

had met with refusal.

The Government's intention was, in the worst of cases, to agree to a wage increase of seven per cent.; but, in a few hours, it was forced to grant an 11.5 per cent. rise for the Paris area and 15.6 per cent. for the worst-off provincial zone.

Thus the door was opened to an all-round increase in wages and salaries.

Transport Workers' Strike and its Immediate Repercussions

THE Government refused to give the workers employed by the Paris Transport Board (a government corporation) the same pay as their colleagues in the services run by the Seine Prefecture, in which they had previously been incorporated during a period of 17 years. For this reason, the workers were demanding the equalisation of wages and salaries and an immediate increase of 6,000 francs a month.

On Monday, February 26th, an agreement was concluded between the C.G.T., Force Ouvriere and the C.F.T.C. (Christian Unions), and a 24-hour token strike was launched. One 'bus out of 2,200, and 16 metro trains out of 400 operated on that day under the most unfavourable conditions.

On March 14th, the Strike Committee decided to launch a strike after meeting with bad faith on the part of the Government, which refused to negotiate even though it recognised the justice of the men's demands.

On March 16th, the strike began with unity between the C.G.T., the C.F.T.C., F.O. and the independent unions. The Minister of Public Works illegally decided to issue requisitioning notices, but this move was defeated on March 29th by the solid bloc of strikers.

The Paris Transport Board workers went back to work on April 4th after a strike lasting 19 days. They obtained a written engagement that the question of equality between their wages and salaries and the scale prevailing in the Seine Prefecture would be examined, and, as from March 1st, a minimum monthly wage increase of 3,000 Francs for operating personnel instead of the 1,450 Francs

originally decided on by the Government.

The example of the metro and 'bus workers brought the workers in other important sections out on strike.

On March 17th, the railwaymen at Paris-Tolbiac and Pantin (subsidiary Parisian and suburban stations) came out. Three days later, traffic came to a complete standstill at the Paris main-line termini of St. Lazare and Montparnasse. On March 24th, the strike spread to all parts of the country and brought out 400,000 railwaymen. It ended in unity on March 26th.

The railwaymen obtained a basic increase of 1,800 francs a month, 1,000 francs of this being subject to further increases in line with the position occupied in the wage scale; an increased bonus based on production, promotion and transport; higher lodging allowances and a corresponding increase in pensions.

On March 19th, the gas and electricity workers came out on strike. The movement ended on March 26th with an all-round wage increase of from nine to ten per cent.; basic pay was raised from 12,820 francs to 14,375 francs; and the wage differentiation scale was revised.

Among the many other strikes which broke out following the transport workers' fight, we would mention a 24-hour strike on March 21st of Water Board workers after an appeal issued by the C.G.T. and the C.F.T.C.

On March 21st also, the building workers came out on a 24-hour strike in support of their nation-wide day of action for demands.

On March 23rd, the metalworkers put forward their demands, stopping work in Paris and in many factories in the provinces. On March 25th, metal-workers' wages were raised by seven per cent. under an agreement which the C.G.T. found unacceptable. (This increase was later raised to 10 per cent. and 12 per cent.).

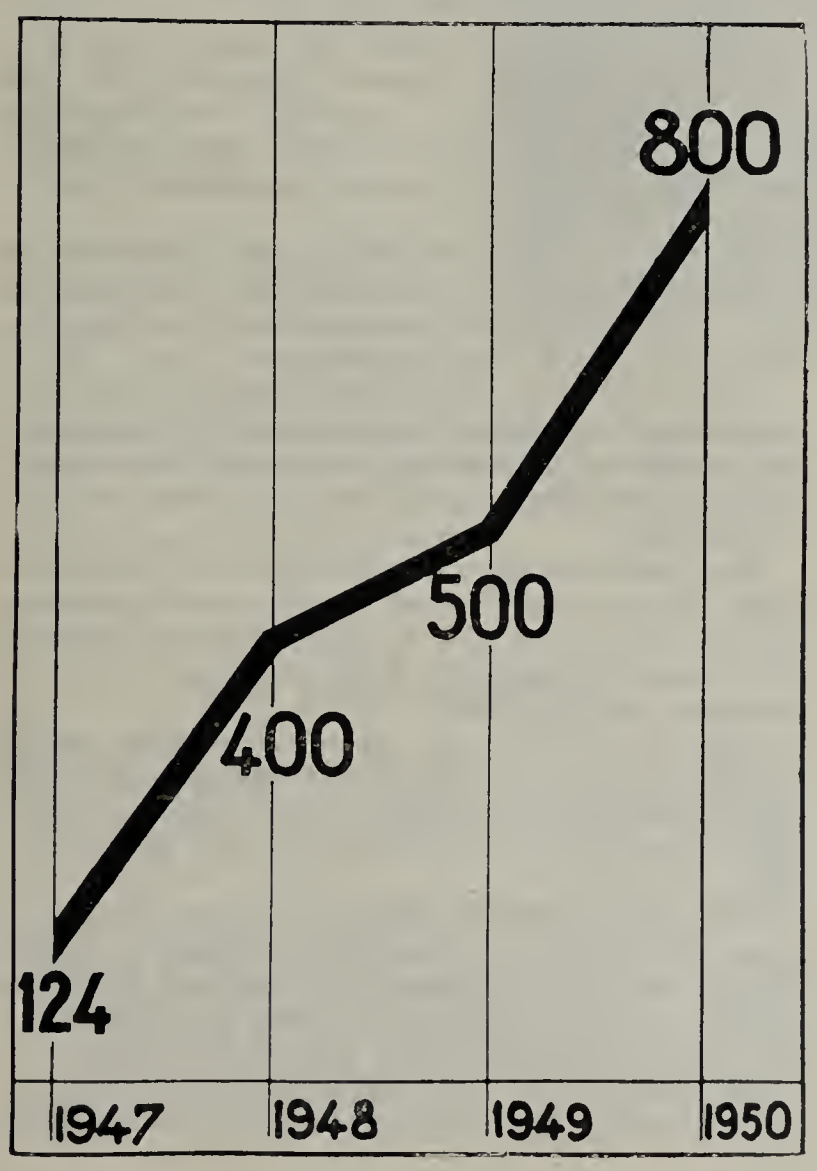
On March 24th, seven pits in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais area came out on strike. 60,000 miners joined the movement and won wage increases of from 4.65 to 8 per cent.

In many other industries—the list is too long to mention here—the presentation of demands and work stoppages became increasingly frequent. A tendency towards united action became apparent everywhere, also among civil servants. Thus, on March 30th, Indirect Tax Contribution employees stopped work for 24 hours.

Although without transport, Parisians gave considerable financial assistance to the strikers, enabling the strike committee to distribute several million francs.

RISE IN CAPITALIST PROFITS

In Thousands of Millions of Francs



A Victory Over the Government and the Employers

THE French working class won an important victory in March, 1951: **it forced the Government and the employers to concede much bigger general wage increases than they had been prepared to make.**

The scope of the movement, and its extension to the public services, forced the Government to make provisions for similar measures as regards civil servants, postal workers, State and public service employees.

All this completely upsets the calculations of the 1951 budget and makes a revision of receipts and expenditure necessary. Important economic decisions have to be taken, but there is division among the Government majority on this issue.

Another Government crisis would have broken out at the time of the strikes if Vincent Auriol,

President of the Republic, had been in France instead of away paying his vassal's homage to Truman. Since his return from the United States, the crisis has remained. There is great confusion within the ranks of the Government majority, which is united solely by its anti-Sovietism and the desire to stifle the voice of the people.

This positive aspect is accompanied by a still more important element as regards the future of the workers' fight for their demands: **the victory of March, 1951, is a victory for united action. The March strikes opened up bright horizons for the French working class by the lessons which may be drawn, particularly from the Paris transport workers' strike.**

Not a single French worker is unaware of these lessons or fails to draw the conclusions as regards future struggles.

For basic demands are still unsatisfied and the fight goes on. The Government has settled nothing and the first success the workers have just won is fostering in them the determination to go still further.

Unity is also being forged among State employees. Our picture shows an assembly of postmen at the union labour exchange.

United Action by the Rank and File

THE Paris transport workers' strike has shown everyone the necessity of achieving united action; the necessity of organising it in the enterprises; the need to take action before and during the strike to make the workers' front still more solid. Everyone can see that correct methods are capable of smashing the enemies' manœuvres and ensuring victory.

The Paris transport workers' strike not only played an enormous rôle in bringing about the other strikes in March, but it was also a movement whose example can and must be used.

Delegations of striking gas workers go to the home of the Minister of Industry and Commerce after he refuses to meet them at the Ministry.

Before the strike, there were deep divisions among the transport workers; there were no less than five trade unions. In spite of the efforts of C.G.T. trade unionists, this division had complicated and increased the difficulties preventing the achievement of united action.

For many months previously, the employees of the Paris Transport Board were agreed not only on the claims themselves, but also on the necessity for going as far as a strike to win them.

In spite of this strong trend towards unity, the organisation of united action among the rank-and-file in previous actions had been insufficient to prevent the manœuvres of the strike breakers and the Government.

This time, thanks to the intelligent and stubborn unity campaign conducted by the active members of the C.G.T., who took guidance from the lessons of previous actions, the strike was conscientiously prepared and organised.

First of all, united action committees were created on all lines and in all depôts and workshops, embracing all sections of the personnel without exception and functioning on very democratic lines.

After frequent staff meetings, these committees came to the point of declaring in favour of strike action. When a democratic vote had been taken on the issue, these rank-and-file united action committees were transformed into strike committees.

When the strike had been launched, a central strike committee, emanating directly from the

rank-and-file strike committees, was set up.

The strike was launched only after a unanimous decision by the entire staff, resolved to fight until the end and to remain united until victory was won.

Throughout the strike, rank-and-file strike committees held daily meetings thereby enabling the central strike committee to express on all problems the desires of the workers, who were kept in constant touch with the course of events. It was therefore possible to smash all the manoeuvres of the enemy.

The government went to considerable lengths to break the strike. A veritable army of military trucks was mobilised. An attempt was made to arouse public opinion against the strikers and to use disruptive elements. The Government went as far as deciding to issue illegal requisitioning notices to the striking workers. But the workers, firmly united, resisted all these manœuvres. There were no scabs and the government retreated with a sore head from the solid wall of strikers.

The workers went back to work in an atmosphere of enthusiasm. The rank-and-file strike committees are being maintained, but have once more become united action committees in order to carry on the fight and ensure its success.

In addition to the Paris transport workers' strike, mention should also be made of the progress in achieving united action elsewhere, particularly among the railwaymen, who waged a courageous and energetic battle against the illegal requisitioning notices. In many places these notices calling up the personnel were burnt during big demonstrations in front of the Prefecture.

Building workers downed tools in protest against the electoral law swindle prepared in common by all the parties of the majority.

The Fight Goes On

THIS first success augurs well for the future. It can already be seen that the workers' action has succeeded in obtaining more than the 11.50 per cent. increase fixed by the Government. The C.G.T.'s slogan, **"No wage increase below 15 per cent."** is becoming the slogan of all workers.

Indeed, in some cases, workers have obtained even higher increases than this. In Romilly (Aube), for example, in spite of the national textile industry agreement limiting increases to seven per cent., women spinners have just won a 22 per cent. increase. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the workers will be able, in the immediate future, to win the average 15 per cent. increase.

The employers continue to seek by every method to put a brake on this movement. Their tactics have not changed. They still consist in using the disruptionist leaders in order to have to grant only the lowest possible wage increases and only on the basis of temporary agreements without C.G.T. participation, as was the case a few weeks ago in the textile industry.

But the workers are aware of the employers' desire to exclude the C.G.T., and they do not hesitate to join battle to impose its participation. The Paris Transport Board workers have already forced the Government to agree to discuss with their central strike committee, which includes the C.G.T. At the Alsthom factory in Tarbes, the metalworkers had no hesitation in downing tools to force the employers to negotiate with the C.G.T. They obtained satisfaction.

These disruptive manœuvres of the employers and the Government are proving to be increasingly impotent in face of the workers' determination to unite, and their growing confidence in the great C.G.T.

We would also point out that the latest elections to Works Committees confirm the growing influence of the C.G.T., which now disposes of 75 to 80 per cent. of the votes.

Among the basic demands which have not been satisfied is that of the sliding scale, which is a particularly important one in view of the steady rise in the cost of living. It is imperatively necessary for the workers to guarantee the purchasing power of their threatened wages.

Social security allocations for students have been cut. Students also came out on strike in March, 1951.

The sliding scale which the C.G.T. has been calling for since 1947 is a demand which is taking on considerable force at the present time. The leaders of Force Ouvriere and the C.F.T.C. are even being forced into adopting a stand in its favour.

Positive results have already been obtained. We would note the successes won by metalworkers in the Loire. They have just obtained the signing of an agreement embodying an automatic increase in wages with every fresh rise of five per cent. in the cost of living.

Finally, the workers wish to put an end to the injustice of zonal wage differentiations. Throughout the country, in every province and trade, the workers are demanding the complete abolition of zonal differentiations and are calling for wages equal to those prevailing in the Paris area.

Thus the general battle goes on, with the following objectives in view: (1) a wage increase of at least 15 per cent.; (2) a minimum guaranteed wage of 116 francs an hour; (3) the sliding scale; (4) complete abolition of wage zones.

Against Poverty and War

BUT this is not all. The workers have observed that the Government has not waited for the introduction of the new wage rates before ordering new price increases. The price of coal, electricity and transport has risen. A fresh increase in the cost of these items will bring about a further general rise in the cost of living.

Once again appeal is being made to the lie of the "vicious circle" to try and make the workers believe that a rise in prices must inevitably follow on any wage increase. But wage freezing did not prevent the cost of living from rising by 60 per cent. between 1948 and 1950. In reality, the price increase is an attempt by the Government and the employers to snatch the fruits of the workers' victory away from them.

But the workers do not intend to allow this to happen. Their wage increases must come out of the enormous profits made by the capitalists. Responding to the appeal issued by the C.G.T., a powerful popular movement against the price rise and the soaring cost of living is developing in "Popular Committees against the high cost of living" which are beginning to be formed throughout the country.

In Toulouse (Haute Garonne), a "Committee of struggle against the high cost of living" includes representatives of the C.G.T., the C.F.T.C., craftsmen's, tradesmen's and housewive's organisations, and even of the General Agricultural Confederation (small farmers' organisation).

At Tours, in the Indre-et-Loire district, three Trades Councils—the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and F.O.—as well as a number of independent organisations, have reached agreement on the fight against the high cost of living. At Lyons, in the Rhone district, the workers downed tools in the factories on March 12th and organised a powerful demonstration.

It is true to say that we are witnessing the beginning of a vast wave of protests against the high cost of living and, at the same time, against the causes of this situation, which is a direct outcome of the Government's policy of preparing for war.

Whereas the disruptionist bosses, who support the policy of an all-out arms drive, are revealing themselves as the partners in crime of the employers and the Government, the influence of the C.G.T. is steadily growing.

This brief survey of the March, 1951, strikes clearly shows that the first important successes won by the French working class have created great opportunities for the workers. The unity trend is daily gaining strength. The French working class will not march to war or to poverty and it will continue to give overwhelming proof of this fact.

The United States Attempts to Colonise Thailand

by HUEY MOOT

UNLIKE the British, the U.S. empire builders do not openly incorporate their colonies into a United States "commonwealth"; they favour the less obvious financial penetration which gives them a good hold on the economy and resources of a country, and thus on internal and external policy.

American interest in the Far East has increased enormously since the 1939-45 war and is rapidly ousting the more orthodox imperialist powers —the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands.

It is said that Thailand was not incorporated into either the British or French empires because the French to the north in Indo-China and the British to the south in Malaya found a buffer state useful.

The country has a typically colonial economy; it is the least industrialised country in Asia, with 89 per cent. of the working population of 7 million in agriculture, fishing and forestry, and 2 per cent. only in industry. 5 per cent. are in commerce, 3 per cent. in domestic service and 1 per cent. in public service.

Furthermore, Thailand suffers the blight of monoculture with 97 per cent. of the commercially productive sown surface given over to rice production.

After the war, in which the Thai Government had sided with Japan, the British hoped to take up the reins of Thai economy which they so precipitately dropped in 1941. But they were already being passed over to the United States who had always repudiated the Thai 1942 declaration of war and were thus able to enter the country of their enemy's allies as friends.

The more formal (and poorer) British, who had accepted the declaration of war, lost a great deal of favour by exacting reparations, and their efforts to get themselves monopoly rights written into the 1945 peace treaty were frustrated by the Americans, who insisted that control over Thai exports of rice, tin and rubber among other things be controlled by a U.S.-U.K. committee, housed, be it noted, in Washington.

United States Economic Penetration

THE extent of U.S. economic penetration is shown in some measure by the following figures:

Year	Exports to Thailand $ U.S.	Imports from Thailand $ U.S.
1921-5 average	1,119,000	301,000
1938	3,267,000	311,000
1947	132,476	17,595,369
1948	16,333,318	49,465,978
1949	31,389,787	47,549,542

The sudden jump in U.S. imports from Thailand in 1947 is mainly accounted for by tin and rubber purchases which came to $13,793,999 ($9,643,519 tin and $4,150,480 rubber) according to the U.S. Department of Commerce. The U.S. Embassy in Bangkok however put exports of tin to the U.S. at $12,680,000 in 1948.

By 1949, Thai tin stocks had been cleared, so that the U.S. were only able to purchase $5,480,037 worth. Rubber purchases, however, rose to $34,876,750 worth.

It is not possible to discover what proportion of Thai trade American exports and imports represent, as the Thai Government issues no statistics on this subject. However, that between a quarter and a fifth of Thai exports went to the U.S. in 1947 can be deduced from the following, in conjunction with the figures quoted above:

"An estimate prepared by the American Embassy in Bangkok, from the limited data available, indicates that Siam's total imports in 1947 amounted to $ U.S. 55,461,000 distributed as follows:

"General Merchandise, $46,243,000, beer, wines and spirits, $471,000, opium $926,000, Government purchases, $7,821,000.

"Exports in 1947, according to the Embassy estimate, totalled U.S. $78,749,000 distributed as follows: Rice, $38,461,000, rubber, $5,800,000, teak and other woods, $2,296,000, tin and tin ore, $14,812,000, all other

goods, $16,260,000 and re-exports $1,120,000.

Data are not available to show the direction of the country's trade during the post-war period."

The complete manner in which the U.S. dominates Thai tin sales is clear from the following statement taken, like the above quotations, from the *Siam Summary of Basic Economic Information*, published in May 1949 by the U.S. Department of Commerce:

"A royal decree prohibits the exportation of tin, articles made of tin, or metal containing more than 4 per cent tin except when authorised by the Ministry of Commerce as being in accordance with allocations recommended by the Combined Tin Committee, with headquarters in Washington, D.C."

Thus the United States allocated themselves about six-sevenths of Thai tin exports in 1947.

U.S. Loans and "Aid"

IN addition, the new loans recently granted Thailand must be taken into consideration. There is the series totalling over $25 million being put up by the World Bank; there is the sum, alleged to be around $8 million but to which no definite limit has been set, under the U.S. economic and technical aid programme; there is the $10 million worth of military equipment, out of the $250 million asked for; and further investments are likely under the Truman Point Four plan.

The bulk of this money is to be used to buy U.S.-produced equipment. The General Electric Corporation is to build a dam at Chainat on the Chao Phya river, the estimated cost of which is somewhere in the region of $40 million, which will in part be paid from the World Bank Loan. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, a huge U.S. mining combine, in company with an official U.S. geological mission, is prospecting the mineral wealth of Thailand (they are perhaps checking on a similar survey made by the Japanese during the war).

Original Cartoon by YAKKA.

Strategic Buying and Construction

IT is not possible to separate the economic interests from the strategic, as they overlap like the fingers of clasped hands. The Economic and Technical Agreement signed by the United States and Thailand in September 1950 stipulates that Thailand shall provide the United States with unlimited supplies of rice, tin, rubber, timber, tungsten and other important military materials. Rice, which may not appear to have any war-promoting qualities, is required to feed the Asian armies that the U.S. hopes to deploy against the U.S.S.R., China and any revolutionary forces that threaten imperial interests. (77,000 tons were shipped from Thailand by the U.S. to Chang-Kai-Shek's troops in 1949). Rubber, tin and similar materials are required for the great U.S. stockpile.

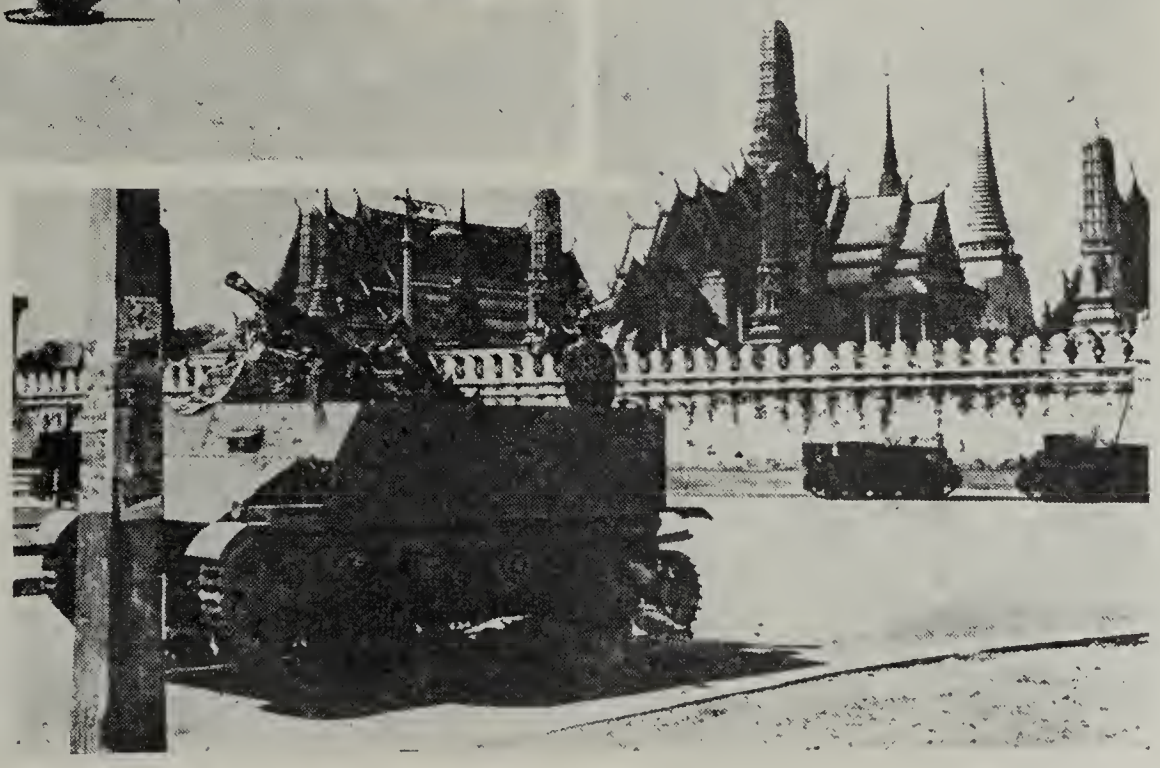
The World Bank loan—and it is significant that the first loan to south east Asia is made to Pibul Songgram's government—is to finance various development programmes. $18 million are to pay the foreign exchange costs for the irrigation scheme which is part of a plan to increase rice and soya bean yields. As a result, about 500,000 tons of rice and 75,000 tons of soya beans are expected to be available for export annually. According to estimates of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, U.S. Department of Agriculture, although 8,000,000 acres of rice are planted annually, only 6,700,000 acres are fit for harvesting. U.S. experts are to remedy this state of affairs.

$3 million are for railways improvement, for the purchase of spare parts and signalling equipment and for the equipment of the rail workshops at Makkasan near Bangkok. There are only slightly more than 2,000 miles of permanent way in Thailand and at present these are dilapidated, having been heavily bombed by the Allies during the war. Key bridges have never had more than temporary repairs and the rolling stock suffers a continual shortage of spare parts. They, like the 1,000 miles of roadway outside Bangkok, are in no shape to bear future trooops and material up to potential battle areas.

$4,400,000 are for the deepening of the port of Bangkok and for harbour installations so that big ships up to 10,000 deadweight tons can be handled. Part of the $8,000,000 being put up by the U.S. directly is to pay for a dredger required in the harbour work and for arterial road construction.

America is also, as part of her technical aid, to supervise the "proper grading, packing and shipping of rubber."

Arms deliveries under the Military Aid Treaty have already begun. These were asked for some two years ago but were not granted until April 1950, two months before the Korean war and two montths after the important meeting of U.S. diplomats in Asia held in Bangkok.



Pibul Songgram, ex-collaborator with the Japanese occupation forces, and his reactionary government, take precautions against any opposition to their policy of submission to the American imperialists. Tanks and anti-aircraft guns stand guard in front of the Defence Ministry at Bangkok.

The Treaty provides that America shall supply 70 aircraft and 34 assorted warships among other standard equipment to replace the selection of French, Swedish, Japanese, Czech, British and U.S. material at present used by Thai forces.

At the September meeting between members of the U.S. Military Mission touring south-east Asia and Thai representatives, an agreement was reached whereby Thai forces would be available for service anywhere in Asia, should America require it. These troops can, under the Agreement, be used against the Vietnamese or Malay people. Some are already in Korea. In exchange, America is to re-equip the Thai army. In line with American stipulations, the period of military service is to be increased, the army to be more than doubled from 30,000 to 70,000 men, the 15,000 navy and the 40,000 police forces are to be expanded. The air force is also to be doubled and a tank division formed. 30 army divisions are scheduled to be ready for combat this year, and an American Colonel, W. - H. McNaught, is already in charge of U.S. instructional teams.

As if the U.S. were not sufficiently in power in Thailand, it is also reported that the accommodating Prime Minister, Pibul Songgram, has agreed to the use of Thai bases by the U.S. in the event of a general war, and to the occupation of the country by U.S. forces.

RIGHT: **The increase in prices has thinned out the buyers in the popular markets—for example, in the Sampang market of Bangkok, shown in our photo. Wages have remained very low...**

Disastrous Conditions of the Working Class

IT is absolutely clear from the above that the United States of America is interested in Thailand as a cat is interested in a mouse. Thailand is to feed the U.S. war potential; it is to provide raw materials, human as well as vegetable and mineral, for the U.S. drive on Asia.

In anticipation of popular disapproval of this absorption of Thailand, the usual measures are being taken against the working class and the peasantry.

Thus, despite the fact that the 1947 Constitution, article 23, stipulates that Thai citizens are free to form and work in associations, a bill to ban the Communist Party of Thailand was introduced by the Government last July. And last June, nervous of the 3 million Chinese minority who form a sixth of the population, the Government evicted 20,000 Chinese peasants from their lands at Klong Toey, near Bangkok.

Although Thailand is regarded by the U.S. as being the surest bastion against Communism in South East Asia, a recent land-mine explosion near the Royal Palace in Bangkok was explained as an "accident." A Government official stated that land-mines were placed at important cross-roads every night against possible motorised revolutionaries.

The Government has every reason to fear the depressed masses' reaction to news from China and other liberation fronts. For although the Thai Government supply of statistics is very meagre, certain facts are known. For example, the UNESCO Mission to Thailand reported that two-thirds of the population is illiterate and that only one third of the children get beyond the third grade in school, although education is "compulsory" between the ages of 8 and 15. A U.S. report states that in 1937 only 14.85 per cent of females were literate.

The Government computes cost of living figures; these show that with 1938 as 100, the cost of living had doubled by 1943, doubled again in 1944 and again in 1945. The latest figure (May 1950) is 1268.

Wage rates are not easy to come by, but a member of the I.L.O. quotes the pre-war daily wage as about 1 tical (there are 40 ticals to

the £ sterling) for labourers. He quotes the 1949 rates as being about the same plus a 220 ticals monthly cost of living allowance. This brings the daily rate up to about seven times the pre-war rate. However, there being no price controls whatever, this has less than a quarter of the value of pre-war wages.

These rates apply to urban workers and do not take into account the peasants' earnings. The United States Department of Commerce cites a recent rural economic survey which estimates the annual cash income of the 15 million rural inhabitants as less than $100 (£36.8s.) per family of five.

A Russian visitor reported last year that a rubber worker he met received 130 ticals a month. He lived in a shack with no door, an earth floor, and furnished only with a few old mats and a pile of rags in a corner. Nearly one tenth of Bangkok's 900,000 population live in sampans on the mosquito-infested river; they are dressed in rags. No wonder the manager of a large Bangkok store remarked that his establishment was rather like a museum where people come to look and not to buy.

Workers in the rice sheds—men, women and children—work in dreadful conditions in near darkness in an atmosphere saturated with caustic powder. Women are paid about half the wages of a man, and children about a tenth of the full rate. Workers in the tin mines work 12 to 14 hours a day, often standing in water.

Complete Lack of Real Social Legislation

SLAVERY was officially abolished in 1905; nevertheless, forced labour is still used for road construction and canal digging where voluntary labour is not forthcoming.

The kind of social legislation by which workers are allegedly protected can be judged from the first government regulation on the subject, promulgated in 1901. This called for the registration of domestic servants, and in case of dismissal, for the notification of the date and reason thereof. This measure was lauded by the employers, who recognised it as an excellent weapon against militant workers, but who were unable to make much use of it on account of the protests made by the workers.

A 1913 regulation was similarly useless to the working class. This called for the licensing of rickshaw pullers and merely served as a protection to rickshaw users.

Today, workers in privately owned concerns are not covered by any kind of insurance; state employees get a small retirement pension. Hours of work are not regulated, and workers are rarely entitled to paid holidays.

... and the living conditions of the working class are atrocious. A tenth of the inhabitants, unable to pay even a small rent, live in sampans on the mosquito infested river.

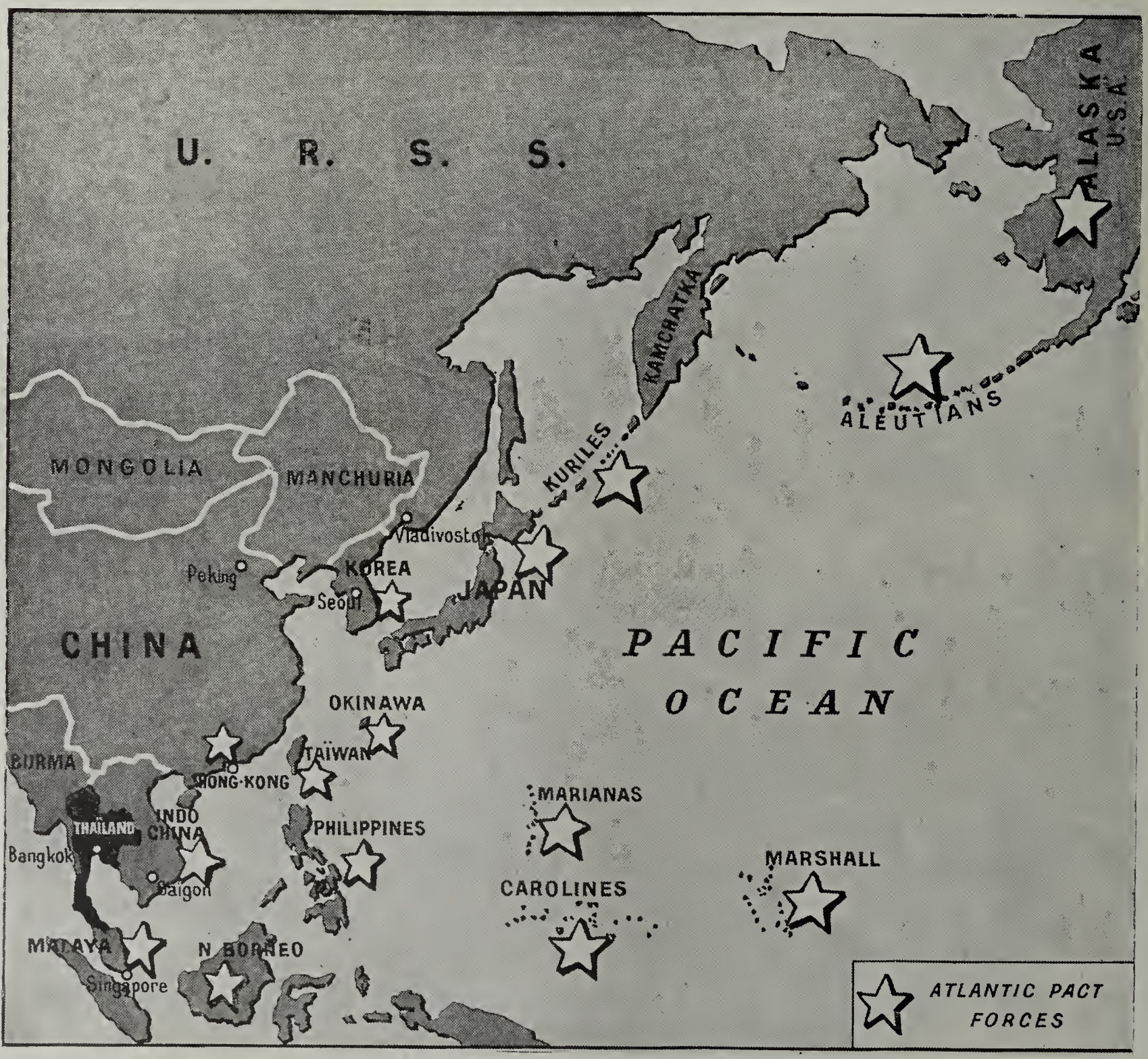
A 1932 law permits the establishment of labour exchanges in towns. There being no Ministry of Labour, these come under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Home Affairs. They have never served much purpose, as employers prefer to take their pick of the unemployed without recourse to officialdom. Of unemployed there is no shortage. Peasants, finding it harder and harder to live, are going to the towns in search of work and flooding the already saturated labour market. As there is no such thing as a legal minimum wage, the conditions of the workers are getting worse and worse.

A 1947 ministerial decree makes certain prescriptions concerning hygiene and sanitation in factories and amplifies a 1939 law on the same subject. However, all kinds of excuses are accepted for the non-fulfilment of these requirements and, as employers are not bound to display these regulations, the workers remain ignorant of even these elementary rights. Furthermore, there is no system of factory inspection to supervise the observance of safety regulations. As there is no legislation concerning accidents at work, the family of a worker injured or killed in the service of his employer has no right whatever to compensation and is left to rot from starvation along with thousands of compatriots.

Trade unionism is still new in Thailand; the first union, the Bangkok Federation of Trade Unions, was formed in 1944. The 50,000 strong General Federation of Trade Unions of Siam, which came into being in 1947, and which is affiliated to the W.F.T.U., is carrying out a policy of fighting for peace.

For war can only mean to Thailand occupation by yet another power fighting for Fascism against liberty

The threatening chain of imperialist bases stretches around the peoples freed from capitalist exploitation or struggling against colonialism.



and progress. Despite intimidation and slander by the reactionary Government, by December 22, 1950, more than 56,000 people had signed the Stockholm Appeal. The Government, which has followed American policy by recognising the puppet Bao-Dai in Indo-China, refusing to recognise the Central Government of People's China and sending troops and rice to Korea, has even come under fire from the parliamentary opposition which accused Pibul's Government of incompetence and self-interest on the part of Ministers, violation of the constitution, refusal to curb the rising cost of living, bribery and corruption, repressive police action, and the implementation of a foreign policy harmful to the country's true interests. There is no doubt that the Opposition was emboldened to put forward these charges by the great success of the Stockholm Appeal campaign and the mass work of the trade union and democratic movement.

Irrigation of the rice fields—the principal agricultural riches of Thailand—is still carried out by primitive means, by hard and poorly-paid labour.

BRAZILIAN WORKERS FIGHT BACK

Labour Confederation Opposes Monopolies

By Roberto MORENA

General Secretary of the Brazilian Labour Confederation

THE State-run trade union apparatus created by the "Estado Novo" during the first dictatorship of President Vargas is still being forced on the workers of Brazil. This apparatus is composed of more than 1,000 trade unions and several industrial federations and confederations throughout the country, and the men who have been placed in the leadership of these organisations are practically all in the service of the employers and the Government and against the workers' interests.

The "trade union elections" recently held under Ministry of Labour supervision were nothing but a badly played farce. Candidates in these elections had to provide an "ideological certificate" or order to make it possible to eliminate the most militant and class-conscious workers. The "trade union dues" compulsorily levied on the workers' wages are used to maintain the Government trade union organisations which, otherwise, would have collapsed owing to absence of backing from the working masses.

The Brazilian Labour Confederation is the only free and independent organisation of the Brazilian workers. In spite of persecution by the Dutra Government, which banned the Confederation and arbitrarily closed down its affiliated trade unions, it continued and is still continuing its activity in organising and defending the Brazilian working class, faced with a sharpening offensive by the employers and the present Government against its rights and living conditions.

Cruzeiro strikers' wives block the railway track.

Intensified Exploitation of the Workers

THE situation of the working class in Brazil is daily growing more difficult. The following forms of exploitation are used by the employers in their offensive on the proletariat:

—fining of workers who are absent from work, whatever the reason (demand for 100 per cent. attendance at work).

—short-term work contracts in order to avoid the payment of wages for public holidays, stability of employment and other benefits granted by law.

Brazilian civil servants demonstrate against the high cost of living and call for unity.

—employment of growing numbers of women and children, who do the same work as men but get much lower wages.
—reduction of staff, but demand for the maintenance of the same level of production.
—increase in fines and other levies on wages, etc.

Wages have been frozen; in the big towns the average monthly wage amounts only to 700 cruzeiros, while the prices of popular consumer goods rise daily. In one month alone, ground coffee increased by 12 cruzeiros per kilogramme. In the Sao Paulo State capital, the country's most important workers' centre, official statistics (which are far from reflecting the true situation) showed that the cost of living index in April, 1950, stood at 281, taking 1939 as the base year of 100.

Part-time or complete unemployment is now becoming very widespread, particularly among railwaymen, port workers, miners and building workers.

Agricultural workers on the great sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee and rice plantations work 12 hours and sometimes more per day, and their wages amount to two cruzeiros for children, eight for women, and twelve for men. Agricultural workers have no trade union rights; they are forbidden to join trade unions and the few benefits to which they are entitled under the social legislation are frequently flouted.

In striking contrast with the situation of workers in town and countryside, the big capitalist firms and the imperialist monopolies are making fabulous profits. The Light and Power Company, an imperialist monopoly running the gas, light and electric power services of the Sao Paulo and Federal Districts, provides a typical example of the profits made by the capitalist parasites out of the poverty of the Brazilian workers. The declared net profits of this firm in 1949 amounted to $31,000,000, whereas its 1938 profits were $9,000,000.

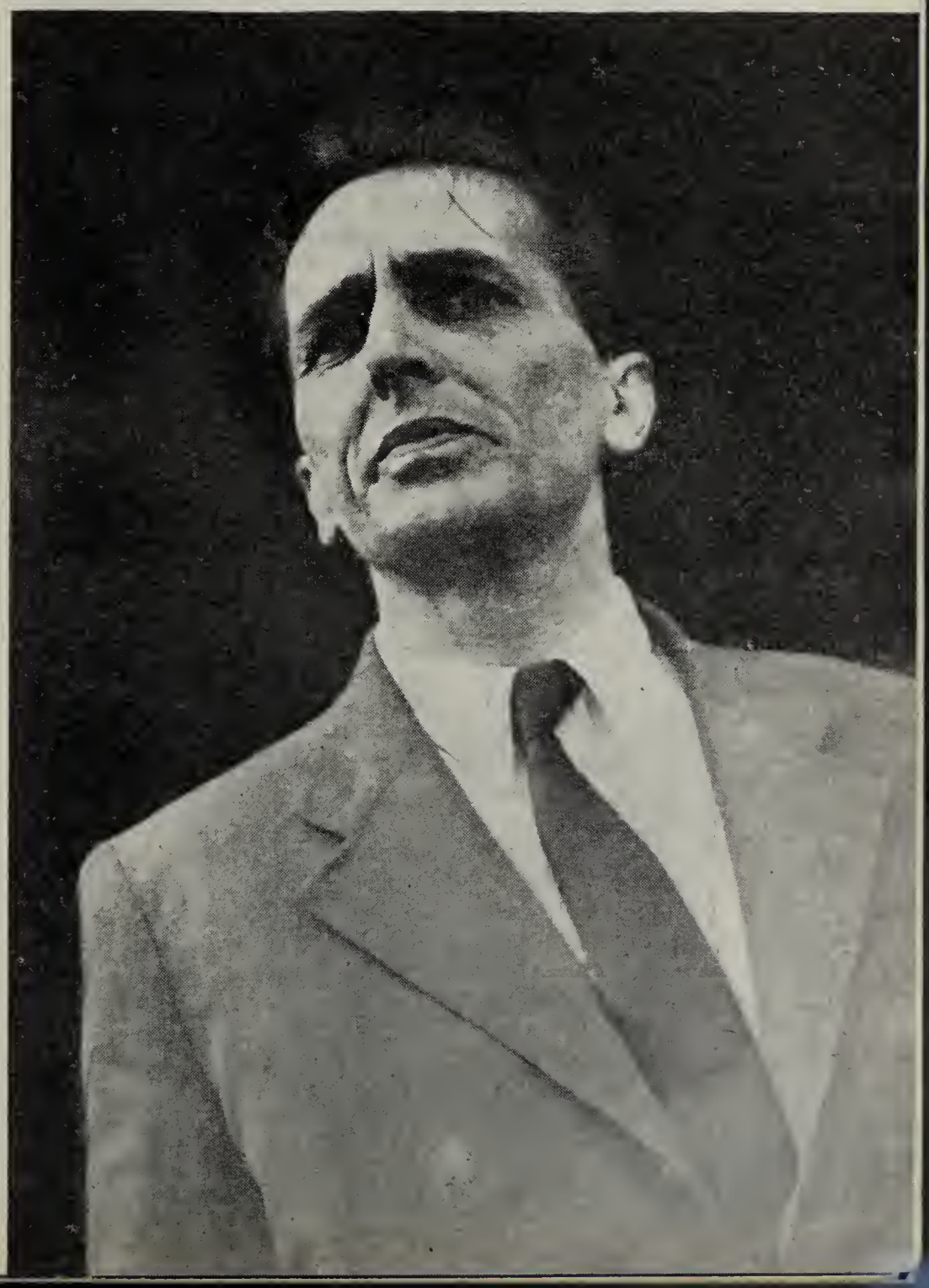
According to the information provided by official statistics on the payment of income tax, the average percentage of net profits made by the big firms in Brazil in relation to capital investment is more than 40 per cent. It should be stressed that these declared net profit figures are provided for purposes of estimating taxes. A more thoroughgoing estimate, based on the analysis of company balance-sheets, shows that the average index of these profits in relation to invested capital approaches the exorbitant figure of 80 per cent.

Brutal Repression Against the Working Class

STRIKES are smashed by slaughter and bloodshed. Strikers are arrested, tortured and often murdered by the political police. Official trade unions under strict State control are entirely in the service of the employers and do the job of supplying strikebreakers and of acting as espionage centres. In addition, in many firms there are groups of policemen paid by the employers to spy on the workers and to intimidate and persecute them.

The list of working-class heroes and martyrs assassinated by the police during the last five years is steadily growing. Trade union leaders like William Diaz Gomez, Ornelio Pereira and Lambari,

Luis Carlos Prestes, the great leader of the Brazilian workers.



The area of Brazil is more than 4/5ths that of Europe.

miners' leaders in the town of Nova Lima, in which are situated the Morro Velho gold mines, were assassinated by order of the St. John del Rey Mining Company during the campaign for wage increases which they were leading.

In the town of Santo Amaro, in Bahia, Ciril Marquez and Serafin Dos Santos were murdered by the police during a demonstration of southern agricultural workers who had come out on strike. In the State of Sao Paulo, Alfonso Marma and Pedro Godoy met their deaths at the hands of the police in the town of Tupa.

During the May Day, 1950 demonstrations, the workers of the town of Rio Grande, in the State of Rio Grande Do Sul, were machine-gunned during their commemoration of International Labour Day. Many workers, among them the leader of the port workers, Antonio Rechia, were injured, and the workers Euclides Pinto, Oswaldino Correia, Honorio Porto, and a woman textile worker, Angelina Goncalves, lost their lives during the demonstration. In the same State of Rio Grande Do Sul, the trade union leader Aladim Rosales and four other workers were murdered during the recent electoral campaign, which took place in an atmosphere of terror and violence. In the heart of the capital of the Republic, Lafayete Fonseca, a trade union leader, was tortured to death during this electoral campaign.

Many workers have been imprisoned for having fought for their brothers' demands. Their number includes Narciso Bispo, trade union leader in the State of Bahia, and Dimas Perrin, a typographical worker and leader of the Trades Council of the State of Minas Gerais, for whom the Attorney-General of the Republic has asked the death sentence.

Many other trade union leaders of the Brazilian working class are at present victims of this persecution. Joao Amazonas, leader of the Brazilian Labour Confederation and representative of the Brazilian workers on the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, is in jail together with Agostino de Oliveira, Alvaro Ventura, Pedro de Carvalho Braga, Sergio Holmos, Glaudino Jose da Silva and Lindolfo Hill, who, together with the great leader of the Brazilian working class, Luis Carlos Prestes, are subject to vicious persecution.

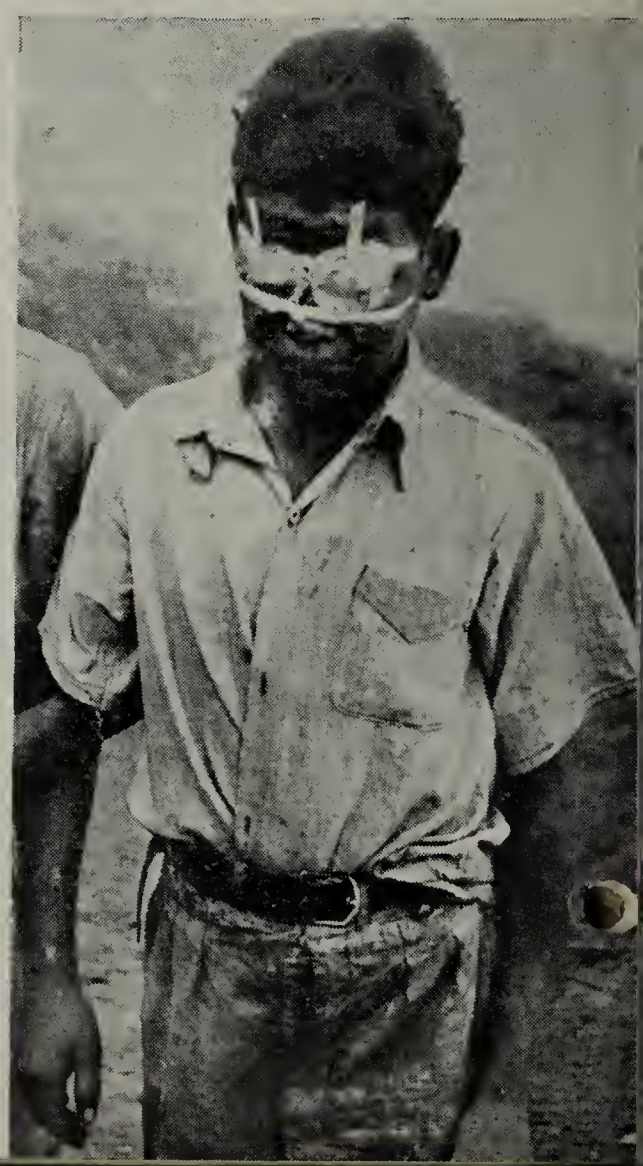
Workers Not Letting Up in the Fight

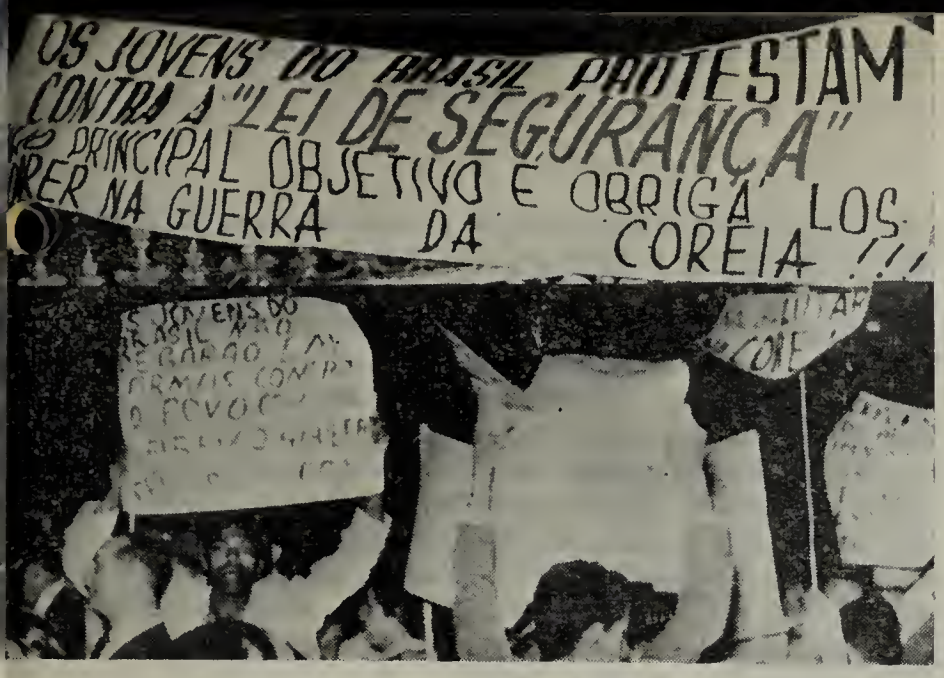
BRAZILIAN workers are waging a stubborn and heroic battle against this entire situation.

In 1948, more than 250 strike movements were launched throughout the Republic. Many of these strikes lasted for a long time; for example, the 37-day strike of manganese miners in the town of Lafaiete, in the State of Minas Gerais. Others, such as the Leopoldina Railway workers' strike in the Federal District and State of Rio, met from the outset with savage police intervention. Still other strikes, like the agricultural workers' strike in the town of Santo Amaro, in the State of Bahia, and the Recife dockers' strike in the State of Pernambuco, were attacked by armed police. The Recife dockers countered the police bullets with stones.

In 1949, more than 200,000 workers took part in strikes, among which mention should be made of the movements covering several factories in one district, such as the strike of textile workers in the town of Sorocaba, in the State of Sao Paulo, which paralysed five mills employing a total of about 7,000 workers. In the State of Rio, 20,000 textile workers also came out on strike in four districts. In Rio Grande, a general strike in which all trades took part, was

Labour security is of no concern to the trusts. Our picture shows a young worker who lost his sight as a result of unprotected work in the mica mines.





Demonstrating workers' banners protest against the vicious anti-labour laws and against the war in Korea.

followed by a mass demonstration which filled the town authorities with panic.

Among the most important strikes during 1950, mention must be made of the strike of railwaymen employed by the Central Company of Brazil, which is the country's most important railway company. The strike, which lasted nine days, was launched to back a demand for the payment of a Christmas bonus. The Santo Antonio de Jesus manganese miners in the State of Bahia also launched a movement of great significance because it took on the character of a political fight for peace and against the stranglehold of the imperialist U.S. monopolies over the mineral wealth of Brazil.

Workers' Organisation Grows Stronger

THE Brazilian Labour Confederation is in the process of forming and strengthening workers' organisations at their places of work, on the basis of the fight for the most pressing demands. The trade union movement is being organised by the formation in the factories of industrial unions, local and regional Trades Councils, and State-wide Trades Councils. During the year 1950, State Congresses, preceded by local, factory and industry trade union meetings, took place in twelve States. These assemblies initiated the State and Borough Trade Councils and the Trade and Factory Associations belonging to the Brazilian Labour Confederation.

Several State Trades Councils are already in full swing and have organised fights for demands. For example, the General Association of Workers of Bahia organised the Santo Antonio de Jesus manganese miners' strike and during the struggle their own organisation was created. Under the leadership of the State of Rio Trades Council, the workers of the town of Campos won a great victory during a recent strike.

Under the guidance of the Labour Confederation, the State Trades Councils are working to have increasingly strong roots in the factories and industries; and in the State of Rio, for example, the railwaymen employed by the Leopoldina Railway Company and the textile workers are being organised on this basis. In Rio Grande Do Sul, the coal miners, the railwaymen and the dockers already possess their own organisations, which, by grouping together in each industry, create the necessary conditions for the organisation of Trade Sections in the Brazilian Labour Confederation.

Constructive Programme of B.L.C. National Conference

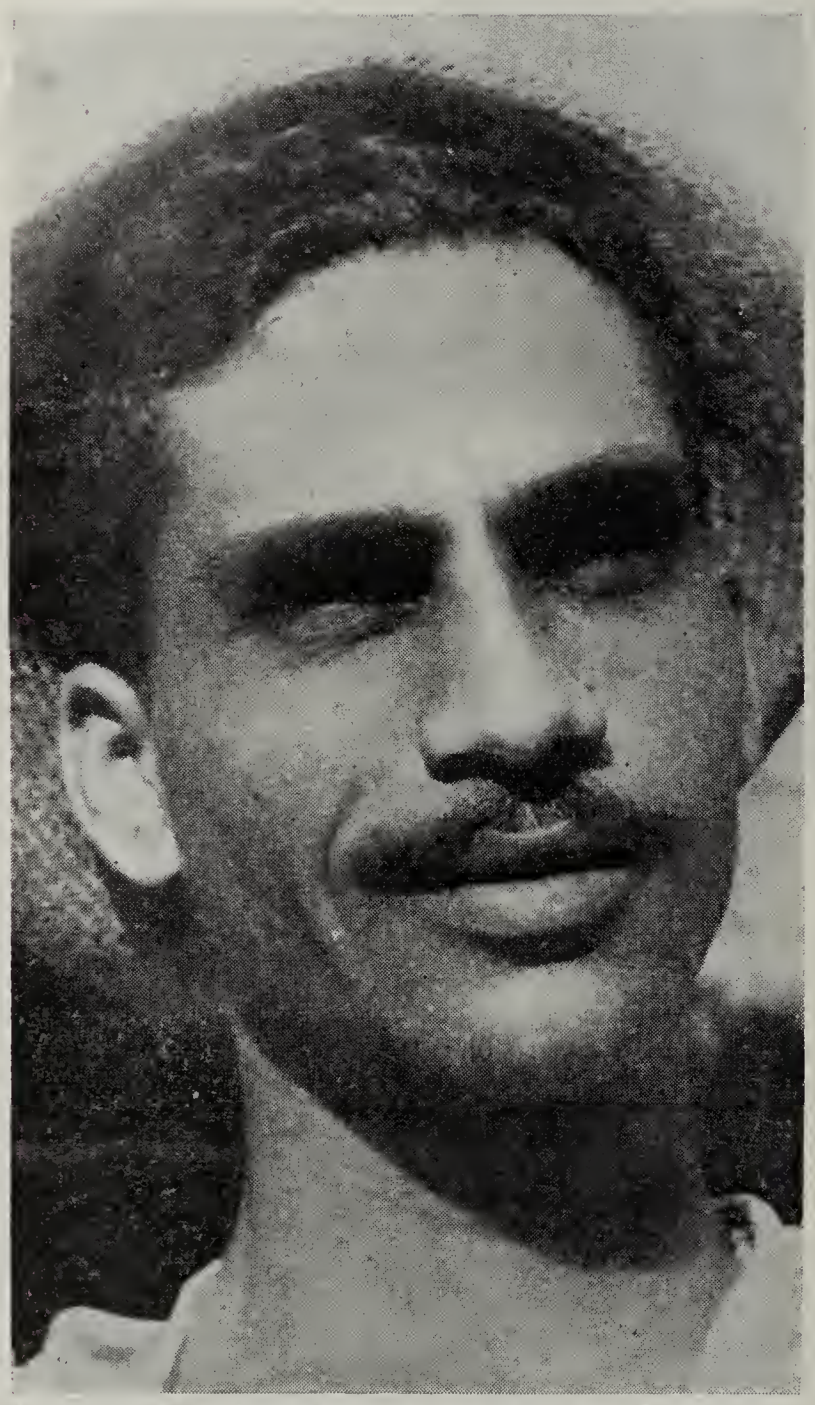
ALL this work made it possible to hold the first National Conference of the Confederation in June, 1950. During this Conference, the experiences in the struggle and in the organisation of Brazilian workers were analysed and a programme of demands capable of uniting the workers, around clear aims, in a free and independent trade union organisation, was drawn up.

In addition to the most urgent and immediate demands of the working class, such as an all-round wage increase, the abolition of the requirement of 100 per cent. attendance at work, the introduction of a sliding wage scale tied to the cost of living, equal pay for equal work, the right to strike, trade union liberty, etc., this programme also deals with the fight for peace and national liberation.

The National Conference of the Confederation declared that the fight for economic demands must be linked with political demands, and that Brazilian trade unions must resolutely fight for national liberation from the imperialist yoke and for a democratic people's Government.

The Conference paid very special attention to the fight for peace which, like the campaign against the atom bomb, has developed on a wide scale in Brazil. The target of 4,000,000 Stockholm Appeal signatures which the Brazilian people set itself was reached and exceeded, thanks to the decisive con-

The workers of San Paolo placed banners bearing the slogans "Independence or death" and "Death to the American invader" on the Monument to Brazilian independence.



The workers of Brazil look towards the future with confidence and determination.

tribution made by the Brazilian workers.

By its sustained efforts, the working class gave impetus everywhere to the collection of signatures and collected more than 200,000 under the direct sponsorship of the Confederation. Yet this result is still not commensurate with the real possibilities or with the enthusiasm of the working class for the cause of peace, because there are more than 1,500,000 industrial workers in Brazil.

The collection of signatures in the factories and working-class districts showed that the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian working-class is ardently defending the cause of peace. The maritime workers distinguished themselves by their activity in collecting more than 20,000 signatures. In the "Bom Pastor" textile factory, employing 400 workers, not a single worker omitted to sign the Stockholm Appeal. This was also the case in the "Arno SA" and "Acero Paulista" factories and in 32 other factories in the State of Sao Paulo, where the appeal met with unanimous support from the workers.

In firms employing 6,000 workers, such as the Light and Power Company, and 5,000 such as the "Nitroquimica," in Sao Paulo, more than 50 per cent. of the employees signed the Stockholm Appeal. In Santos, 3,800 out of 4,000 public service workers signed the Appeal. In the town of Raposos, in the district of Nova Lima, State of Minas Gerais, inhabited by employees of the gold mines belonging to the imperialist St. John del Rey Mining Co., 5,900 people out of a population of 6,000 gave their support to the demand for the banning of the atom bomb. All the workers in the Santo Antonio de Jesus manganese mines signed the Appeal during their courageous 40-day strike.

The working-class towns of Santos, Santo André and Sorocaba, in the State of Sao Paulo, each reached their respective targets of 100,000, 86,000 and 40,000 signatures. In such important plants as the Marine Arsenal and the Army Ordnance factory, which are situated in the capital of the Republic, nearly 50 per cent. of the workers gave their support to the Stockholm Appeal.

But it was, above all, after the American aggression against the heroic Korean people that the workers intensified their participation in the peace movement. Such demonstrations as the assembly held in the capital of the State of Bahia by the General Workers' Association, and the demonstration of workers employed by the Italo-Brazilian Company in Sao Paulo, were organised to protest against the invasion of Korea and against the Government's scheme for sending 20,000 men to Korea to be incorporated into the imperialist armies. These facts demonstrate that Brazilian workers are daily understanding more clearly that the enemies of the Korean people are their own enemies.

The active participation of the working class is becoming apparent in all mass demonstrations, conferences and congresses for peace which have been organised in our country, and in the 2nd Brazilian National Peace Congress, the holding of which in Sao Paulo represents a great victory for the Brazilian people.

The Dutra Government, which preceded the Vargas Government, and the Vargas Government itself, both represent the same policy of national betrayal and submission to the imperialists by placing the country's economy and resources in the service of their war plans.

Their war preparations and pro-war policy are causing indignation among the workers. The handing over of Brazilian bases to the U.S. armed forces, and the military and economic missions from the U.S.A. which have been installed in our country, the war budget of more than 6,000 million cruzeiros for 1950 (which represents twice the 1945 war budget), the conversion of certain industries to war production, and the surrender to the imperialists of the strategic raw materials which constitute our natural wealth—all these elements strengthen the determination of the workers and the Brazilian people in general to fight for peace and the liberation of their country from the foreign imperialist yoke.

Life in New China

TIENTSIN

— *A Workers' Town*

by Wilfred BURCHETT

TIENTSIN is a workers' town in the truest sense of the term. It is one of the largest cities of North China and at present China's second busiest international seaport. It is a working-class city and for the first time in its history it is owned by the workers. The best place to sense the change brought about in two years since liberation is in the Workers' Palace of Culture in the centre of the city.

Formerly it was a playground and gambling haunt of wealthy Tientsin merchants and compradores, the well paid lackeys of foreign imperialism. To-day, it is a place for workers to rest, read, study or amuse themselves. Any man, woman or youth can enjoy its facilities by presenting their trade union card at the entrance. It is a huge place that holds 11,000 people. Average nightly attendance is 5,000. Cinema and theatre or opera performances are playing concurrently. During 1950, no less than 48 plays were presented, most of them dealing with themes of the revolution or problems of the everyday life of the ordinary people.

There are well-stocked libraries and reading rooms, recreation halls for volley-ball and ping-pong players, special rooms for chess fans, a huge ballroom and literally dozens of classrooms where workers can study anything from ballroom dancing to higher mathematics. In the past there were absolutely no facilities provided for the workers, if one excludes gambling dens, brothels and gin halls where they sought to forget the miseries of their hopeless life. In the old days—and for most Chinese, the old days are only one or two years ago—nobody cared for them. They worked under the terror of Japanese whips and dogs, of Kuomintang clubs and electric torture. They had no

The International Seamen's Club in Tientsin.

rights except to slave and starve and die. And when they died often there was no money to buy them a coffin.

Bitter Memories of The Recent Past

The lives of the workers now reading in the library, or enjoying a game of cards, or dancing in the ballroom in the Workers' Palace, were in the past a bitter saga of misery that cannot be imagined. You can find there workers who were bound to trees with half-starved dogs set at them for some fancied insult to a Japanese, or because they refused to betray some militant comrade. You can talk to women from the textile mills who started work at the age of 9, worked for years without pay as "apprentices," then were paid a few handfuls of grain a day for a working day of up to 14 hours. You can find women who had their babies in the factory latrine to avoid losing a day's work and a month's wages (one day's absenteeism usually meant the loss of a whole month's wages). Marriage at best meant an arranged marriage and wages going to a mother-in-law instead of to a mother probably left destitute. Illness meant the sack, an attempt to improve conditions meant beatings, torture and blacklisting from all other factories.

It is hard to believe all this, looking at the now happy faces and shining eyes of workers in the Palace of Culture. But their faces soon grow grim and bitter when one asks them of life in the old days.

The Workers' Palace is not by any means the only workers' club in Tientsin. Every large enterprise now has its own club, many of them have their own theatre and library. It is planned that every enterprise with more than 300 workers will have its own club and cultural facilities and this plan is rapidly being carried out.

One such club which has just been completed is the International Seamen's Club. It is a beautiful 2-storey building which looks from the outside as if it were an exclusive club of some "upper two hundred" capitalists. But there is a red flag with five stars fluttering from the flag pole. With beautiful ball-room, bar, theatre, recreation rooms, library and restaurant, it is one of the finest symbols that China is now owned by the toilers.

In the Seamen's Club in the evening one can have a glass of beer with the two men who exposed and destroyed the infamous gang labour system which, until the liberation, was in force along the entire China waterfront. Tsang Wei Chieh, a former docker, and Tsen Shao Lun, now Chairman of the Seamen's Union of North China, can tell a dramatic story which has no parallel even in the most imaginative fiction.

Slave Labour Under The Old Gang System

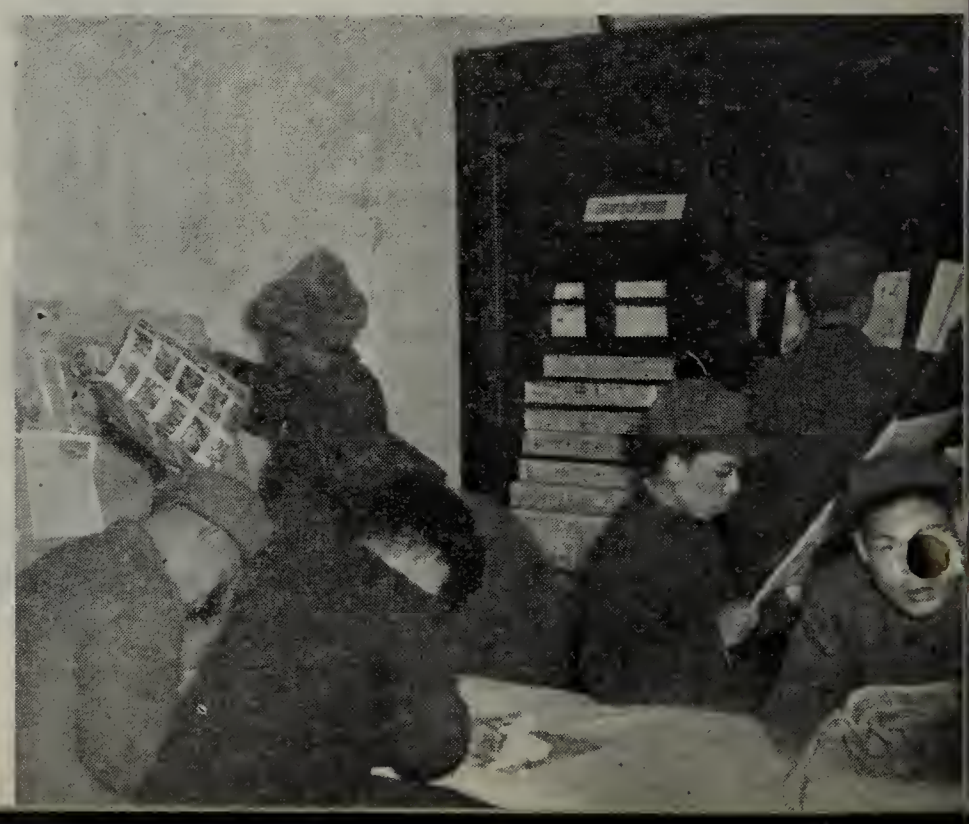
Dockers in the past were in the hands of the gang bosses who had a monopoly on loading and unloading ships. Each boss had a concession on the wharves and no other gang could encroach on his territory. If goods from one gang's territory had to be transported across that of another gang, "transit taxes" had to be paid. In effect the wharf gangs were slave robber bands with the gang boss a robber chief of the most brutal and unscrupulous type.

To get a job on the wharves a worker had to agree to hand back most of his wages to the gang boss. In return he was given to understand he could steal as much as he liked as long as he turned the goods over to the gang boss who would square off the police and hand back some of the remaining proceeds to the docker. If a worker resisted, demanded wages, he would be beated up and, quite commonly, murdered.

This was the system which operated throughout China, not only among dockers but amongst all forms of transport workers. The workers thought the system would be changed after the Japanese surrendered and the Kuomintang took over. They were promised trade unions. They got fascist trade unions—with the gang bosses appointed as trade

The workers are eager fans of Chinese chess.

The library in the Tientsin Workers' Palace of Culture.



union leaders. These bosses acted as secret agents for the Kuomintang, as they had done for the Japanese, to denounce suspected Communists or progressive workers.

Tsang Wei Chieh worked on the wharves for 10 years. His wife died of starvation because he was no adept of the stealing system. He had lost his faith in trade unions and organisation after the Kuomintang came. Like a large proportion of the workers, he had little hope left that their lives would change, when the People's Army liberated Tientsin on January 15th, 1949.

Then Tsen Shao Lun was sent down as a cadre to organise a Seamen's Union which would include dockers who worked from ship to shore. In the union elections the gang bosses tried by intimidation to get elected, but Tsen refused to allow them to stand for office. Tsang Wei Chieh was elected for his section of the wharf. His former gang boss offered him a tremendous bribe and financial support for life, if he would support the old system. "We will give the workers half their wages," the gang boss said. "After all the Government protects both capital and labour. And I represent capital."

Tsang reported this to Tsen Shao Lun. But he had to be convinced that the People's Government would really back the workers in this struggle to get rid of the gang bosses. He was sent as a delegate to Peking and talked with the new leaders. He saw what simple lives they led and became convinced of their sincerity and of their strength.

He and Tsen addressed meetings of his wharf gang. They pro-

TOP: **The workers' canteen in the No. 2 textile factory in Tientsin. Three hot meals are served daily at moderate prices.**

CENTRE: **Thousands of young people are learning to dance. Ancient customs forbade women this sign of freedom.**

RIGHT: **Joy pervades the Workers' Palace of Culture where young workers meet each other after work.**

Mei Hwei-chian was imprisoned several times by the Japanese and the Kuomintang police. This former loom-hand is now a highly skilled worker.

mised the workers the Government would stand by them. The dockers' doubts were gradually broken down. They collected a dossier of the crimes of Cheh Chao Hsiang, their gang boss. He was arrested and a mass "accusation" meeting was held on the wharf with representatives of the other gangs present. Worker after worker got up and accused Cheh of his crimes, which ranged from raping other dockers' wives to murder and wholesale robbery. In a few months he had netted over £4,500 sterling plus several houses.

The "accusation" meeting settled all doubts. Most of the other gang leaders did not wait for further action. They fled. News spread like wildfire to every port in China. The gang system was broken over-night.

China Now Belongs to the Workers

Now the workers have decent wages and conditions, their own trade unions and clubs. Pilfering has stopped on the wharves, loading and unloading time of ships has been halved. The story of Tsen and Tsang is not only an intensely exciting account of the gang system and its end but a good example of the careful way the Government works in such matters. It would have been easy to settle the affair by issuing a few decrees. *The People's Government believes that reforms must come from below by education, mass pressure and example.* The Tientsin dockers now feel that by their own actions, they won a great victory. They feel their strength and have won back their self-respect that had largely been destroyed by the brutalising gang boss system.

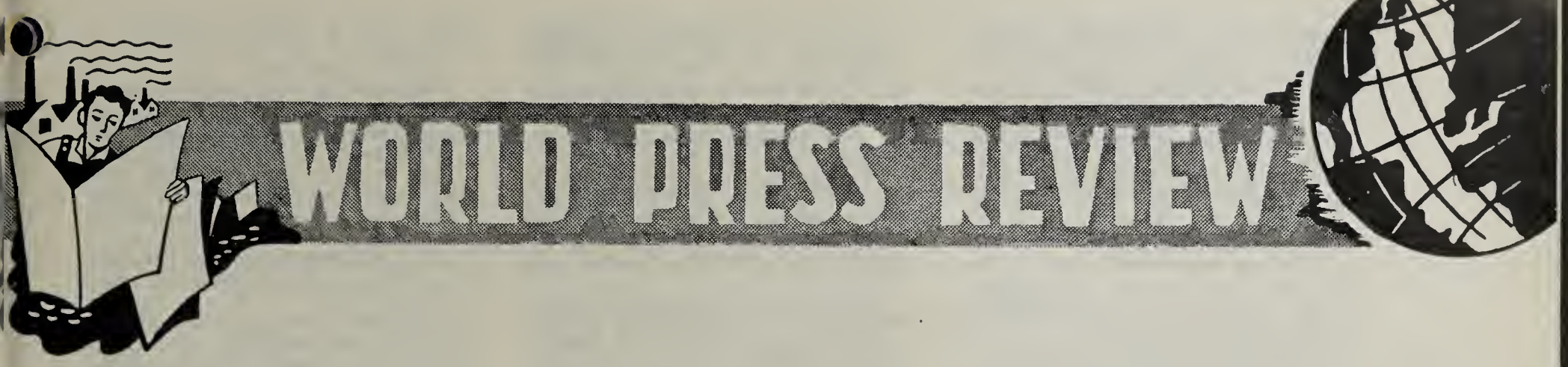
Of Tientsin's 400,000 workers, 70,000 are now attending regular literacy classes. Tens of thousands more join together in small study groups. As elsewhere in China the workers are 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. illiterate and they are making great efforts to catch up on their childhood days when they were slaving at factory benches instead of sitting at school desks.

They show their appreciation of the new life by stepping up production in the factories and stepping up their own technical knowledge. Tientsin is theirs, China is theirs, the future belongs to them and their children and they know it. All doors are open to men and women alike. The new life has released their energies and great inventive talents and on every hand one sees workers, young and old, male and female, showing by their deeds that China's workers are masters of their future.

ARGENTINE PEACE FIGHTERS WIN FREEDOM FOR VICENTE MARISCHI

We protested in our last issue against the brutal treatment inflicted by Peron's Fascist police on the progressive trade union leader Vicente Marischi, one of the most active members of the Argentine Workers' Peace Movement, which he represented at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. We announced that the W.F.T.U. was submitting this revolting case to the United Nations' Human Rights Commission now meeting in Geneva.

We are now happy to learn that the Argentine Fighters for Peace have succeeded in forcing the Peron Government to release Vicente Marischi, after he had been kept in solitary confinement for 40 days and tortured by Peron's infamous "Special political police."



U.S.A.

Two American Views of Africa

It gives one a deep feeling of satisfaction to know that there are others besides the top brass, Dewey-Truman politicians and the big press pen-men who are discussing the raw materials of Africa.

Paul Robeson in his Chicago speech at the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights last summer added up the contribution of Africa to the world economy. But what a difference from the way Dewey used these same facts in his pro-war speech before the Senate.

Robeson said: "What special meaning does this challenge of the colonial world have for American Negro workers and their allies? We must not forget that each year 4,000 tons of uranium ore are extracted from the Belgian Congo—the main source of U.S. supply. And that Africa also provides more than half the world's gold and chrome, 80 per cent of its cobalt, 90 per cent of its palm kernels, one-fifth of its manganese and tin and one-third of its sisal fibre and 60 per cent of its cocoa—not to mention untold riches yet unexplored."

One paragraph from Dewey's speech highlights what Africa means to him and his: "Columbite is a rare product, with high heat-resisting elements. It is essential for the manufacture of jet engines and to the atomic energy programme. It comes from Nigeria."

To him, Africa means a war programme based on the super-exploitation of its 200 million people and the plunder of its natural resources . . . The Dewey-Rockfeller crowd . . . see the U.S. as well as Africa as a field wide open for profit-making and as a base from which to wage war.

But Robeson and all other human beings, here and in Africa, see that vast continent as a force for peace which is daily increasing its strength and making its desires known. He sees Africa as a force for peace which by the very nature of things is unbeatable.

It is not only the victories the Africans are winning today—in the Gold Coast elections, in the Rhodesian copper mines, the South African gold mines and the Algerian iron plants.

"And the people of Africa say to our atom-toting politicians, 'Send your guns and tanks and planes to our oppressors (to protect your investments and to start your war), if you will! We will take them away from them and put them to use! We will be free in spite of you, if not with your help!"

Imperialism, so sick that it can only "industrialise" Africa as part of its war programme, is creating the workers who will breathe life into Robeson's inspiring speech for peace and freedom.

The Worker, 11.3.51

CANADA

To Defend Peace is a Crime in the U.S.A.

The following statement was made by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, eminent Negro historian and social scientist, former chairman of the Peace Information Centre in the United States. He was recently indicted and was threatened with imprisonment for failing to "register as an agent of a foreign power," because of his activities as head of the Peace Information Centre.

"It is a curious thing that today I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want—peace. For 38 years I have worked and studied hoping that in some way I might help my people and my fellowmen to a better way of life, free of poverty and injustice . . .

"It is a sad commentary that we must enter a courtroom today to plead not guilty to something that cannot be a crime—advocating peace and friendship between the American people and the peoples of the world. These indictments are a shameful proclamation to the world that our Government considers peace alien, and its advocacy criminal. In a world which has barely emerged from the horrors of the second world war and which trembles on the brink of atomic catastrophe, can it be criminal to hope and work for peace?

"We feel now as we have always felt that our activities for peace, and, in particular, the outlawing of atomic warfare cannot conceivably fall within the purview of a statute such as the Foreign Agents Registration Act. As chairman of the Peace Information Centre during its existence, I can categorically state that we are an entirely American organisation whose sole objective as Americans was to secure peace and prevent a third world war.

"It is revealing that the Justice Department can find no statute which provides protection for the Negro people from such outrages as the execution of the Martinsville Seven, yet it displays great ingenuity in distorting legislation to make it apply to advocates of peace.

"A great demand for peace is being voiced throughout our country. Men and women everywhere are questioning our tragic military adventures in Korea and the prospect of war with China. There is deep apprehension at the thought that an atomic war may be unleashed. In the light of this, the shabby trick of branding those who seek peace as "aliens" and "criminals" will not stem this tide. I am confident that every American who desires peace, Negro and white, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, the three million signers of the World Peace Appeal and the tens of millions more will join us in our fight to vindicate our right to speak for peace."

The Canadian Tribune, 5.3.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Truth Will Out

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in recent speeches, has hit upon a truth that the trade unions have been trying for years to drive home. In all his references to high prices, Mr. Gaitskell did not seek the cause of them in high wages. Indeed, he made no mention of wages at all, except in relation to consumer demand for civilian goods. Devaluation and stockpiling of raw materials for rearmament purposes were the villains of the piece.

The first has made us pay more for our imports. We might, however, have got over this by the increased overseas demand for our goods at cheaper prices. But then came the huge rearmament programmes and stockpiling. We are in a situation

where, as Mr. Gaitskell said, " I don't think anyone can tell you when price increases are likely to stop—"

We are back in the old spiral again, but this time in more acute form. Prices are rising at such a rate that wages cannot possibly catch up with them. And the gap between wages and prices is growing wider every day. Serious as the position is it has at least destroyed the hoary fallacy that it is rising wages that create inflation, that it is prices that are chasing wages rather than wages chasing prices. Events have at last forced the truth into the open which no statistical device can now conceal.

" Electron " (Journal of the Electrical Trades Union), April 1951.

Lessons of the Dockers' Victory

The dockers and the entire working-class movement have won a tremendous victory. The militant and courageous stand of the seven dockers leaders, the solidarity with which they were backed by their brother dockers, and the support they received from other sections of the workers, have dealt a blow to the plans of those who thought they could hold back the fight for better wages and conditions by represive legislation.

Regulation 1305 must go . . . the shameful attempt by the Labour Government to use this iniquitous regulation to do what no Tory Government has dared to do for scores of years—make strikes illegal—has ended in disastrous failure.

No cunning attempts to 'modify' this order while retaining its essential features will satisfy the workers. It must be withdrawn completely, unconditionally and immediately . . . .

This victory proves once again that when the workers use their mighty strength and unite their forces, no power on earth can prevent them from succeeding.

It will give new confidence to all workers striving to improve their conditions and defend democratic rights, and prevent the Government, the Tories and the bosses from placing on the shoulders of the workers the burden of the criminal drive to war.

Daily Worker (London) 19.4.51

FRANCE

From Unity to Friendship

The speedy and severe defeat which has just been inflicted on the employers and government has been greeted with great satisfaction by all French workers.

Even those who did not take part in the strikes understood their great significance.

The possibility of defeating by WORKERS' UNITY a brutal reactionary enemy which is little concerned with abiding by the laws it has itself established . . . .

The state of mind of the masses which made possible these big steps forward along the path towards indestructible unity, guaranteeing against betrayal by the disruptionist leaders in these trades, exists among the workers in all industries and trades.

We can take decisive steps towards the achievement of united action, and its effects on the subsequent development of the campaign for demands and in defence of peace will be great.

The main condition, in fully achieving what is expected of us by the working masses, is that all leaders must be entirely convinced that they can achieve what has been accomplished among the Paris transport workers and the railwaymen.

Arsenal workers, and those of Brest in particular, provide us with a further example of this.

Civil servants who, in their majority, are resolved to fight to impose their demands, know very well that their struggle and their victory depend on such unity.

They have had manifold experiences of the sordid tricks by which a few FO leaders who oppose unity because they are working above all on behalf of the right-wing socialist leaders, have always deceived them during the time they have waited (for improvements). How can we guarantee against fresh betrayals and deception?

By acting as the transport workers did; by setting up rank-and-file unity committees, and by giving these cammittees full power to take decisions.

This the civil servants know. Let us help them to achieve it.

The problem is fundamentally the same for the miners, although with aspects particular to themselves, as for all industries and firms.

BENOIT FRACHON,
General Secretary of the CGT,
in *l'Humanite,* 14.4.51.

Joint Defence Against the Common Danger

We cannot love each other, but when it is a matter of defending ourselves against a common danger, it is necessary to reach agreement and to take joint action.

This is the leson brought out by the united action of the Parisian transport workers in particular. In spite of their differences, workers belonging to the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and Force Ouvriere linked their efforts in a united action committee in order to bring about joint action for better wages.

This is also the paramount lesson brought out by the Berlin Workers' Conference against German Rearmament.

In Germany as in France, the people do not want war and since German rearmament means war, the delegates from the factories unanimously decided to fight in every possible way to prevent German rearmament.

This is logic itself.

And for the first time in the history of the international labour movement and in the history of the relations between the French and German working class, this unanimity was the expression of a determination which no force will succeed in smashing.

It is dictated by the need to prevent German rearmament in order *to prevent war.*

The Berlin Conference was an outstanding event both from the point of view of its strength and its effects; but not only from this capitally important standpoint.

To mention only the two big delegations—the German delegation with its 400 delegates, and the French with its 148—there were certainly Communist workers in both, but in both they were not the most numerous.

The bulk of the delegations were made up of Socialists and Catholics, and even unorganised workers.

It would have been an illusion to have aimed at unanimity in the discussion and solution of many problems

The necessity of uniting against German rearmament which means war made this unanimity possible between people who cannot love each other but who want peace.

But the Berlin event demonstrated that *the step between the need for unity and friendship is quickly taken, and friendship is more effectively cemented by common action.*

I cannot find words to render suitably on paper the picture of the reconciliation between the working class of France and Germany whom so many wars have brought to mutual slaughter in the past for the profits of their capitalist classes.

To get a clear idea, one has to have experienced those short days of discussion and agreement.

For those who did experience them, this idea is a heartening one.

GASTON MONMOUSSEAU
Secretary of the C.G.T.,
La Vie Ouvriere, 4.10.51.

Agricultural Workers Win Successes

After defining some of the benefits obtained recently by the agricultural workers, Michael Rius examines the reasons for this state of affairs.

Why have these same employers, who only a few weeks previously had adopted a completely intransigeant attitude, now agreed to these benefits? It would be extremely naive to think that they have suddenly been overwhelmed by the poverty-stricken state of their workers and that it was a result of their generosity.

Nor can it be said that the economic situation of French agriculture is improving—on the contrary. The gap between agricultural prices and industrial prices is growing because of the war policy being pursued by

the government under the orders of the American capitalists.

The big employers have adjusted themselves very well to this situation; they have long been in a position to grant this wage increase; for a long time they have been enriching themselves on the workers' poverty.

Leading employers are very careful not to engage in energetic action against rising industrial prices and taxes. They are satisfied with a few platonic protests.

A few employers are more amenable for the following reasons:

There were the warning sounds of thunder in Barcelona which reminded certain individuals that the peoples are never defeated and are fighting without a let-up against slavery and poverty

There were the victorious strikes of the transport, gas, electricity, railroad workers and others which forced the government and the employers to give way and to increase the minimum guaranteed wage by 11.5 per cent.

For several days, the big employers, who had bad memories of 1936 when all farms were occupied by the workers, felt fear grip their entrails.

Le Paysan,
Organ of the Federation of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (C.G.T.), 15.4.51.

ITALY

Marshallisation Increases Unemployment

According to official statistics published by the Minister of Labour, the number of workers in jobs is continually decreasing in Italy.

The number of employed industrial workers is continually decreasing; there is the daily threat of dismissal in the big engineering factories (Reggiana, O.T.O., Nebiolo, Officne Savigliano, etc.).

The increase in the number of bankruptcies among small and average business men has thrown thousands of workers into the streets.

Furthermore, the increasing difficulties encountered in obtaining raw materials has caused many plants to reduce their working hours.

In Italy, according to the figures of the Minister of Labour, there were 2,119,620 unemployed at the end of January 1951. Compared to the preceding month of December 1950, this represents an increase of 40,000 and of 10,000 in comparison with January 1950.

Lavoro (organ of the C.G.I.L.) 23.4.51.

MEXICO

United States Policy in Latin America

On February 21st, Mr. Rankin, Counsellor to the United States Embassy in Mexico, held a press conference whose falsehoods were analysed and ironically commented upon by Vicente Lombardo Tolendano, President of the C.T.A.L. and Vice President of the W.F.T.U., in the Mexican newspaper "El Popular."

Assertion by Mr. Rankin: 'The characteristics of the inter-American policy (of the United States) are: (a) that this policy is one of promoting political stability within a democratic framework.'

Comment by V. Lombardo Toledano: "We already know that the United States Government had nothing to do with the "coup d'Etat" against the constitutional Government of Costa Rica; that it is absolutely unaware of the legitimate Government of Peru; that it did not take part in the fall of the constitutional Government in Venezuela; that it did not notice the "coup d'Etat" in Nicaragua which brought down the constitutional government; that it is quite innocent of the innumerable attempts made against the constitutional Government of Guatamala; and that it in no way interferes with the internal affairs of Latin-American countries. The fact of declaring that the Washington Government is in favour of political stability in a democratic framework amounts almost to an insult in Latin America, because only a blind, deaf, dumb and armless Latin-American could accept such an outrageous assertion."

Mr. Rankin: (b) 'that inter-American policy encourages economic and social progress throughout the Western hemisphere.'

Comment: "Here are the results of this inter-American policy: our countries continue to produce raw materials for United States industry and to act as markets for their surplus production and as reservoirs of cheap labour."

Mr. Rankin: (c) 'that it seeks to ensure the security of our hemisphere, which means the forging of an adequate force to defend America against any internal or foreign enemy whatsoever.'

Comment: "There is no doubt that the inter-American policy advocated by the Washington Government is wise and humanitarian, because we all know that Mexico is threatened by Asia, the Soviet Union and Europe and that Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the countries of Central and Southern America are in the same situation. History proves that for more than a century, we have been living under a terrible threat from non-American countries."

El Popular,
(Mexico) 3.3.51.

CUBA

68 per cent. Rise in Food Prices in 8 Months

From the beginning of the conflict in Korea, in the middle of last year, until today, a brief period of 8 months, the price of food for Cuban consumers has undergone a sharp increase of 68.3 per cent.

The index for average food prices throughout the Republic rose from 225.7 in June 1950 to the alarming figure of 294 in February of the present year—(1937 = 100).

This unbridled rise in all prices, encouraged by international conflicts which are used as a pretext for the increases, means a steady fall in the quantity and quality of the foodstuffs which Cuban consumers may buy.

Indeed, since June 1950, when the purchasing power of the Cuban peso was equivalent to 44.3 per cent of its 1937 value, the constant price rise has reduced its purchasing power to 34 per cent. This quite simply means that in order to buy the same amount of goods which could be bought during the second half of 1937 with one peso, one must now have exactly $2.94, nearly three times as much money in order to be able to carry on a miserable existence.

The warlike declarations of the American adventurers who are feverishly preparing another world war, and the repeated declarations of the Cuban Government announcing its wish to freeze prices and wages—without doing anything in this direction except to freeze wages—have only served to stir up the fire of inflation. In contrast with former times, this inflation is still further worsened by the fact that prices are undergoing an orgy of unlimited increases, whereas the income of the people is falling as a result of the policy of cutting wages, freezing salaries, reducing pensions and a real fall in receipts owing to the growing unemployment throughout the country.

Vanguardia Cubana,
(La Havana), 4.3.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

April 6

UNITED STATES. — The United States tightens its military and economic control over the countries of Latin America through the resolutions adopted in Washington by the Conference of American Foreign Ministers. These resolutions call for inter-American military "co-operation," and so-called "strengthening of internal security" to hamper further the action of progressive and militant trade union and political forces.

GERMANY. — At a meeting between French, British, American and German military experts, the German representatives (Speider, Heusinger and others) call for the formation of 12 German divisions with the corresponding tactical air units.

ITALY. — Peasants and agricultural workers in Calabria resume the struggle to occupy the land. The movement embraces thousands of workers. 20,000 peasants at Movigo begin a movement to obtain medical assistance.

April 7

GREAT BRITAIN. — Arthur Deakin declares that ships loaded by New Zealand military forces during the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union dispute are not "black." He states that the dispute does not concern people in the United Kingdom, showing that international Labour solidarity is not supported, but fought against, by the leaders of the Scab International.

CANADA. — The Canadian Peace Congress meets following preliminary peace assemblies in every part of the country.

The W.F.T.U. sends a message of support, in which it says: "United action of the peoples of the world can save peace."

FRANCE. — Repeating its action (of 26th January, 1951) against the W.F.T.U., the W.I.D.F., and the W.F.D.Y., the Government issues a decree banning the activity of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress in France.

April 8

CHINA. — Peking radio announces that China has a trade surplus for the first time since 1877, mostly handled by the State trading agencies.

URUGUAY. — The workers of Uruguay stop work throughout the country from midday to midnight in support of their demands.

April 9

GREAT BRITAIN. — In London, the trial opens at the Central Criminal Court of seven dockers charged with conspiring to incite dock workers to take part in "illegal" strikes. More than 9,000 London dock workers strike in protest.

UNITED STATES. — The U.S. Army chiefs, under whose jurisdiction the railroads are being operated, refuse to grant to 1,000,000 railroad shop workers the

MESSAGE FROM THE UNIFIED TRADE UNIONS OF KOREA

The Unified Trade Unions of Korea have sent the following telegram to Brothers G. Di Vittorio, President, and Louis Saillant, General Secretary, of the World Federation of Trade Unions:

Dear Brothers,

"The Stalin Peace Prize has been awarded to Sister Pak Den Ai, member of the Central Council of the Unified Trade Unions of Korea, President of the Korean Democratic Women's Association and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party. Sister Pak Den Ai is in the vanguard of the heroic struggle of the Korean people who have risen up in the glorious war of liberation in the name of freedom, independence and honour of our homeland, and for the preservation of lasting peace throughout the world.

"The awarding of the Stalin Peace Prize to Sister Pak Den Ai is an honour for the Korean people and a confirmation that the final victory of the Korean people and working class is assured, as well as the expression of the might of the peace camp.

"The Council of Unified Trade Unions of Korea expresses its gratitude in the name of the workers of Korea and together with the 75,000,000 members of the World Federation of Trade Unions on the occasion of the awarding to Sister Pak Den Ai of the International Peace Prize, which bears the name of Stalin—great symbol of peace—and solemnly promises to intensify its efforts still further in the struggle at the front and behind the lines, with still greater certainty of final victory in the great war of liberation."

13 April, 1951.

HEN HUNG, President of the Council of Unified Trade Unions of Korea.

full increase of 6 cents per hour provided by escalator clauses in the union agreements with the Companies. (These clauses call for wage increases in terms of increases in official cost of living numbers.) The Army chiefs are limiting the increase to 2.5 cents an hour under pretext of the wage-freeze formula that wages should not rise more than 10 per cent. above the January, 1950, level.

April 10

BOLIVIA. — The Miners' Federations of the German Democratic Republic and of several other countries protest against the death sentence passed on four tin miners at Lapaz (Bolivia) and the sentencing of eleven others to penal servitude for periods as long as life imprisonment.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Budget to pay for Britain's re-armament programme is presented to Parliament. Money is being diverted from the health service, formerly free, but for which certain services now have to be paid. There is also an increase in sales tax on some goods, an increase in the entertainment tax, and an ungraded rise in income-tax. The increased sales tax on metal kitchenware will so restrict sales that workers, to avoid unemployment, will be forced into the arms industry. £1,114 million is to be spent on arms out of a total estimated expenditure of £4,197 million, despite the fact that the devastation from the last war is far from cleared up.

FRANCE. — The General Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers opens in Paris. Owing to the French Government's refusal of a certain number of delegates' visas, a parallel meeting is held in Prague.

MOROCCO. — After discussions lasting two days and on a proposal from Mahmoud Abou Fath, Egyptian senator and leader of the Egyptian mission at present in Tangiers, the leaders of the four Moroccan bourgeois nationalist parties sign a pact for united action in which they pledge themselves to fight for the complete independence of Morocco outside the French Union and to collaborate with the Arab League, but refuse to form any common front with the Moroccan working class.

ITALY. — After a united struggle, the agricultural workers of Catania win a 200-lire per day wage increase.

NEW ZEALAND. — The Labour Ministry's offer to satisfy all the dockers' claims with the exception of the recognition of the mens' union is rejected Seamen come out on a nationwide solidarity strike.

April 11

CANADA. — The new budget presented to-day allows 46 per cent. of total estimated expenditure for war. Money is to be raised by increasing the sales tax and by raising income tax by 20 per cent.

UNITED STATES. — According to the new Census figures, 39 per cent. of gainfully employed Americans earned less than $2,000 in 1949, the average income being $2,599 and the median income being $1,940. This is far below the figures ranging from $3,400 to nearly $3,900 required to meet the very modest living budget established by the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics.

UNITED STATES. — President Truman relieves General MacArthur of all his United Nations and U.S. military commands.

ARGENTINA. — The Argentine Chamber of Deputies issues a law expropriating the newspaper "La Prensa," a big capitalist organ, pro-imperialist and anti-labour but which, for its editors' own personal reasons, has in many cases maintained an attitude of opposition to the Peron Government. The expropriation of "La Prensa" was preceded by a boycott organised by the Peronist trade union leaders, during which their mercenaries killed a member of the newspaper staff.

NEW ZEALAND. — The dockers, and a meeting of 4,000 Auckland citizens, appeal to the United Nations against the Emergency Regulations applied by the New Zealand Government in violation of the U.N.O. Charter.

April 12

FRANCE. — Iron-ore miners of Eastern France go back to work after a victorious united strike.

The agreement signed between the employers and C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christian) and Force Ouvriere representatives in the presence of a representative of the Government provides for an 11 per cent. wage increase, the incorporation of a uniform bonus of 9 francs 50 in piece-rates, and no reprisals against strikers.

April 13

PRAGUE. — Participants in the parallel meeting in Prague of the second session of the World Federation of Scientific Workers unanimously adopt a resolution outlining the tasks of scientists. These include the discussion of new means of struggle against hunger and disease, for improving living conditions, recognition of the international nature of science, study of the causes of war and support for any activity hindering the outbreak of war.

LATIN AMERICA. — A Conference takes place in Montevideo of representatives of the National Peace Committees of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The conference is followed by a huge mass meeting.

The Conference declaration exposes U.S. policy within the United Nations and the support given this policy by the Latin-American Governments. It adds that the natural and human wealth of their countries will never be placed at the disposal of imperialist monopolies and warmongers and says: "We shall fight with all our energy for the freedom and independence of our countries, for our national sovereignty, for our full independent economic development, for the right to trade with all countries, for political freedom, for our traditions, for our national culture. . . ."

SPAIN. — One thousand three hundred Bertrand and Serra textile factory workers in Manresa, a town 40 miles from Barcelona, come out on strike in support of their demand for higher wages and in protest against the wretched conditions of the workers under Franco's dictatorship.

ALGERIA. — As a result of popular pressure expressed in the growing number of struggles for economic demands, the Higher Commission for Collective Agreements meets. As a result of the unity achieved between the represenatives of the C.G.T., the Christian C.F.T.C. and Force Ouvriere, the majority of the Commission adopts 74 Francs as the hourly minimum guaranteed wage (520 Francs per day in agriculture).

The C.G.T.'s target still remains 100 Francs per hour.

April 14

CHINA. — 14,000 Chinese Muslims demonstrate in Peking against the rearming of Japan by the U.S.A. and in favour of the Berlin Appeal for a Five Power

peace pact. They also protest against French exploitation of Muslims in Morocco.

ALGERIA. — Electricity and gas workers in Algiers go back to work after a victorious strike launched on March 23. The strike was waged in unity and the final communique from the Strike Committee is signed by representatives of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christian), and a representative of members of Force Ouvriere. The leaders of the last organisation signed an agreement on April 1st which did not give complete satisfaction to the strikers and gave the order to go back to work, but this order was ignored by members of the organisation.

IRAN. — Big demonstrations take place in the oil areas of Iran, where more than 30,000 workers are on strike.

Police open fire on demonstrators at Ispahan, killing one worker.

The British cruiser "Euryalus," escorted by the "Surprise," visits the Persian Gulf.

April 15

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Attorney-General withdraws the charge against the seven dockers' leaders, being unable to get from the jury a conviction for conspiracy to incite dockers to strike. This great victory shows that the British people are not willing to have their right to strike legislated away and that big business calls to tighten Order 1305 (under which the men were prosecuted) would only provoke further strikes and protests.

IRAN. — Troops fire on 15,000 anti-British demonstrators in Abadan. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's refinery is closed down.

GERMANY. — 40,000 people march through the Ruhr mining town of Gelsenkirchen in memory of the victims of Fascism.

ITALY. — Protest strikes take place in a number of Italian towns, including Palermo, Florence and Terni, against the recent American naval manœuvres in Italian territorial waters.

The National Conference against Exploitation meeting in Turin, and attended by 500 delegates, unanimously adopts a 10-point programme of struggle, the main points of which are:

"Overtime should be permitted only in cases of absolute necessity and of an exceptional character; overtime work should provide the right to all social security provisions;

"Piece-work should not be compulsory and must be conditional on acceptance of such work by the workers;

"Time wages must be the basic form of payment and the system of piecework must be limited;

"Workers' participation in the maximum reduction of the price of goods and the improvement of workers' living standards;

"The application of established norms and the formation of provincial and local employment exchanges;

"Organisation of labour inspection bureaux on a democratic basis, and formation of a national commission with trade union participation; supervision of the application of social and labour safety legislation."

This important conference is ended by a meeting at the Alfieri Theatre, addressed by the General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, G. di Vittorio.

April 16

AUSTRIA. — Over half a million signatures have been collected to the World Peace Council Appeal for a peace pact between the Big Five.

BELGIUM. — United States Ambassador Murphy announces that the U.S. has "doubts" concerning the size of Belgium's contribution to the Atlantic Pact war preparation programme, and threatens the possibility of U.S. cuts in Marshall "aid" to those nations that are not spending enough money on war.

CHINA. — A National Conference of Christian leaders and associations opens in Peking to discuss ways to enable the churches of China to become financially, administratively and doctrinally independent. The Conference is sponsored by the Government decision of 29th December, 1950, to enable American-subsidised bodies in China to become self-supporting and independent.

April 17

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Foreign Office announces a further loan of £4,000,000 to Yugoslavia. These are the wages of "anti-Sovietism."

ARGENTINA. — Two more leaders of the Argentine Radical Party are sent to prison for "slandering Peron."

SPAIN. — In Barcelona several hundred textile workers strike for a cost of living bonus forced from the employers but awaiting Government sanction.

The 1,300 workers of the Bertrand and Serra textile factory valiantly continue their strike in spite of arrests by Franco's police. Workers in Manresa, Tarrasa and Sabadell express their solidarity with the strikers and demand similar wage increases.

ALGERIA. — A huge mass demonstration takes place in Algiers against colonial repression. The police charge the crowd, beating up women and children and arresting several demonstrators but, following a further demonstration, the arrested persons are released.

The Algerian "Journal Officiel" publishes two decrees dated April 15, fixing the minimum guaranteed wage rate, granting only in part the Algerian workers' claims, including those of agricultural workers.

Both the C.G.T. and the C.F.T.C. (Christian centre) make a strong protest against these decrees.

BRAZIL. — The crew of the Peruvian ship "Amazonas" refuse to load rice at Santos for shipment to American troops in Korea.

AUSTRALIA. — Dr. Evatt, Labour Party Opposition leader, declares that "It is nonsense to hail the proposed Pacific pact as an unqualified blessing. . . . Australians will view with great concern the apparent acceptance by their own Government of the unlimited arming of Japan, who proved so powerful and barbarous an enemy during the war. . . ."

GREAT BRITAIN. — Questions put to the Foreign Minister in the House of Commons show that Great Britain has been refused admission to the proposed Pacific Pact. Australia and New Zealand alone are supposed to represent the Commonwealth in this regional arrangement, by which the U.S. takes a further step in pushing Britain out of the Pacific and in tightening the U.S. grip over the British Dominions.

April 20

UNITED STATES. — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves a Bill authorising the shipment of 2,000,000 tons of grain to India, half of it as a loan. In return for this "gift," the Indian Government must deposit its value in rupees, to be used

for stockpiling the production of strategic raw materials required for the U.S. war stockpile.

SPAIN. — The textile workers' strike at Manresa, near Barcelona, spreads to 6,000 workers.

SWEDEN. — A month-long strike of municipal workers in Stockholm ends with 15-20 per cent. wage increases won under a new collective agreement.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Minister of Supply announces shortages of nickel, tungsten and molybdenum, due to war preparations under the Atlantic Pact. Supplies for civilian use are to be restricted to 70 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the 1950 level for stainless steel and nickel plating respectively. The Minister adds that "he hopes" resulting unemployment will be "temporary redundancy."

NEW ZEALAND. — The Prime Minister issues a threatening ultimatum to the dockers, demanding that they resume work by the 23rd.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — MAY 5, 1951 • No. 9

The workers are hanging themselves with ever-increasing determination under the anti-peoples' policy of the Imperialists. In all capitalist countries workers are waging resolute trade movements for increased wages, reduction of working hours, speed-ups, dismissals and the closing down of their factories. They are responding there to the trade union rights and demanding the release of their imprisoned leaders.

A broad movement for unity of action has grown up among the workers in the course of this struggle, irrespective of political or religious opinions or whether they belong to different organisations.

WFTU

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Memorandum from the WFTU Delegation to the 7th session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

EDITORIAL

A TRIUMPH FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS UNITY

THE mass demonstrations which took place in all countries on May Day this year were particularly impressive and were of deeper significance than those of previous years.

For the first time since the butcher Franco seized power, the heroic Spanish working-class openly took part in the celebration of international solidarity on May Day with mass strikes in Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, in the Asturias and the Basque country.

The drastic preventive measures taken by Franco's police and the thousands of arrests did not succeed in preventing the Spanish working-class on May Day from joining in spirit with the working-class of the whole world.

In another part of the world—in Japan, where the people are living under a still more odious regime of fascist repression than in Franco Spain because it is more hypocritical, namely under a regime of bloody oppression by American imperialism—the working-class celebrated May Day by widespread demonstrations of which the rally in Tokio was a particularly outstanding example.

In the Japanese capital, thousands of workers took part in solid ranks in the demonstration organised by the Government to celebrate the shameful parody of a Constitution presented to the Japanese by MacArthur. But these workers booed the Government and the puppet emperor, lackeys of American imperialism, and sang the International instead. The U.S.-Japanese police wreaked a vain revenge by arresting numbers of workers and trade unionists. The Japanese workers stood shoulder to shoulder

with their brothers in other lands in their opposition to the imperialist invader and in their demand for peace.

In Europe, Asia, North and South America, Australia and in many towns in Africa, millions upon millions of workers, under the banner of our great WFTU and bearing the slogans contained in our Executive Committee's Appeal, celebrated May Day 1951 with special solemnity and militancy.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE workers in the capitalist and colonial parts of the world sought, by these magnificent and militant demonstrations, to give overwhelming proof of their pact of solidarity and fraternity with their brothers in the great Soviet Union, People's China, and all the People's Democracies against which American imperialism, asserting its leadership over all the imperialist and reactionary forces in the world, is cynically preparing a war of aggression and plunder, threatening the whole of mankind with the most terrible extermination in history.

The fact that in the lands of socialism and in the countries on the road to socialism, the May Day celebrations also took place in a particularly solemn atmosphere; the fact that Comrade Stalin attended in person the grandiose May Day demonstration in Moscow, that Chairman Mao Tse-tung took part in the demonstrations in Peking, that leading people in the People's Democracies everywhere headed the May Day demonstrations, is striking proof of the spiritual unity which has been achieved between the workers who still suffer under the yoke of the capitalist and colonial regime and those who have freed themselves for ever from the chains of capitalism and from the barbaric law of the exploitation of man by man.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE particularly imposing May Day demonstrations this year in the capitalist world are due to two basic causes: the intensification of the American multi-millionaires' war threat to mankind; and the further decline in the living standards of the workers—already too low—owing to the policy of intensified and frantic rearmament imposed by the great war criminals of Wall Street on the satellite and servile governments of the Atlantic Pact, and the other war pacts of a similar nature which the same war profiteers have enforced on Latin America and other subject States.

The international working-class took the most suitable opportunity offered to reaffirm its international unity; to demonstrate its common resolve to defend its bread and its threatened trade union rights; to fight the

capitalist governments' policy of starvation, rearmament and reaction; and to express its unanimous determination to prevent war at all costs and to preserve world peace.

The main feature of all the May Day 1951 demonstrations was indeed the prominence given to the close link between the fight to defend wages and against the various forms of exploiting the workers, for work and against unemployment, for the defence of democratic liberties and against the wave of reaction, on the one hand, and the fundamentally important struggle of the working-class and the broad masses of the people against the rearmament policy and the war plotted by the American multi-millionaires, on the other.

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THE growth of this fight for bread, freedom and peace is taking on vast proportions in all capitalist and colonial countries. The irresistible extension of this struggle will enable the workers and people effectively to defend their bread and to save peace.

I myself took part in Italy in two of these tremendous working-class demonstrations on May Day—in Milan and Bologna. The huge Piazza del Duomo in Milan and the great esplanade in the public gardens in Bologna could not hold the great crowd of hundreds of thousands of working men and women who flocked to the two demonstrations.

Rome, Turin, Naples, Bari—all the towns of Italy—were scenes of the same impressive and enthusiastic rally of workers, far greater than anything in previous years. And this exceptional mass character was observed in varying degrees throughout the world. The workers of all lands exchanged messages of peace and fraternity, solemnly pledged themselves to wage a united struggle to neutralise the schemes and provocations of the criminal warmongers and to save world peace.

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MAY DAY 1951 was also a striking proof of the general progress made by the organised forces of labour and of the consolidation of their international unity under the leadership of the WFTU. Everywhere, the disruptionist organisations directed by the Scab International and financed by the American State Department held sham May Day celebrations in an attempt to conceal their betrayal of the interests and ideals of the working class; but they had to hold them in private, under the protection of large forces of police. These traitors may continue to get the imperialist press and radio to assert that the WFTU and its National Centres are "isolated,"

but they cannot conceal that whereas our so-called "isolation" means that the millions upon millions of workers, who are the driving force of modern society, are massing behind our leadership, the disruptionist traitors have only their piles of dollars and their massive police forces behind them.

May Day 1951 strengthened international working-class unity. It increased the WFTU's influence, proclaiming it as the only Trade Union International which strives for international proletarian unity and solidarity and expresses the vital needs and desire for peace and progress of the working-class.

But still more important is the fact that May Day 1951 demonstrated that American imperialism's attempt to split the world into two parts—in order to separate the masses in the capitalist world from the peoples of the USSR and the People's Democracies—had been a resounding failure.

Indeed, the labouring masses of the capitalist and colonial countries reaffirmed on May Day the unbreakable bond of international solidarity by which they are united, and in so doing, particularly acclaimed the USSR and the People's Democracies and the tremendous social achievements which the workers of these countries are making. They brought into prominence the outstanding fact of our time, namely that in all capitalist countries—without exception—the cost of living is mounting and the people's purchasing power falling, whereas in the socialist countries, *and in these countries alone,* the cost of living is falling, wages rising and the economic and cultural welfare of the population steadily increasing.

On the basis of these incontestable facts and on the basis of the consistent peace policy pursued by the USSR under the sure leadership of the great Stalin, the workers of all lands, in their May Day demonstrations, used the example set by the USSR and the People's Democracies to point out the great road to follow for the conquest of their social emancipation, the vital condition for the forward march of mankind along the path of progress and for the winning of higher forms of justice, freedom and real human brotherhood.

The great world-wide review of the forces of labour on May Day 1951 was both brilliant proof of the progress we have made and confirmation that the WFTU is on the right road. We must speed up our pace. We must go onward, ever onward!

G. DI VITTORIO.

Workers Throughout the World Send May Day Greetings to the WFTU

WORKERS throughout the world continue to make forceful protest against the arbitrary decision of the French Government in banning the WFTU's headquarters in France. The flow of messages of confidence, a large number of which we have already published, had not yet ceased to come in to the WFTU's Vienna headquarters as the workers send fresh evidence of their unshakeable devotion to their great Trade Union International on the occasion of the May Day celebrations. These messages from all parts of the globe express the workers' common determination to wage a united national and international struggle for prosperity and for its main condition—peace.

The following moving telegram was sent to G. Di Vittorio, President of the WFTU, and Louis Saillant, General Secretary, by the workers of KOREA *who, ranged in a solid front against the American invader, are making the supreme sacrifice of their lives in the common cause of the international working class.*

"Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of May Day, review-day of the world fighting forces and day of world-wide workers' solidarity, the Central Committee of Unified Trade Unions of Korea, in the name of the workers of Korea, sends you, and through you all the workers of the world, its hearty and fighting greetings and expresses its wishes for the development of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the workers' fighting international organisation. The workers of Korea are struggling against the American interventionists and their lackeys of the Syngman Rhee gang of traitors. They are fighting for freedom, unity and the independence of their homeland, and for the happiness of their people. The working class, which leads the entire Korean people, celebrates the significant day of May 1st with the central theme of the annihilation of the invaders, increased war production and the improvement of military transport. The fraternal aid given the Korean people by the peoples of the democratic countries headed by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, and by the working class of the whole world, is a mighty inspiration to us in our determination to win victory in this just war. Under the enlightened leadership of the national leader of the Korean people, Kim Ir Sen, the Korean working class and the entire people, encouraged by the unlimited aid afforded them, will celebrate International Labour Day as a day for reviewing and proving their armed force, as a day for the annihilation of the American interventionists. The Korean working class and people, imbued with unshakeable resolve, will win final victory.

"Long live working class unity throughout the world!

"Long live May Day, international day of workers' demonstrations!

"Long live lasting peace throughout the world!

"Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions!"

The VIET NAMESE *General Confederation of Workers sent the following message in the name of the workers of Viet Nam, engaged in the bitter struggle forced upon them by the French colonialist government on American orders:*

"On International Labour Day, the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Namese General Confederation of Workers sends hearty greetings to the WFTU Executive Committee and reaffirms its complete confidence in its leadership. The workers of Viet Nam are redoubling their efforts in the fight for national liberation and are strengthening the spirit of working class internationalism in the fight for a peace pact against the remilitarisation of Japan and Western Germany."

In INDONESIA *the Government banned the free celebration of May Day. The Central Bureau of the Indonesian trade unions sent the following telegram to the WFTU:*

"The Indonesian Government has banned the showing of Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung as leaders of the peace-loving peoples. It has also banned the display of the flags of the five great powers as a demonstration in favour of a peace pact. In the South of Sumatra, all peace demostrations on

May Day have been banned. We make a solemn protest against these measures."

Whatever the country or organisation from which they come, the messages express the workers' awareness of the necessity for a vast international solidarity movement in the fight against the class enemy which has everywhere placed itself under United States' control. Thus the Confederation of Workers of BRAZIL *telegraphed the following message from Latin America* :

"Fraternal May Day greetings, through the glorious World Federation of Trade Unions, to the working class of the whole world.

"At a time when the warmongers are making desperate efforts to launch another world war in order to maintain their domination over the peoples and prevent the forward march of the liberation of mankind, freeing it from exploitation, poverty, capitalist oppression and war, the workers, united, join their voices and actions to those of the millions of Defenders of Peace against the war criminals.

"The Brazilian people is bravely fighting against the sending of Brazilian soldiers to Korea, against the agreements and resolutions endorsed by our Government at the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Washington, and for a peace pact between the five great powers.

"By their struggle for these principles, by the battle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents in our country, Brazilian workers are contributing with all their strength to the preservation of peace, alongside their toiling brothers throughout the world.

"In celebrating May Day, we pay homage to all the brave fighters who have given their lives for the cause of the workers and peoples, and to those who, in glorious Korea, have taken up arms against the invaders of their homeland.

"Faithful to the WFTU's fighting banner of struggle for bread, peace and freedom, the banner of international workers' unity, the Confederation of Workers of Brazil reiterates its faith in the proletariat's victory over its class enemies, and its complete solidarity with the workers of the whole world.

"Long live peace between the peoples,

"Long live international workers' unity,

"Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions,

"Long live May Day 1951!"

The ITALIAN *workers organised in the great CGIL sent the WFTU their wishes for fresh successes in the struggle of workers in all lands to raise their living standards and to defend peace.*

The following is the message from the General Federation of GREEK *Workers, which is carrying on the battle underground* :

"Expressing the sentiment of the Greek working class, we send May Day greetings to the World Federation of Trade Unions which unites in its ranks the workers of all lands in defence of peace against the imperialist warmongers, in the fight for democracy and socialism. The Greek working class has shed much blood and made great sacrifices for the conquest of its noble ideals. Under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions it will continue until victory is won its battle for peace, the liberation of its homeland from the American imperialists, for a free, independent and democratic Greece, and to pave the way for progress and socialism."

With one voice, the workers of the People's Democracies—ALBANIA, BULGARIA, RUMANIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, and POLAND —*declared in their messages their devotion to the cause of peace and socialism. From the smallest of the People's Democracies in Europe, courageous Albania, victim of ceaseless provocations on the part of fascist Greece and Yugo-slavia, comes the following telegram sent to the WFTU by the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions* :

"On the occasion of May Day, day of international workers' solidarity and fraternity between the workers of the whole world, we send, in the name of the working class of the Albanian People's Republic, to you, and through you to all the workers of the world, united in the fight for peace and democracy, our heartiest greetings. We wish the workers of the whole world, united in the ranks of the WFTU, success in their stubborn struggle against the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites, for the victory of the peace camp guided by the Soviet peoples and the great Stalin.

"Long live working class unity in the ranks of the WFTU."

From Asia, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the MONGOLIAN *People's Republic cabled* :

"On May Day, international workers' solidarity celebration, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic sends in the name of all the workers of Mongolia, to you, and through you, to the trade unions of the whole world, its sincere greetings and best wishes. The workers of our land, fighting in solid ranks and without respite, for the victory of peace, democracy and socialism, celebrate this historic date under the slogans of struggle against the planners of another war, for the consolidation of peace and the people's security, and for a further rise in the economic and cultural standards of our people. We wish you fresh successes in the pursuit of the noble cause of the defence of peace between the peoples, the consolidation of the unity of the working class in all lands, the defence of democratic liberties and the workers' vital interests."

The following message comes from CHINA, *immense land from which American imperialism has finally been driven and which is building a mighty peace economy on new foundations. The All China Federation of Labour cabled* :

"On May 1st, International Labour Day, we send you and all workers of the world, our fraternal and hearty greetings, and hope that the world working class, guided by the WFTU, will win magnificent victories in the fight against war and for peace. In celebrating this day, the working class and labouring masses of the whole of China will organise a great demonstration showing their firm determination to destroy the imperialists' aggressive plan and to defend the cause of peace to the end."

Finally, we give below the message from the workers of the U.S.S.R. *who, having achieved socialism in their country, are now boldly building communism. Filled with creative enthusiasm, they represent the firmest rampart of peace and the vanguard of all workers throughout the world who wish to build a better future by peaceful labour* :

"The All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, in the name of all Soviet workers, sends congratulations to the World Federation of Trade Unions on May Day. The workers of the USSR will demonstrate on May Day their firm

MAY DAY IN VIENNA

Viennese workers demonstrating on May Day greet the setting up of the W.F.T.U.'s headquarters in the Austrian capital. Their banners welcome the great Trade Union International to Vienna.

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desire for peace, for the future flourishing of their socialist homeland, the improvement of the Soviet people's welfare, and for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the workers of all lands.

"In greeting the World Federation of Trade Unions, which unites millions of manual and intellectual workers from all parts of the world in its ranks, the workers of the USSR express their firm conviction that the WFTU will bear ever higher the banner of international working class solidarity in the fight for the vital interests of labouring mankind, for freedom, democracy and peace.

"Long live May Day, day of international working class solidarity, day of fraternity between the workers of all lands."

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Build United Front In

BURMA

by T. F. McWHINNIE

PART of standard British Imperialist propaganda consists in showing a smiling face to the world as the liberator of colonial peoples to whom, so the story goes, independence was freely and willingly granted following the end of the second world war.

The countries generally cited in this bed-time story for grown-ups, in which Britain plays the part of the fairy godmother, are India, Burma and Ceylon. But a discreet veil is drawn over the bitter and tenacious struggle for freedom carried on by the peoples of the British Empire, particularly since the end of the war.

What constitutes real independence, or to what extent imperialist control in fact still exists, is a question which is sedulously avoided, it being considered outrageously rude to query whether the existence of an Indian, Burmese or Ceylonese Parliament in effect guarantees real independence and freedom to the peoples of these countries.

Burma in this respect provides an excellent illustration of how, behind the façade of independence and political separation from the British Empire, the direction of policy is still subject to the old influences which have controlled Burma for over one hundred years.

Victory Brings New Problems For British Imperialism

THE Singapore dêbacle and the defeat of British arms by the Japanese in Malaya and Burma struck a mortal blow at British prestige in this part of the world. Left alone to deal with a new imperialist occupant, whose cruelty and unpredictable outbursts of ferocity rapidly became a byword, the Burmese people were forced back upon their own resources and took to guerilla resistance.

With the surrender of Japan, therefore, the British were faced with a new situation. They found a people who had gained confidence in themselves and no longer regarded British rule as being eternal nor themselves as an inferior race.

Furthermore, the war had resulted in a great general weakening of British imperialism. Everywhere it turned in its enormous Empire it saw signs that if concessions were not made it would be swept away in a tide of mounting nationalism and would lose all.

Justifying the terms negotiated with India, Sir Stafford Cripps made this point quite clear to the British House of Commons when he told it that the only alternative was to hold India by force—an alternative which was quite impracticable taking into account British imperialism's weakened power. His argument was equally valid for Burma.

The new situation called for new tactics. Brute force gave way to manœuvring aimed at keeping the greatest possible measure of control over the Burmese colony and, in particular, designed to ensure that working class influence in the Burmese national anti-imperialist front which had been formed was eliminated or reduced to a minimum.

Methods of Remote Control

FOUR principal methods were used by the Attlee Government to maintain its influence in Burma. These were:—

(1) To use the monopoly grip of half-a-dozen big British companies on the Burmese economy to maintain the grip of British imperialism while granting a semblance of political freedom.

(2) To engineer splits in the National Front (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League—AFPFL) and to seek allies within the Socialist Party who preferred to co-operate with imperialism rather than with the Burmese masses.

(3) To fight for the strictest possible terms in the treaty which was to define Burmese-British relations.

(4) To create economic and political chaos in the country so as to mould Burma to the wishes of the British Government.

Applying the second method, splits were fomented in the AFPFL. At the end of the war this national front organisation had been composed of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the People's Volunteer Organisation, the latter being the armed forces built up by the Burmese people themselves during the fight against the Japanese occupants. First to be expelled was the Communist Party, followed shortly afterwards by the P.V.O.

Negotiations between the British and Burmese Governments for an independence treaty were dragged on. But British imperialism's delaying tactics also brought dangers in their train. Using the threat of resumed co-operation with the Communist Party and the re-formation of a real National Front, Aung San, leader of the AFPFL, attempted to win further concessions from London.

Shortly afterwards he was butchered in cold blood together with six members of his Cabinet under circumstances which left little doubt that U Saw, the organiser of this mass assassination, was only carrying out his imperial masters' orders.

As a result of this lesson in political gangsterism a much more pliant tool in the person of Thakin Nu succeeded to AFPFL[1] leadership and proceeded to smash any hopes of re-forming an all-inclusive National Front.

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[1]After the expulsion the name Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League was retained, but in fact it was nothing but the Socialist Party.

The great Pagoda at Rangoon, resplendent with gold.

Burmese peasants labour without respite in the rice-fields; yet they are doomed to hunger, for the rice, source of fabulous profits for British capital, is exported.

The So-Called "Independence Treaty"

THREE months after, in October, 1947, a treaty between the Union of Burma and Great Britain was signed which sealed the continuance of British rule under cover of independence.

The terms of the treaty provided that sterling balances amounting to £30,000,000 earned by Burma through the sale of rice, timber and metal to the British Government would be frozen, to be released gradually as British supplies became available.

Burma's currency was firmly tied to the pound sterling with provision made for 100% sterling

backing; and the Currency Board which was set up was established in London with a British chairman. The result was to maintain Burma's finance in the hands of British bankers.

A system of tariffs was imposed under which British, Indian and colonial imports were given degrees of preference over goods from "Foreign" countries, while the privileges of British companies were safeguarded by provisions which obliged the Burmese Government to consult the British Government before nationalising any property belonging to British interests and to guarantee " fair " compensation.

Militarily, the grip of British imperialism was ensured by the rights accorded to Britain to station a Military Mission in Burma and to use the Rangoon, Akyab and Mergui aerodromes. Free passage for British Empire troops was also guaranteed.

However, despite the flood of demagogy being poured out by Burmese Government speakers and by the Press, by the beginning of 1948 it was becoming clear that the Burmese people were seeing through the sham independence granted under the treaty. The danger signal for the Right-wing Socialist-led Government and for the British imperialists was given by a Congress of the All-Burma Peasants' Organisation held in March, 1948, where representatives of 200,000 peasants condemned the Thakin Nu-Attlee treaty.

Taking advantage of the general strike which broke out at this period, the Thakin Nu Government used emergency legislation to suppress civil liberties.

The All-Burma T.U.C., the mass trade union organisation affiliated to the W.F.T.U., which had retained its independence of action and had refused to direct its activities according to the desires of the Right-wing Socialist politicians, had its offices raided and many of its leaders arrested. The Communist Party and the P.V.O., which were putting forward a policy of a militant anti-imperialist front and were exposing Thakin Nu and his Ministers, also came under attack and many of their leaders and members were thrown into jail.

Driven underground, these organisations had no alternative but to defend themselves with arms. The liberation struggle began. Liberated Areas were established and the All-Burma T.U.C. re-constituted itself in these regions.

The sun sets; but the peasants have still to continue at their back-breaking labour.

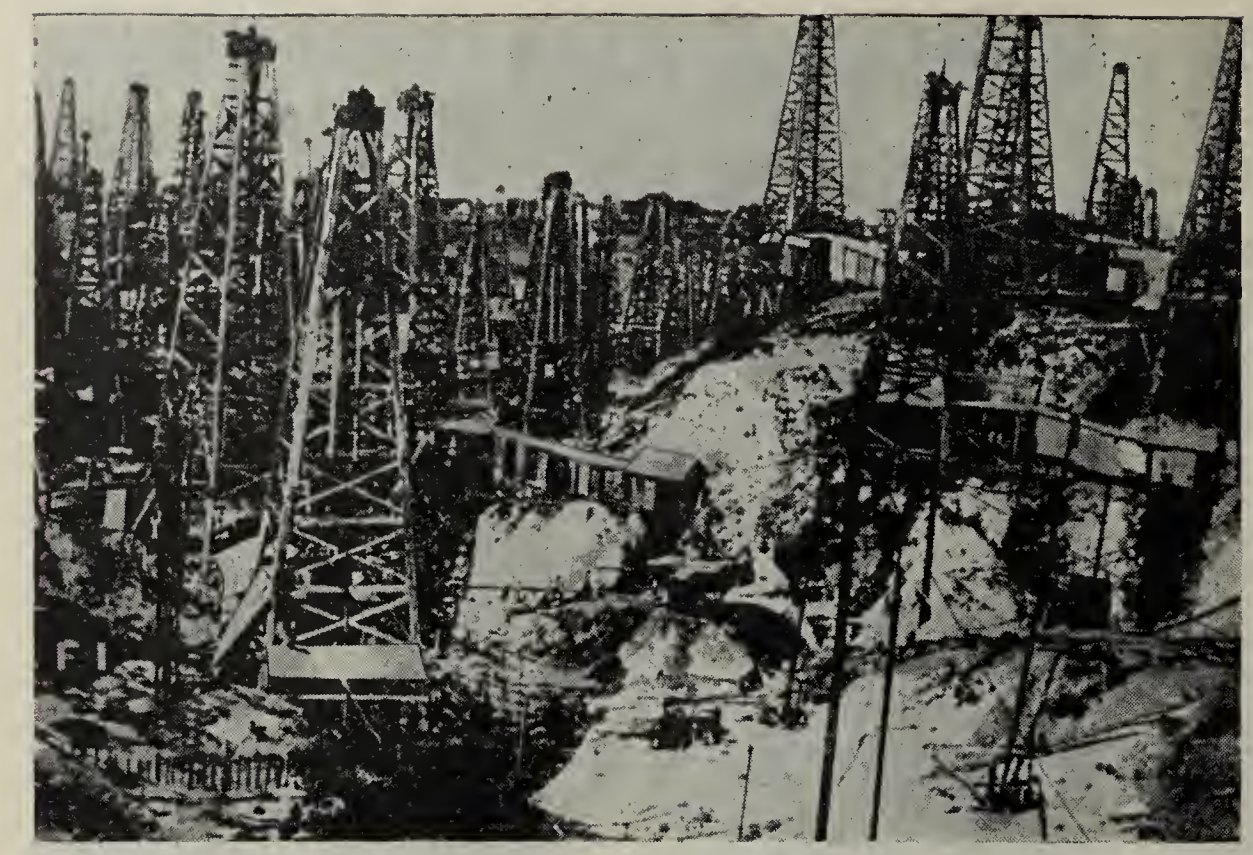
The Imperialists Get Down to Organising Chaos

PARALLEL with the political fight to maintain power through the Right-wing Socialist Party, British imperialism took up the struggle against the Burmese people, who were demanding the nationalisation of foreign-owned monopolies.

So blatant was the power exercised by a handful of British firms, and so widespread the demand for their nationalisation, that the A.F.P.F.L. Government was being forced to take some steps to carry out its original programme laid down at the end of the war.

At that time the main forms of industry and trade were monopolised by the following British companies: the Burmah Oil Company (oil and petroleum), the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation (timber), Steel Brothers (rice and foreign trade), the Burma Corporation and Mawchi Mines (lead, zinc, tin, tungsten and silver) and Lloyd's Bank (banking and currency).

Completing the stranglehold of British interests were the 600 big rice mills owned by British com-



The thick cluster of the Burmah Oil Company's wells

panies and the British-owned Irrawaddy Flotilla Company which monopolised inland water transport.

The A.F.P.F.L. Government, being forced by public pressure to carry out its declared policy, then proceeded to nationalise the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company on terms which were extremely advantageous to this bankrupt undertaking. Timber also was taken over by the Government.

At this point, the other foreign monopolies took a hand in the game.

The Burmah Oil Company not only brought production of oil almost to a standstill but actually dismantled some of the machinery which it had installed after the war as part of its rehabilitation programme. Petroleum production was brought down from the 1939 level of 275.5 million gallons to a 1949 level of 8.5 millions. The oil wells were simply kept "ticking over" in order to preserve the Company's legal title to ownership.

The Burma Corporation and the Mawchi Mines production of raw metals was reduced from the 1939 total of 18,000 tons to a 1949 figure of 4,000 tons, while rubber production was cut from 23.5 million pounds in 1939 to 13.3 millions in 1949.

British banks refused to lend money to the Burmese Government which would have allowed the latter to tide itself over the period between buying the rice crop and selling it.

Under imperialist inspiration, capital, at a time when capital exports were being forbidden by both the British and Indian Governments, flowed out of the country. The extent of this organised financial haemorrhage can be judged by the following figures of the sums which left the country:

1947	10	million rupees[1]
1948	350	,, ,,
1949	220	,, ,,
1950	200	,, ,,

Finally a situation was created in which total production had fallen to about one-third of the pre-war level and the cities were packed with unemployed and semi-employed workers.

The confidence given to foreign firms by the situation which they themselves had created may be judged by the terms proposed by the Burma Corporation for its own "nationalisation."

Under this breath-taking piece of impertinence it was proposed that to the Corporation's assets of 3 crores of rupees[2] the Government should add a further 3 crores and take a 50 per cent. interest in the firm. Thus the Corporation would have doubled its assets without nationalisation and still have retained a 50 per cent. share in the profits.

In agriculture, the A.F.P.F.L. Goverment needed no prodding to defend the interests of the big landlords. As elsewhere in Asia, land reform has become a key point in post-war policy.

Forced to take some steps in this direction, the Government passed a Land Reform Act in 1948 which was to be applied in stages over the next three years to land owned by absentee landlords. This affected about 50 per cent. of the cultivated land.

In order to delay the reform and, if possible, to prove that it was "impracticable," it was decided that one village area would be chosen as an "experiment."

The land was to be divided up and parcelled out in areas capable of being worked by one pair of oxen or one family. But the group of experts and civil servants chosen to apply this "experiment" unexpectedly made it a complete success, so much so that they immediately lost their employment when the results became known.

Instead of land reform the Burmese peasants now have loans, and controlled tenancies and rents, etc. —all giving a magnificent opportunity for corruption to the Government servants and departments engaged in operating this policy.

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[1]The Burmese rupee is worth about one shilling and five pence.

[2]One crore equals 10 millions. Rs. 3 crores = over £2 million.

An Imperialist Inspired Revolt —

BUT the Right-wing Socialist-led Burmese Government was soon to learn that imperialist Britain was not to be satisfied by half-measures. Nothing but complete control over Burmese policy would satisfy the Government in London, which was fully aware of the shaky standing of the AFPFL in the eyes of the Burmese people, who were still exercising strong pressure on Thakin Nu and his Ministers through their mass organisations.

Through British influence over the reactionary feudal leaders of the minority Karen people, who were largely dominated by Christian missionaries (and in particular by the American Baptist Mission), a revolt was staged which threatened to disintegrate the Burmese State and leave the British monopolies complete masters of the situation.

Secret documents passing between British agents, intercepted and published by the Burmese Government, left no doubt as to the responsibility of the Attlee Government in this matter.

The situation became so serious for the Burmese Government that at one time only Rangoon was left in its hands. Seeing the danger of large sections of the Karen masses being won over to a united front of the AFPFL, the Communist forces and the People's Volunteer Organisation, the British quietly changed sides and began to supply arms to the Government. Negotiations were opened and the Karen army was switched over to support of the Government.

But the price of the limited military successes which followed for the Right-wing Socialists was complete subservience to foreign imperialism.

The thoroughly repentant and dependent Burmese Government was given a £6,000,000 loan by Britain and a $7,500,000 loan by Washington, the latter giving the U.S.A. the right to station an Economic Mission in Rangoon. Point 4 and E.C.A. American " assistance " is beginning to flow into the country.

Public acknowledgement of the Right-wing Socialist Party's position as the tame agent of foreign imperialism was made by Thakin Nu at the Eighth Session of the Burmese Parliament when he said that foreign investments could not only provide for companies but could *also* be of benefit to Burma. With his eyes directed across the seas, he added that such investments would be quite safe, as there was no danger of Burma " going Communist."

— And A Mass Revolt

DURING this whole period the Thakin Nu Government was giving a demonstration of demagogy elevated to a method of Government.

With the Burmese people and the mass organisations showing signs of rising anger at the betrayal of the independence movement, the Government attempted to damp down the discontent and deceive the masses by coining Left-wing slogans.

A programme was published which was scarcely distinguishable from that of the Communist Party and which originally even contained a point on the study of Marxism. It was only after intervention by the British Ambassador that this was withdrawn but, nevertheless, Thakin Nu actually published a pamphlet on " How to Study Marxism."

When the people demanded real nationalisation of imperialist companies, measures were passed to " nationalise " steel and atomic energy . . . two entirely non-existent industries in Burma.

With wide demands being made that the Thakin Nu Government should adopt a foreign policy based upon the demands of the world peace movement, the slogans of the Partisans of Peace were taken over and used in an attempt to justify the Government's policy of establishing " peace " in the country by massacring the people in the Liberated Areas.

But no amount of demagogy could any longer conceal that a real peace policy could only be based on a firm anti-imperialist struggle; nor could distorted Left-wing slogans hide that, politically and economically, Burma was back to its pre-war status.

In addition, the impact of the successes of the Chinese Revolution, which showed what could be done by a people determined to fight foreign im-

Knee-deep in water, the peasants re-plant the rice.

perialism and its agents within the country, resulted in a tremendous political awakening among the Burmese people in Government-controlled areas.

The rubber-stamping of U.S.A. aggression in Korea by the right-wing Socialist Government, and the exposure of the atrocities being committed there by imperialist and Syngman Rhee troops added fuel to the flame of discontent which was smouldering in those mass organisations which had hitherto given qualified support to the right-wing Socialist Party.

These organisations were the Trades Union Congress (Burma), the All Burma Peasants Organisation and the Anti-Fascist Women's Freedom League. The student's organisation, too, until recently gave general support to the Socialist Party.

On May Day 1950 expression was given to popular feeling by Thakin Lwin, President of the Trades Union Congress (Burma) who, in his speech, attacked the A.F.P.F.L. for not establishing contacts with the Soviet Union, for inviting foreign capital into Burma and for subjecting the economic rights of the Burmese to foreign reactionaries.

In addition, he called for the affiliation of the T.U.C.(B) to the W.F.T.U. and condemned the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as reactionaries who were trying to lead the Burmese workers into the hands of imperialists.

A few months later, in a speech to Parliament, Thakin Hla Kyway, Vice-President of the T.U.C.(B) took up position against the policy of the Burmese

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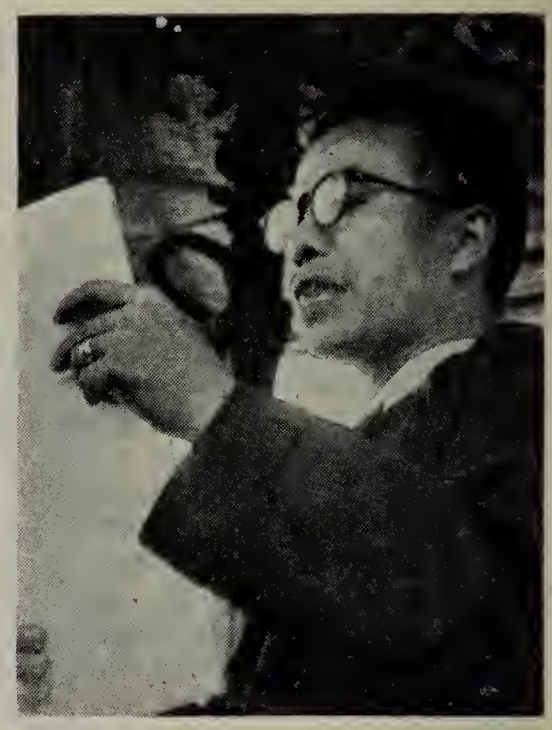

The President of the Burma T.U.C. addressing the final session of the Trade Union Congress.

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Government which supported the condemnation of North Korea as an aggressor.

Both Thakin Lwin and Thakin Hla Kyway were then expelled from the A.F.P.F.L. and the Executive of the T.U.C.(B) suspended "en bloc."

This drastic action taken by Thakin Nu was intended to crush the revolt in the ranks of the right-wing Socialist Party mass organisations and to isolate the leaders of it.

Flags decked the working-class districts of Rangoon in honour of the recent Burma T.U.C. Congress.

Top Right-Wing Socialist Leaders Isolated

BUT Thakin Nu had badly miscalculated the extent and the depth of the discontent within his own party, and in particular among the organisations with a mass membership associated with the A.F.P.F.L.

The attack upon the T.U.C.(B) was the signal for the revolt to spread. Forty-three prominent members of the Socialist Party resigned, amongst them about a dozen Members of Parliament.

Then, in December 1950, the left-wing Socialists and dissidents met and formed the Burma Workers' and Peasants' Party, pledged to a policy of a national anti-imperialist front embracing the working class, peasantry, middle class, indigenous capitalists and patriotic democratic forces. Discontent had taken concrete shape.

The formation of the Burma Workers' and Peasants' Party found wide support among the mass organisations which proceeded to call congresses to deal with the new situation which had arisen. The first congress called took place in January 1951 when the All Burma Peasants' Organisation met in Rangoon.

Knowing that a delegates' congress would certainly give expression to peasant discontent, the Government used every means in an attempt to sabotage this congress. Instructions were issued

that railway tickets were not to be sold to persons journeying to Rangoon as delegates, and in one case the regular weekly sailing of a coastal ship was cancelled to prevent a group of peasant delegates reaching the congress.

Despite such tactics the congress brought together 250 delegates from 50 townships and 16 districts who voted for support of the Workers' and Peasants' Party programme.

One month later, on February 9th, the Trades Union Congress (Burma) also met. This congress was attended by a W.F.T.U. delegation which, in response to an invitation from the T.U.C.(B), went to Burma to investigate the situation and to make recommendations regarding the request made for affiliation to the W.F.T.U.

One hundred and seventy-two delegates were present, representing an affiliated membership of 20,000 workers from the main industries in the country. The general programme adopted by the congress calls for a fight to exterminate imperialism and puts forward as an ultimate aim the realisation of a Socialist State in Burma.

A detailed programme of economic and social demands was adopted including the 40-hour week, the abolition of the contract labour system, a minimum basic wage of 40 rupees (approx. £3) per month, paid holidays, social security, etc. The programme further calls for the nationalisation of all industries owned by the imperialists, and recognises the need for the working class to seek allies among the other exploited sections of the Burmese people, leading them in a People's Democratic Front.

The congress also decided to change the name of the organisation to the Burma Trades Union Congress (B.T.U.C.), leaving the name of T.U.C.(B) to the few thousand members of the Government-supported rump which still maintains co-operation with the right-wing Socialist Party.

A Burmese girl decorates Liu Ning-yi, leader of the W.F.T.U. delegation, on his arrival in Rangoon.

The W.F.T.U. delegation to the Burma T.U.C. Congress leaving the 'plane. Centre: Liu Ning-yi, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour. Left: The Chinese Ambassador to Burma.

Perspective of a Real Anti-Imperialist Movement

WITH Thakin Nu and his Ministers in the process of being exposed and isolated from the mass organisations, with seven million people out of a total population of 17 millions now living in the Liberated Areas, and with the policy of a People's Democratic Front being pursued both by the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Government-controlled areas and by the liberation forces in the Liberated Areas, the prospects of a real national anti-imperialist front in Burma are bright.

The warm welcome given to the W.F.T.U. delegation, not only by the Burmese working class but by the widest sections of the people, shows the tremendous influence which the trade union movement, and the working class movement in general, enjoy in Burma amongst the population as a whole. The people are looking to the workers for a lead. In this situation the workers have a cardinal role to play in organising the struggle for the people's rights against imperialism and against those who, within the country, would sell out to it.

In this struggle, the necessity is paramount for united action between all workers, no matter to what trade union or political organisation they belong. It is only around this core of a united working class that a real national independence movement can be built. There can be no differences

which would separate Burmese workers whether they live under the control of the A.F.P.F.L. Government or in the Liberated Areas.

And the growing isolation of the top right-wing Socialist Party leaders from the mass of the workers must be hastened by a policy of united action between the workers of the B.T.U.C. and the group, be it ever so small, which, through fear of reprisals, still maintains allegiance to the Government-supported T.U.C.(B).

Properly applied, with both sectarianism and opportunism eliminated, this policy can open up a road to the eradication of imperialist influence, to real independence and to an improvement in the living standards of the workers and peasants such as Burma has never known.

For Bread, Peace and National Independence

IRANIAN PEOPLE FIGHTS BRITISH OIL TRUST

by Iradj Eskandary

THE unanimous ratification by the Iranian Parliament of the law nationalising oil (on March 17, 1951) set all the wheels of the Anglo-American propaganda machine in motion. Faced with this law, the Anglo-American experts agreed on the line to be followed; it was to be a simple association of cause and effect. Had not the ratification been preceded by the assassination of the Prime Minister Razmara? Thus, the vote was the sequel to the assassination.

However, nothing could be further from reality than this argument. A thorough study of the economic and social situation in Iran over the past year reveals that the vote on nationalisation had for a long time been inevitable owing to popular pressure.

In a preceding article* we analysed the economic and social situation in Iran, the main features of which are the dreadful poverty of the working people, the archaic system of land ownership, the shameful exploitation of the natural wealth of the country by foreign imperialism, and the crushing burden of war preparations.

This already catastrophic situation became still worse in the course of the first two months of 1951. According to official statistics published by the *Review* of the National Bank of Iran, a new rise of 10 per cent. in the price of foodstuffs took place in January 1951, while the prices of wool and cotton goods rose by 40 per cent. and 90 per cent. respectively.

The poverty of the population reached such a point that according to the Iranian newspaper *Keyan* "an unusual cold spell having destroyed the locusts which had invaded the area of Now-Bandan (southern region of Iran), the starving inhabitants were overjoyed to find in these frozen insects a means of mitigating their hunger."

The increasing poverty of the working class and the inhuman conditions in which the Iranian population lives is such that even the official newspaper *Ettelaat* had to admit, in an article published last February, that "the workers are overburdened with all kinds of duties and taxes, without counting what is stolen from their daily wages by means of indirect taxes." And this Government newspaper specified that "these taxes are not paid into the State Treasury, but go to swell the pockets of parasites who are only concerned with their own pleasures. The members of the working classes can no longer live under such conditions."

After recalling that "the ruling class lives only by the labour of these workers," the official newspaper issued this warning: "If we take no heed of the conditions of our fellow citizens who create wealth and live in poverty, their discontent will take on more and more dangerous forms, finally becoming uncontrollable."

*See "World Trade Union Movement" No. 2 (January 20, 1951): "Conditions of the Working People in Iran."

The Iranian people refuse to back the Anglo-American Imperialists' policy of war and starvation. Our picture shows an impressive demonstration at Babol, near Teheran, on April 6th, 1951.

A Budget which Overburdens the Poor and Protects the Rich

A RAPID examination of the Iranian State Budget gives a still clearer idea of the catastrophic situation of the economy of the country.

Out of a total of about 8,000 million rials (Iranian currency unit worth about 1½d.) representing the budget revenues, more than 6,000 millions are to be raised by indirect taxes and State monopolies; this means that about three-quarters of the budget receipts are to be obtained through the different charges made upon the ordinary people, while direct taxes, affecting the wealthy privileged classes, amount to only 721 million rials.

A sum of only 930 million rials (approx. £5,812,500 sterling) is anticipated from the entire royalties that the government expects to receive from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. (In comparison the tax alone collected by the British Government from this firm is at the rate of 15 to 20 million pounds sterling a year!) The rest of the revenues is met by customs duties.

The budget expenditure for the same financial year (1950-1951) is about 11,500 million rials, representing a deficit of 3,500 million rials.

In fact, the budget deficit is even larger, for in view of the economic situation of the country and the increased poverty of the population, there is little hope that tax returns will exceed those of the preceding years. The budget deficit of the preceding financial year reached about 4,000 million rials. To fill this gap between receipts and expenditure, the government has so far resorted to loans from the Iranian National Bank, which has placed the Bank of Issue in a situation approaching bankruptcy.

Imperialist Contradictions and Antagonisms

THIS explains the growing difficulties which the government has encountered since the end of 1950 in fulfilling State obligations.

In fact, the coffers of the State and of the Bank were empty to the point where the government has been unable to pay the salaries of its civil servants for 4 months.

About 75 per cent. of planned expenditure is destined for the War Office, armaments, the police and the construction of strategic roads, ports and airfields.

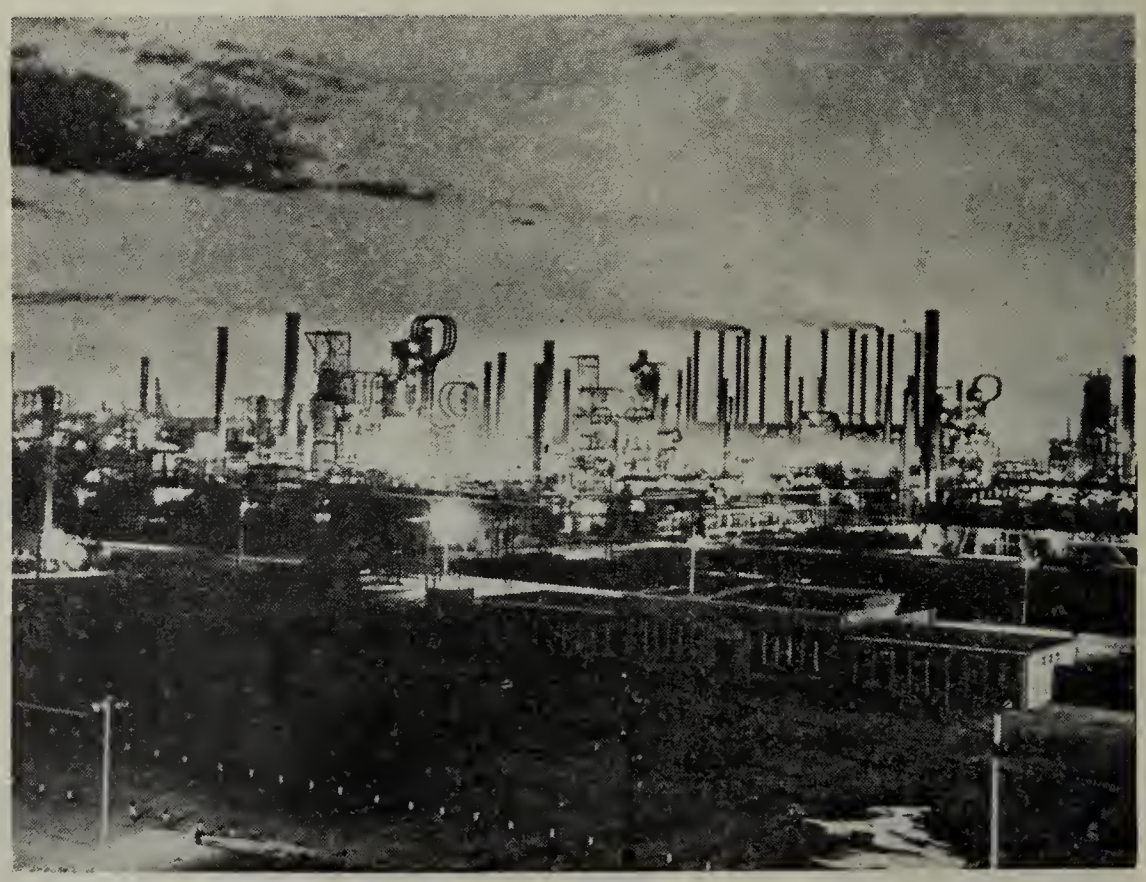
Thus the Iranian people, overwhelmed by poverty and savagely exploited by the Anglo-American imperialists, must also pay the enormous costs of preparing an aggressive war which their United States and British rulers are plotting against the neighbour of Iran, the USSR.

This disastrous situation is due in great part to the activities of Anglo-American imperialism which, while systematically plundering the natural wealth of the country and shamefully exploiting the Iranian workers, at the same time makes the people pay the costs of preparing a new war of aggression.

However, there is far from complete harmony between these two imperialist powers in Iran. It is true that the British and the Americans agree on the actual principle of exploiting the Iranian people, on plundering the natural wealth of the country, on the utilisation of Iran as a base of aggression against the Soviet Union, and on the repression of the people's movement; but it is no less true that serious differences of opinion and rivalries separate them as to who is to administer Iran.

In order to carry out their imperialist plans, each of the two rival partners supports a section of the ruling classes (feudal elements, landowners, rich bourgeoisie).

This is yet another confirmation of the essential principle



Anglo-Iranian Oil Company refineries at Abadan by night, a symbol of the power of this giant monopoly which extracts millions of pounds from Iranian oil.

A large section of the Iranian population dwells in hovels—distinctive sign of the semi-colonial situation of the country.

☆

After a life spent in labour, this old peasant has no food to appease his hunger and no clothes but these rags.

underlying Anglo-American relations in Iran as everywhere else in the Middle East since the end of the second world war: unceasing struggle to occupy the predominating position, on the one hand; and alliance against the working-class and democratic forces on the other.

The most important point of friction between the two rival imperialist powers is, of course, the problem of the administration of the Iranian oil fields.

In fact, with oil reserves of 7,000 million barrels (1,000 million tons) and an annual output of more than 30 million tons, Iran occupies fourth place among the oil producing countries of the world.

But this quantitative estimate of production in relation to world output is not sufficient to explain the real importance of the Iranian oil fields. It is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that reduced production costs are greatly to the advantage of the monopolists. Because of the low wages paid to Iranian workers and the fact that the drilled wells are never very deep (usually about 1,000 metres) so that the natural gas pressure avoids costly pumping and machinery, Iranian oil is extremely profitable.

In addition, home consumption being very low (300,000 tons per year) the exportable margin of oil is considerable.

Enormous Profits of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Monopoly

SINCE the day in 1901 when the Australian adventurer William Knox d'Arcy obtained, for the modest sum of 200,000 francs, a 70-year concession to explore and exploit oil resources on the whole of the Iranian territory (with the exception of five northern provinces), British imperial-

ism has held a monopoly over the exploitation of this product in Iran.

In 1909, the British Admiralty had the D'Arcy enterprise refloated by the Burmah Oil Company which set up the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Then, in 1914, the Admiralty, that is to say the British Government, became a main stockholder in this company and later increased its holdings so that at the present time, it owns 56 per cent. of the initial capital of £13,425,000.

This firm, which now bears the title of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, following the official changing of Persia's name, is today, the third largest oil trust in the world, coming after Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell.

On April 30, 1933, under the dictatorship of Reza Shah, a new agreement was signed between the Iranian Government and the British Company extending the duration of the concession until 1993. To make the Iranian people believe that the new agreement had not been concluded without *quid pro quo*, the British monopoly agreed to reduce the extent of the concession to 100,000 sq. miles and contracted to pay the Iranian government 4s (gold) a metric ton with a minimum guarantee of £750,000 a year.

Abadan, the port British monopoly capitalism constructed in order to drain off, to its sole advantage, Iran's abundant oil resources.

If one considers that the area of the concession agreed upon covers a surface almost equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the company paid at the same time more than a million pounds in taxes to London, one can easily understand that in comparison with the advantages granted to the British monopoly under the continuation of its concession, the "counterpart" was indeed very slight, if not illusory.

In addition to the great refinery in Abadan, which is the largest in the world with an output capacity of 400,000 barrels per day (about 54,000 tons), this gigantic British trust possesses refineries in England, France and in Australia, and its network of subsidiaries extends throughout the world.

It holds shares not only in the oil of Iran, but it also operates in the oil fields of South America, East Africa, South Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine and Ceylon. According to an unofficial estimate, this monster monopoly has in 1950 drained more than £250 million in profits from Iran, whereas the official balance sheet of the Company admits a net profit of £142 million over the past three years.

The American Monopolies Begin Their Offensive

IN such a situation, it is not astonishing that other birds of prey, attracted by the booty, should attempt to seize it.

Even before the end of the second world war, American oil monopolies had demanded concessions in Iran. The new relation of forces created by the war resulted in their demanding a new share-out of the sources of raw materials, particularly oil.

The efforts of Standard Oil and of the Sinclair Companies having failed in 1944 as a result of the intrigues of the British monopolies, the rival trusts became locked in struggle throughout the entire Middle East and more particularly in Iran. A first agreement signed at Washington on August 8, 1944, "designed to institute world control of the production and distribution of oil" was not ratified by the American Senate which felt that the American monopolies were strong enough to crush their adversaries by other means.

But the growth of the working-class movement in Iran during the years 1945 and 1946, the victories won by the Iranian working class under the leadership of the Central Council of Unified Trade Unions, and the mass strikes of the oil field workers (May 10-July 14, 1946) led British imperialism to make certain concessions over the Iranian oil fields with the aid of the American Government.

Under the agreement signed on December 26, 1946, between Anglo-Iranian on the one hand, and Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony Vacuum Oil Company on the other, the British trust undertook to sell 20 per cent. of the annual Iranian production to American firms at the Persian Gulf price, that is to say at a very profitable price for the American firms.

But this was only a slight victory for the powerful American monopolies who were aiming at complete control over the Iranian oil fields. In order to achieve this aim, American imperialism planned to take over control of the entire economic organisation of the country by financing a scheme worked out by its own technicians and called the "Seven Year Plan for the Development of Iran."

The story of the political events of the last three years, of the succession of Governments and of political assassinations is in the main the story of Anglo-American rivalries over the control of this so-called "economic plan."

In looking for the real causes of the assassination of Razmara, it should be observed that it took place at the

A girl student, symbol of the new youth of Iran, speaking at the peace meeting in Babol.

end of three years of bitter fighting between British and American monopolies for control of the "Seven Year Plan," or in other words, for the control of the economic organisation of the country.

The Fight For Control of the Seven-Year Plan

TO recount the history of this famous "Seven-Year Plan" and to describe the political intrigues of the two rival imperialist powers on this subject, would go beyond the limits of this article.

It is interesting nevertheless to note that it is behind the front of this so-called economic plan that the ruthless fight between the Anglo-American oil trusts in Iran developed.

The mere fact that Max Thornberg, Vice-President of Standard Oil of California, was sent to Iran at the head of the American experts of the Association of Overseas Consultants Incorporated, to direct the organisation of the "plan" is in itself significant.

It is equally due to the efforts of this same Mr. Thornberg that the "Supreme Council of the Plan" decided in 1949 to form the so-called "Iranian Oil Corporation." This Corporation has in practice been inactive because of British opposition and the successive changes in the management of the plan (depending on whether the Administration was controlled by an Anglophile or an Americanophile), but it has always served as a serious means of blackmail against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The trip made to Teheran by MacGhee, American State Department adviser, was the culminating point in the campaign carried on by the American monopolists against the oil interests of Great Britain. Furthermore, Max Thornberg, liaison official for the American Oil Companies, keeps up good connections with Iranian politicians, some of whom belong to the "National Front."

This fact is significant because the head of the "National Front" is the President of the Parliamentary Oil Commission, and is generally considered to be the initiator of the nationalisation plan.

However, care must be taken not to exaggerate the influence of American intrigues on the progress of events in Iran. These intrigues, however subtle, can only account for part of the situation, namely the success of the American monopolies in winning a section of the Iranian ruling classes over to their side.

Popular Pressure Forces Nationalisation of Oil

IT is a well-known fact that the present Iranian Parliament is composed mainly of members who are tied body and soul to British interests.

How then, can one account for the "miracle" of a Parliament with an Anglophile majority unanimously voting against the most important base of British imperialism in Iran?

In reality, *this "miracle" is the exclusive work of the Iranian people,* who, by their determined action, forced a reactionary Parliament to vote for a law which struck a serious blow at British interests.

Even at the beginning of 1950, a number of actions in support of economic demands, such as the strike of the Chahi textile workers, that of the workers of Ispahan, the demonstrations of unemployed in Teheran and Ispahan, and still others, showed that popular discontent had risen to such a pitch that martial law and a regime based on the police could no longer prevent it from being expressed openly.

On the other hand, the policy of military preparations, together with the arrival of American war material directed against the USSR, has been causing, and not without reason, growing anxiety among the Iranian people—not to mention the harmful effects that such a policy is having on the standard of living of the population and on the economy of the country.

The great expansion of the peace movement in 1950 was the Iranian people's retort to the warmongers as well as the demonstration of its determination to defend peace.

In spite of repressive laws, an Iranian Peace Council was set up with the participation of eminent personalities representing political, academic, and religious groups throughout Iran; and within a very short period (a month

Women demonstrators in Teheran. Their banner declares: "We do not want the same fate as Korea."

Nothing can stop the Iranian people from rallying to smash the privileges of the Iranian Oil Company and to demand its nationalisation.

and-a-half) more than 500,000 signatures had been obtained in Teheran for the Stockholm Appeal.

The peace movement has taken on such dimensions that all attempts by reactionary circles and the government to make it illegal have failed owing to the unanimous opposition of public opinion.

Working-Class Victories

AVAILING himself of the panicky atmosphere created by the news about the Korean war, the American Ambassador Grady, on the very day that American aggression in Korea began, was successful in his efforts to have Razmara accepted as candidate for the Premiership. At the Royal Palace and in Parliament there had been, until then, some reluctance to accept him as Prime Minister. Razmara was known as the man advocating the "Truman Doctrine" as well as "Point 4."

He was assigned the task of ending the state of unrest caused by the awakening of popular feeling, and of lining up the country on the side of Anglo-American policy in the Middle East; furthermore, he was to implement the so-called Seven-Year Plan, as an instrument of the economic and military domination of the USA in Iran.

But the breadth of the popular movement for bread and democracy, as well as the tremendous growth of the peace movement—which developed as the news spread of American atrocities and inhuman bombardments of the civilian population in Korea—were such that the Iranian Parliament had to restrict Razmara's powers instead of granting him the emergency ones he was asking for.

Thus, the law authorising the government to proclaim a state of emergency—a law which for 10 years had been the main weapon of anti-working class repression—was amended on January 4, 1951, in such a way as to be practically repealed. And on January 23, the law restricting the Press, which gave the government arbitrary powers to suspend any newspaper opposing its policy, was completely repealed under the pressure of the popular movement, which was winning victory after victory.

On February 12, 1,200 textile workers in Semnan (a northern town) came out on strike following the arrest by the police of three shop stewards who had been instructed to bring the workers' claims before the factory management.

In addition to the immediate release of their comrades, the strikers called for a wage increase commensurate with the rise in the cost of living, and also for payment to young workers of 16 to 18 years of age at least equal to that of non-skilled workers.

After a strike lasting 72 hours, the management of the factory was forced to accept all the conditions demanded by the workers. The strike ended after the release of the shop stewards, to the cries of "Long live working-class solidarity, long live the working class!"

Several days after this victorious strike, all the drivers on the Iranian Railways, totalling one thousand men, stopped work to support their claim for wage increases, made necessary by the rise in the cost of living.

In spite of the fierce resistance of the government to these just claims, the strikers, supported by all the workers, who showed in many ways their solidarity with the engine-drivers, succeeded after 28 days in compelling the management of the State-run railways to grant their demands. This victory was greeted by public opinion in a demonstration along the route leading to the Central Railway Station which the strikers took when they returned to work.

Shortly after, it was the turn of the textile workers of Ispahan, who came out on strike against mass dismissals, the shutting-down of factories, the lengthening of the working day and the reduction of their wages. In a petition addressed to the Minister of Labour, the strikers demanded the application of the 8-hour day, a minimum wage "protecting the workers at least from hunger," and measures guaranteeing trade union liberties.

The Iranian People Wants Peace

RESULTS have been no less significant in the fight for peace. The American aggression in Korea aroused general indignation among the Iranian people, not only among the working class but also within the bourgeoisie and middle classes.

Under pressure from public opinion, most of the Iranian

Workers and students united against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's plunder of their national resources, organise mighty joint demonstrations in Teheran.

newspapers, of differing views, came out in favour of the Korean people.

On the initiative of the Iranian Peace Committee, hundreds of protests were sent to the United States Embassy in Teheran.

At the same time, there was an increasingly strongly-voiced demand for Government recognition of the great Chinese People's Republic. Questions have been put down in the National Assembly regarding the attitude of the Government's representative at the United Nations, who had voted for the American motion condemning People's China as an "aggressor."

Faced with this increasingly determined campaign by the entire Iranian people, the Government of Iran has been obliged to adopt a "neutral" attitude—to sign a trade agreement with the USSR, to ban the warmongering "Voice of America" broadcasts and the BBC programmes, and to dismiss the American "Seven-Year Plan" experts who were costing the Iranian people 4 million dollars annually in salaries.

The imperialist Press of the Atlantic Pact countries is getting worried. The reactionary American *Time* magazine had to admit in an article on Iran that the main feature of the general situation today was the "complete distrust of the Americans and British." The article went on to say: "Iran no longer believes in the USA. When the first shipment of tanks and howitzers of a U.S. military aid programme recently arrived in Iran, it was met with distinct coolness by the Iranian officials and people." In short, "Iran is slipping out of our hands . . . "

This confession of the failure of American policy in Iran confirms what we have said above on the growth of the people's movement and the Iranian people's clear-cut determination to put an end to imperialist domination, the sources of poverty, oppression and war.

The Working Masses Fight For Independence

THESE facts show that the situation is not caused solely by large-scale intrigues between the British and American oil monopolies.

These intrigues obviously play their part in worsening the economic and financial situation of the country. They determine the behaviour of one section of the Iranian ruling class, but they cannot be considered as a decisive factor in the present situation in Iran.

Neither American intrigues against the British oil monopoly, the much-belated "sudden patriotism" of the Iranian ruling class, nor the assassination of Razmara, were sufficient to prompt the reactionary deputies and senators of the Iranian Parliament to adopt a law nationalising the oil industry. *The sole real artisan of this measure was the Iranian people* who, in their daily struggle for bread, freedom and peace, are logically brought into opposition with foreign imperialism, largely responsible for most of their suffering.

The alliance between these two great popular trends—the fight for bread and freedom on the one hand, and the fight for peace on the other—gave exceptional scope to the movement against imperialism in general and against the Anglo-Iranian monopoly in particular. Since November 1950, no popular demonstration or fight for economic demands has taken place without the adoption of a resolution against imperialism and its most powerful tool in the country, the Anglo-Iranian oil trust.

Particularly notable in this respect were the great popular demonstrations of December 13th and 25th, 1950 in Teheran, in which thousands of workers, artisans, students and a section of the national bourgeoisie took part.

On March 2nd, 1951 a great peace demonstration brought together 50,000 people who marched through the streets of Teheran, while one week later in the same town, an impressive women's demonstration took place.

On March 7th, 1951 nation-wide demonstrations were organised by the "National Association of Struggle Against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." Marchers in these demonstrations combined slogans demanding the nationalisation of the oil industry, opposition to the Anglo-American warmongers and the "capitalist starvers of the people" and calling for complete freedom for all political and trade union organisations.

Overwhelmed by the masses' forceful campaign, Parliament was forced on March 17th to adopt the law nationalising the oil industry. Not a single deputy or senator dared to oppose the measure. But terrified by the turn of events and faced with the mounting flood of popular movement, the Government sought once more to use martial law to prevent public opinion from being expressed. However, the strikes in Teheran and Ispahan, and the mass strikes of oil-field workers in Abadan, Bandare-Maachaur, and Agha-Djari, show that the Iranian people is resolved to pursue its action until the final conquest of national independence.

The oil-field workers' strike which began on March 24th, was still in progress at the time of writing. In spite of provocations by agents of the Company and despite ruthless repression, which has caused scores of victims, the movement, far from declining, grew daily. The number of strikers had risen from 5,000 to 40,000.

Today, the Iranian working class, and particularly the oil-field workers, often at the cost of their lives, are fighting courageously in the very den of the many-tentacled monopoly to ensure that the nationalisation law is put into effect.

Defying the threat of British cruisers and backed by the entire Iranian people, they will be capable of defeating all the manoeuvres of the Anglo-American imperialists and of rendering ineffective the bargaining going on between Washington, London and Teheran.

INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS ATTENDED BY THE W.F.T.U. IN 1951

February 9—12
Rangoon Burmah T.U.C. Congress.
Representing the W.F.T.U.: Liu Ning-yi T. F. McWhinnie

February 12—13
Geneva 3rd Session of the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee (I.L.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: J. Wolfard

February 20—March 21
Santiago de Chile 12th Session of the Economic and Social Council (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: P. Saad, G. Fischer, D. Soto, E. Kahn

February 28—Mareh 7
Lahore (Pakistan) 7th Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: Liu Ning-yi, M. Afzal, T. F. McWhinnie

March 6—10
Geneva 114th Session of the I.L.O. Governing Body.
Representing the W.F.T.U.: F. Santi, J. Wolfard

Mareh 16—21
Geneva 2nd Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations on Migration.
Representing the W.F.T.U.: J. Wolfard

March 19—22
Geneva 5th Session of the Housing Sub-Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: M. Wolfard

Mareh 23—25
Berlin European Workers' Conference.
Representing the W.F.T.U.: L. Saillant

Mareh 19—April 13
Geneva 7th Scssion of thc Social Commission (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: J. Wolfard

April 10—11
Paris 2nd General Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers.
Representing thc W.F.T.U.: G. Fischer

April 16—May 19
Geneva 7th Session of the Human Rights Commission (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: G. Fischer, Vonwiller

April 30
New York 5th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (U.N.O.)
Representing the W.F.T.U.: E. Kahn

THE BURIAL OF A MURDERED STRIKER

A Chapter from

" UNDERGROUND ROADS TO FREEDOM "

by JORGE AMADO

EDITOR'S NOTE

" The Burial of a Murdered Striker " is a chapter from the new novel which Jorge Amado, the great Brazilian author, is working on at present. This novel, which is entitled " Underground Roads to Freedom," is the first volume of a trilogy in which, under the general title of " The Stone Wall," the author describes the struggle of the Brazilian people, and particularly the working class, against Fascism and Imperialism, for peace and the liberation of Brazil. The action of this cycle of novels begins in 1937 and continues to the present day. The first volume deals with the period from 1937 to 1940.

DISTURBING rumours were circulating in the streets of Santos such as to cause the more timid shopkeepers to shut up shop. On their way to work, many people saw agents of the secret police seizing from the newspaper stands copies of a local daily which had published, as a paid insertion, an invitation from the Stevedores' Union to its members, to all workers in the town and to the population in general to attend the burial of the murdered stevedore.

Although the wording of the invitation was quite non-committal, the other newspapers had prudently refused to publish it, fearing subsequent difficulties with the censorship. Around 10 o'clock in the morning, special buses began to arrive from Sao Paulo bringing in military and plain-clothes policemen. Random arrests were made in the streets. The guard had been reinforced at the port, police cars sped through the town and people discussed in hushed voices the threats made in the shops by the "coppers" that "a lot of blood will flow today." At midday, school teachers told the children to go straight home and not to loiter in the streets. Passers-by were surprised to see on the walls in the working-class districts and even in the centre of the town subversive slogans, which had been put up during the night in spite of the police vigilance.

"These Communist devils are everywhere" was the remark made in the trams, and many people smiled up their sleeves a smile of complicity.

These admiring remarks reached their zenith at midday when the shops and offices closed for lunch, and a shower of leaflets began to rain down from a skyscraper in the main square on the crowd waiting at the bus stops. These leaflets protested against the presence of the police, called for solidarity with the strikers and invited everyone to attend the burial of Bartolomeu.

Plain clothes police appeared on all sides. rushed towards the skyscraper, some posting themselves in the doorway, others invading the offices of the many-storeyed building. Finally, in the lavatories on the top floor, the small window of which overlooked the square, they discovered the remains of the rope which had served as part of the ingenious contraption set up by some comrade responsible for making the leaflet raid. But it proved impossible to find the author of this act; he had had the time to make himself scarce, and since the lavatories were used by the offices of the entire floor, which was occupied by lawyers, dentists' and doctors' consulting rooms, it was impossible to establish a direct link between any of the tenants and the leaflet raid. Nothing was brought to light by the police interrogation.

In the square, other policemen were brutally snatching the leaflets from the eager hands of the passers-by, but many of them succeeded in concealing the dangerous scrap of paper in order to pass it on. The burial was announced for four o'clock that afternoon.

On their way back to work after lunch, the inhabitants of Santos found military policemen posted along the entire route which the funeral was to take. Mounted police commanded by hard-faced hostile officers also patrolled these streets. Many people had stayed at home after lunch fearing to get mixed up in any outbreaks; but many others had gone into town to see the funeral from their friends' office windows. General excitement was increased by the news that the workers of several factories had downed tools for the afternoon to go to the funeral. From time to time, the screeching of a police-car siren brought curious faces to the windows of business premises. At three o'clock in the afternoon a mounted military police squad was posted in the main square and another took up position in the avenue leading to the big hotel on the beach which housed the offices of the Ministry of Labour.

Marcos de Souza left his automobile in a near-

by side-street and walked towards the square. He did not know where the starting point of the funeral procession would be and he had no idea of the street where the mortuary stood, so he decided to stay where he was to await the arrival of the procession and then to join it. After lunch, he had telephoned his office in Sao Paulo to learn that there was also an atmosphere of agitation in the capital as there had been work stoppages in a number of factories. In "Comendadora" Da Torre's big textile plant, the police had ended a meeting called during the dinner-hour at the main gates of the factory by firing on the crowd.

This news had also reached the hotel which housed the Minister. Delegate Barros had come down after lunch to make sure that his orders had been fully carried out: he was responsible for the security of the Ministry and that morning he had received a telephone call from Rio de Janeiro from Filinto Muller, Chief of the Federal Police, who was worried at the turn taken by events. The Police Chief had recommended firmness in putting down the strike: "Don't allow any speeches, slogans or banners at the funeral. Break the gang up at the slightest sign of a demonstration against the Government, and bury the fellow yourselves. Don't forget that their cause is furthered by one single death, but that our own gains from twenty deaths."

Barros repeated Filinto Muller's statement to Pereira do Vale, Artur Carneiro Macedo da Rocha and Eusebio Lima (the Minister had not yet come down from his bedroom, having stayed up late the night before drinking). Pereira do Vale said approvingly:

"He's right; a few arrests and dismissals among the stevedores only stir up the strike. But with firm action, jailing half of them, sacking a lot of them en masse and a few hundred prosecutions, the strike will be over in no time. It's got to be smashed before it spreads to industry."

"Comendadora" Da Torre came up to the group, full of irritation at the news from Sao Paulo. Waving a dry mummy-like finger (whose long nail was painted a brilliant red) in the face of the man responsible for political and social order, she shouted at him:

"What are you doing here? Have you come to take a dip in the sea or to choose your disguise for the party this evening?"

Surprised at the bitter words of the millionnairess, Barros answered very humbly:

"But, Comendadora! . . "

"Don't give me any buts, or half-buts. . . The devil knows what's going on in my factory in Sao Paulo while you're here sunning yourself. Meetings, strikes, agitation . . . After all, why give so much money to the police if it doesn't do anything . . ."

She would not listen to Barros's explanations; Artur Carneiro Macedo da Rocha succeeded in calming her with his well modulated voice and aristocratic gestures:

"The delegate is here to discuss with us the necessary measures to put an end to all this subversive agitation. The centre of all this trouble is the stevedores' strike in Santos. That's the first of the Hydra's heads to be cut off. When that's gone, the rest will quickly calm down."

"Let him cut it off immediately, then, and effectively. After all, why is he responsible for maintaining political order? Let him show what he's capable of if he doesn't want to lose his job . . ."

Barros tried to wheedle his way back into her good graces; he knew her to be powerful, capable of making or breaking in the political sphere, her every wish being granted by the dictator.

"I've already received a message about your factory from Sao Paulo, Comandadora. Everything is in order. The Communists tried to hold a meeting, but my men got there in time and broke everything up, arresting the ringleaders. Don't be afraid . . . "

"Me, afraid? I'm not frightened by grimaces. I'm merely surprised to see that the Communists can still run meetings and strikes although the police possess every method of preventing them. What have we created the New State for? Just so that everything will go on as before? Nowadays, no-one, no Deputy, judge or journalist, can call the police to account. The gentlemen of the police can do what they like. And what happens in the meantime: strikes, meetings, insulting funerals . . . So what is the police doing?"

She turned towards Pereira do Vale:

"This burial . . . it's stupid. I just met Rosette and Suzanne. The poor little things don't even know whether it's safe to go down for a bathe, they're afraid . . . and poor little Alfred shut himself in his room . . . Families can't even live in peace."

Barros assured her that they could go for a swim in complete security. The police could not prevent the funeral from taking place, but at the slightest attempt to turn it into a demonstration they would disperse it; they would follow the Rio police chief's instructions to the letter. The streets were well guarded, particularly those leading to the hotel. If the strikers dared to take the slightest action, they would feel the full blast of the consequences . . .

"If they dared . . . if they dared . . . ," repeated the "Comendadora" sarcastically. "I don't deny that your Mr. Barros has his qualities. I have already been told that he knows how to deal with those people when he gets his hands on one of them. The only thing he hasn't got is intelligence. With an opportunity like today's in front of him, when they will all be in the streets, he's still at the point of waiting for them to dare. . . If they dare . . . He repeats Major Filinto's words like a parrot, without understanding them."

"Without understanding them?"

"He didn't tell you to wait until they dare to do something . . . Why wait?"

"It is time to be forceful, even violent," agreed Pereira do Vale. "These people must be taught a lesson."

* *

Marcos de Souza, seated on a bench in the square to await the funeral procession, saw the delegate for political and social order get out of an automobile, approach the officer commanding the cavalry patrol and begin to converse with the inspectors. He knew Barros by sight and wondered what he was up to, what orders he was giving the police. The burial of the unknown stevedore had taken on a very special significance for Marcos. It had become a personal matter since yesterday evening when he himself had painted that slogan on a wall. He felt he had arrived at a decisive point in his existence, as if, today, he were to bury alongside the murdered worker the former Marcos de Souza who had also died the died before.

About five o'clock in the afternoon the funeral procession appeared at the entrance to the square. The windows were already crammed with curious onlookers attracted by the sound of the funeral march played by the "November 15th" Band*, made up mostly of amateur worker musicians, which was bringing up the rear of the procession. At the head of the procession, in front of the men who were taking turns in carrying the coffin, a huge docker advanced bearing aloft the stevedores' union banner. A great bareheaded and serious-faced crowd followed behind the coffin. When the procession entered the square, the coffin was being carried by Oswaldo and Aristides, by representatives of workers in local industries and by the brother of the dead man. The coffin was shrouded in a Brazilian flag.

The driver of a passing tram stopped his vehicle and took off his cap. The passengers leaned out of the window to look. Passers-by halted on the pavements and bared their heads. An old woman carrying a basket full of vegetables crossed herself and began a prayer for the repose of the dead man's soul. Marcos de Souza walked towards the procession. Some men also in a hurry to get to the procession brusquely brushed him aside; they were police inspectors. Marcos managed to regain his balance and saw the funeral procession passing in front of him and heard an inspector shouting :

"Take that flag off the coffin!"

Marcos rushed forward. What was going to happen? An inspector put out his hand towards the coffin to take the flag off, but someone got hold of him and, in a voice full of hatred, shouted :

"Have a little respect for the dead, you dog!"

A certain confusion began to spread throughout the procession, and the murmur of voices rose above the funeral march. Marcos found himself mixed up with the men who were carrying on a discussion around the coffin. He saw a secret policeman reach for his revolver, and throwing himself upon him he shouted like a madman, blind with rage :

"Put that gun away, you bastard!"

But the other policemen had already taken out their weapons and had started firing. A headlong rush followed. At this point, the cavalry brigade

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*Date of Brazilian Independence Day.

advanced head on towards the procession, blocking the path of the crowd which was trying to get out of the square. For a second, the crowd halted, undecided, not knowing what to do. There were some injured lying on the ground, and now other squads of "cops" were rushing in, firing their revolvers. The music stopped and the voice of Oswaldo could be heard, shouting :

"Forward !"

Some of the coffin-bearers had fled, but others came forward to take their place. The trade union banner had fallen behind and the procession was now headed by the dead man's coffin, covered in the Brazilian flag. Within a few seconds, the men bearing the coffin began to march forward again towards the soldiers on horseback. Immediately, the crowd joined in behind. A score of yards separated the head of the procession from the barrier of soldiers whose young commanding officer, astride a nervous horse pawing the asphalt, passed a pale hand across his elegantly moustached mouth. A group of inspectors, armed with revolvers, tried once more to approach the coffin. A few men attempted to stop them and the firing began again.

"Forward !" shouted Oswaldo to the men who were carrying the coffin with him.

One of the inspectors got hold of a corner of the flag and pulled it. Several workers threw themselves on him. The flag fell to one side, confusion spread, and one section of the crowd tried to escape into a side street, but this street was also occupied by the police and a few people fell under their bullets. The air was filled with shouts, isolated exclamations and oaths. The inspector who had snatched the flag away was lying on the ground, his clothes in tatters. Pushed and kicked from all sides, Marcos de Souza tried to reach the flag to put it back on the coffin. But Ignacia, a negress, appearing as if from nowhere, got there before him (the negro Doroteu was one of the coffin bearers at that point). She wrapped herself in the flag and ran towards the men carrying the coffin which was some way ahead of the crowd because they had continued to march forward. Marcos rushed after Ignacia to help her. The firing continued. It was a real massacre. One section of the procession fled back along the road by which it had come, but the police had just put in an appearance there, too.

The negress Ignacia ran alongside the coffin-bearers, raised the flag and placed it on the black wood coffin. The negro Doroteu watched her do so, his hands gripping the handles of the coffin. The firing grew louder in the square. Many of the stevedores were fighting back, using the banner pole as a weapon. A number of revolvers had been captured from the inspectors and turned against them.

The young officer withdrew his hand from his moustache and ordered the mounted soldiers to advance. His nervous horse, feeling the spurs pricking its flanks, reared up and brought its hooves down on the negress Ignacia. She fell across the flag and the hind legs of the horse trampled on her slender body . Seeing her fall, Marcos de Souza ran towards her, together with the negro Doroteu. But the mounted soldiers got there before them and rode over the negress after their officer. Oswaldo, standing alongside the coffin which had been placed on the ground, shouted to the soldiers :

"Don't kill your brothers !"

But the horses were already in the centre of the crowd dispersing it. His words were lost in the hubbub of shouts and exclamations. Men and women fell on all sides, invaded business offices and apartment houses. The mounted soldiers pursued the fugitives while the inspectors rained down blows with the butt of their revolvers. Marcos de Souza and Doroteu managed to reach the negress Ignacia who was still breathing. Together they lifted her up and laid her to one side, her face contracted with pain. The negro Doroteu called her :

"Nacia, Nacia !"

She half-opened her eyes, but immediately closed them again.

"Let's get her away from here," said Marcos de Souza.

It was only then that the negro Doroteu took stock of this well-dressed man and, thinking at first that he was a policeman, placed himself in front of Ignacia's body and said :

"Go away, this is my wife . . ."

"I'm not a policeman. I'm a friend . . . ," he would have liked to have said "a comrade," but he dared not.

His voice was so sincere that Doroteu did not argue. Marcos continued :

"My car is nearby. If we get her to hospital quickly, it's still possible to . . ."

Doroteu cried out in pain as if he had only just realised at these words that Ignacia's life was in danger.

"Quickly !" he urged.

She groaned when Marcos took her shoulders. She still clutched the flag in her hand and they had to prise it out of her fingers.

Now the police cars and wagons had entered the square and the inspectors were forcing scores of people into them at the point of their revolvers. The bulk of them, however, had succeeded in escaping down the side-streets. Many people had been hidden in the buildings on the square by the tenants of offices and medical consulting rooms. Oswaldo had disappeared into a bar-room cellar. The square was strewn with dead and wounded. Delegate Barros walked among

them, accompanied by two inspectors. Stopping by the coffin he said :

"Tomorrow we'll bury them all together . . ."

Then in an undertone, looking at the bodies :

"Now we'll see what that old bitch of a Comendadora has to say for herself. If she isn't satisfied now, I don't know what more she wants . . ."

The ambulances arrived with screeching sirens. Soldiers on horseback were patrolling the adjacent streets.

Drawings by MITTELBERG

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

GREAT BRITAIN

Deakin Slams Door on Locked-out Dockers

An angry and threatening Arthur Deakin recently shouted "Get Out!" to a deputation of dockers who asked his aid at Transport House for 23,300 members of his union locked-out in Manchester. The Transport and General Workers' Union secretary then summoned porters and commissionaires and had the dockers ejected from the entrance hall of the building where he had been cornered against the lift shaft.

In Manchester 1,800 of the locked-out dockers had roared approval of a resolution declaring that they would not return to work until two suspended workers were taken back and their pay made up. Today is the eighth day of the dispute and is pay-day for the men, who will have only half a week's back money to draw. They say they will return to work at an hour's notice if the two suspensions are lifted and a conference held to discuss grievances. Meanwhile 28 ships are idle in Manchester and Salford docks.

* * *

Two dockers from Manchester and five from London had called to see Mr. Deakin. It was not the first time he had had members of his union ejected. At first, Mr. Deakin refused to see them, whereupon they declared they would not leave the building. Mr. Deakin then came down and met them in the lobby.

He said: "I've nothing to say—get out." The deputation wanted to put their proposals to him, but he said: "I don't intend to do anything for the dockers. Get back to Manchester and get to work."

In the deputation was Joe Cowley, representing the London Port Workers' Committee. He pointed at me and shouted: "I'll do nothing for you at any time; I'm going to have you put through the mill," said Mr. Cowley.

Then Mr. Deakin tried to return to the lift in which he had descended from his office, but found the dockers blocking his way.

"He pushed me," said Mr. Cowley, "so I pushed him back. After that, there was a scuffle while we held the lift door to prevent him from leaving, because we wanted to tell him our proposals. Then he called his strong-arm men."

Later, the dockers went to see the two Labour M.P.s for Salford, Mr. E. A. Hardy and Mr. C. Royle, at the House of Commons. Unlike Mr. Deakin, they were willing to talk and to treat the deputation courteously. Mr. Hardy said he had put down a question to the Minister of Labour. Mr. A. Robens, for today, and hinted he had hopes of the answer being favourable. Mr. Royle said that as a member of the Government—he is a Lord of the Treasury—he could not intervene in a trade union dispute, but was in favour of an inquiry.

Daily Worker, 3.5.51

Adverse Effect of War Budget on Workers

Mr. J. B. Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, addressing the annual conference of the Scottish Trade Union Congress . . . said he hoped that the new Minister of Labour would be true to the same principles as Mr. Aneurin Bevan. But if he was not true to these principles, then they in the British Labour Party and trade union movement would jolly soon take care to look after their own interests in a way which would compel any Government—even the Labour Government—to ensure that this policy of getting *increased wages* to meet *increased prices* was the one and only policy which could command the support of the British Trade Union movement.

The Congress carried a General Council resolution which . . . called for the immediate application by the Government of a policy that would drastically control profits. . . . By an overwhelming majority, the Congress . . . carried a Glasgow Trades Council amendment which drew attention to "the adverse effects on the working-class of the Budget proposals."

London *Times,* 28.4.51

Miners' Wages Inadequate to Meet Cost of Living

Mr. Alf Davies, President, addressing the annual conference of the South Wales area of the National Union of Mineworkers . . . said that he believed the present wage standards in the mining industry were not adequate to meet the sharp increase in the cost of living.

He said: "While many piece workers might be able to earn enough to enjoy a relatively decent standard of living, the larger section, which has to exist on day wage rates, is finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet.

"Even if we take as our basis the new cost of living index which, it is generally recognised, seriously underestimates the actual rise in living costs for working people, *the wage standard is below what it was in October* 1947 . . .

"It is my conviction that before this year is out, the present index will be at least 10 to 15 points higher. If I am correct in this estimate and the figure rises from the present figure of 117 to 132, then the £1 will drop in value to a little over 18s compared with February this year."

London *Times,* 1.5.51

Peace Appeal by Writers Opposes Drift to War

A statement of belief that humanity would not survive another war, a pledge to encourage an international settlement, and a condemnation of writing liable to sharpen existing dangers and hatreds has been issued by a group of writers. The statement is signed by A. E. Coppard, Alex Comfort, Sean O'Casey, Christopher Fry, Laurence Housman, Roger MacDougall, Compton Mackenzie, Herbert Read, Siegfried Sassoon, Sheila Kaye-Smith, L. A. G. Strong, and Frank Swinnerton. It says:

"We writers believe that our civilisation is unlikely to survive another world war. We believe that differing political and economic systems today can exist side by side on the basis of peacefully negotiated settlement. As writers we want peace and, through our work, will try to get it, and we pledge ourselves to encourage an international settlement through peaceful negotiation. We condemn writing to sharpen existing dangers and hatreds.

"As signatories, we are associated with no political movement, party, or religious belief, but are solely concerned with trying to stop the drift to war. We invite all writers to support this declaration and to tell us of their support by sending us their names to A. E. Coppard, Hillside, Duton Hill, Dunmow, Essex."

Manchester Guardian, 26.4.51

ITALY

Oppose Drift to War

At Trento, de Gasperi declared: "It is not sufficient for the State to act as a policeman to maintain public order, or a magistrate to control the courts."

Apart from the question of style which is the sole responsibility of the *Popolo* from which the quotation is taken, we provide below information on the manner in which de Gasperi has applied his concept of a "non-police" and a "non-magistrate" state.

These statistics refer to the period from 1948 to the first half of 1950:

Persons killed during clashes with the police or by land-owners' gangs: 62.

Persons injured: 3,126.

Persons arrested and tried for political reasons: 92,169.

Persons at present detained for political reasons: 1,105.

Persons sentenced to various punishments for political reasons: 19,306.

Total number of prison years on political grounds: 8,441.

This is the 'free state' of de Gasperi and his democratic government! This is the Atlantic freedom for which the Christian Democrats are seeking votes in the approaching municipal elections.

De Gasperi went on: "The State must be a social State which is concerned with relief and takes care of the poor." In fact, *there are 3,700,429 paupers in Italy, officially registered as such.* This figure, which is official and is taken from the general statistics summary 1949-1950 published by the Central Institute of Statistics, corresponds to 8 per cent. of the total population! The proportion of paupers officially registered attains 14-15 per cent. of the population in certain particularly impoverished areas.

Of the 3,700,429 inhabitants recognised as paupers, that is to say, completely destitute of any income and therefore unable to provide for themselves, only 245,775 receive relief in some form or other. About 447,000 can resort to the various institutions, the soup canteens, the refugee camp, etc. There are only 1,120 canteens in the country. The subsidies allotted by the ECA vary between 200 and 1,000 lire every two or three months according to the localities.

This is the Christian Democratic State! The 'Christian Democracy' should above all pride itself on governing a country of paupers.

Unita, 27.4.51

FRANCE

May Day, Day of Unity and Action

The working class refuses to pay the cost of war preparations.

Strengthened by the recent defeat of the government and employers, the workers will demonstrate on May Day their determination to obtain the revaluation of their wages, the sliding scale and the abolition of regional wage differences. They will demand an end to the wastage of national resources in the French and American billionaires' wars.

Trade union rights are flouted. The warmongers brandish the threat of a dictatorship to protect their rearguard and to force upon us an anti-people's policy. From the great ranks of the demonstrators will rise up a fierce determination to ensure for our country a regime of liberty, to sweep away the clique which dishonours our country, to reconquer our national independence and win true democracy.

The demonstrators in France will direct their thoughts towards the workers of the entire world who will also be celebrating this day of workers' international solidarity; their thoughts will go out to the workers of the U.S.S.R. who are in the front ranks of the defenders of peace and who are celebrating the brilliant success of their five year plan, who have abolished capitalist dictatorship, who are building a new world and who are fighting for a better life.

Their thoughts will go to Great China which is constructing a new world, to the Korean workers who, at the head of their people, are carrying on an heroic struggle to drive out the aggressors, to the workers of the peoples' democracies who are marching towards socialism; to the workers of the capitalist countries who are also fighting for bread, peace and freedom; and finally the workers of the countries oppressed by the colonialists and who have taken up arms in the fight for their liberty and independence.

They will express their complete solidarity with the courageous Spanish workers who are shaking the foundations of Franco's bloody dictatorship.

BENOIT FRACHON,
General Secretary of the C.G.T.,
in *L'Humanite,* 30.4.51

Examples of Peasant Unity

Two villages in the Herault county —two examples which came to us on the eve of May Day.

At Maraussan, the farm workers, the small and middle vinegrowers, the French Women's Associations, the War Veterans, in fact all the organisations, are jointly organising the May Day demonstrations because wages are too low, because the wine is unsold, because they all want peace.

At Penzenas, a wide branch committee was formed on trade union initiative. It is composed of members of the C.G.T., Force Ouvriere, unorganised Christian workers and delegates elected by each shift and representing all the personnel, organised or not. This committee intends to get wages increased. It has put forward local and national claims, because, as a Committee delegate said: "With our wages, we can't make both ends meet."

"The city transport workers and the railway workers have set us an example," added this delegate, thus linking the Pezenas unity committee to the movement which is growing throughout France.

MAURICE CARROUE,
in *Le Paysan* (organ of the Federation of Agricultural & Forestry Workers of France and Overseas Territories, C.G.T). 24.4.51

WEST GERMANY

Workers Rebel Against Right Wing Leaders

The news from Western Germany is increasing proof that the right wing leaders of the D.G.B. (Federation of German Trade Unions) do not intend to carry out a policy conforming to the interests of the workers organised in the ranks of this federation.

When more than 1,000 dockers of the Duisburg-Ruhr port came out on strike on March 30 in support of their claims for a 15 per cent. wage rise and an increase in basic pay, the Duisburg right wing trade union leaders did everything possible to get the dockers back to work. They were successful in doing so on the grounds that the strike had to be agreed upon previously by the central committee.

Here is another example which proves that the goodwill of the employers and above all of the big American capitalists is far more important to these leaders than the interests of the workers.

In order to strengthen American interference in the fight carried on over the right to joint management, the ESSO-AG (Munich), which is American-owned, invited a certain number of persons including Gustav Schiefer, the vice-president of the DGB in Bavaria to visit the factory. The staff manager of the ESSO-AG held forth at length on how well the workers were "paid," how well they were taken care of, and how the company had paid voluntary bonuses. At the same time he made it clearly understood that the introduction of joint management would only 'worsen the situation of the workers.' He even declared the joint management was superfluous in that ESSO-AG firm.

During the "discussion" which followed this report, the trade unionists present spoke in favour of 'better relations between Capital and Labour,' without speaking about the right to joint management or the declarations of the ESSO-AG representative.

The attitude adopted by the Central Committee of the Miners' Federation (D.G.B.) towards the Schuman Plan is also typical of the attitude of

the right-wing trade union leaders. They did not dare to give open approval to the Schuman Plan in face of the miners' indignation and made some reservations. A statement made by Dr. Grosse (Essen), director of the economic section of the Federation, reads:

"Our final attitude will depend on the manner in which the members of the High Authority and the other bodies provided for, guarantee the protection of German interests. The fear that the other signatories of the plan intend to place the Ruhr under international control must in no case become a reality."

But the policy of the right-wing trade union leaders is encountering the growing resistance of trade unionists and rank-and-file organisations.

The Confederal Bureau of the DHB (Dusseldorf) announces that for many days hundreds of resolutions calling for energetic and immediate measures to put an end to the disastrous price rise have been coming in.

Faced with this strong pressure, the right-wing leaders have been obliged to speak of the "alarm signal of rapidly growing social tension."

At Nuremberg, the recent annual meeting of the Public Service and Transport Workers' Union removed the President and his deputy from office by 183 votes to 19. During discussion preceding this vote, practically all the delegates condemned in strong terms the policy followed by the two right-wing leaders. They accused the two leaders of having tried to prevent the campaign demanded by the members for a cost of living bonus. The conference unanimously declared that in the present situation such trade union officials were not suitable to hold office. The trade union membership demands that its new President not only fight for economic claims, but take a clear stand against remilitarisation, which is the cause of the constant lowering of the workers' standard of living."

TRIBUNE (organ of the F.D.G.B.), 24.4.51

SOUTH AFRICA

My Father Slaved and Died on a Farm

Oppression, colour bar, slavery is being practiced on our people on farms. I speak from experience. In farms in the Free State I have also seen such slavery as that in Delmar.

Our people are neglected. They are without proper food, housing, sanitation, education, and medical facilities. But ignorant South African M.P.s still insist on forcing our people to the farms.

My own father laboured for twenty years on one farm in the Orange Free State, where he lived on 10s a month and half a bag of mealie meal which had to be enough for his family of five children, dogs and fowls.

Two years before his death he took ill. He had to spend his own money to get a doctor. When the farmer saw he could no longer work he expelled him.

He had to sleep in the open air. In the rain he had to make a tent for my brothers and sisters until he got a job. My mother had to work. My father died . . .

The time has come to put a halt to this slavery. We are all made to be equal—not to be slaves under other nations. Let justice roll down as water and righteousness as a mighty stream. We can tolerate nothing else.

C.S.M. (an African worker) in the *Guardian* (Johannesburg), April, 1951

U.S.A.

A Case Study in Peace Jitters

The Wall Street financial writers have let us in on the secret of the big money boys and their fear that peace would bring a drop in profits.

Now comes a segment of the so-called liberal press attempting to bolster the war spirit by establishing the House committee on unAmerican activities as a high and sound authority on the subversiveness of peace.

A case in point is the *Washington Post,* which likes to be called liberal. The *Post* and its writers have been around Washington for many years. They know the prime characteristics of the House Committee on un-American activities . . .

During that period, however, the *Post* felt called upon to defend its liberal position—liberal at least in some respects when compared with the other Washington morning newspapers.

The *Post* kept up its editorial attacks on the unAmerican committee through the pumpkin papers incident (of the Alger Hiss Trial). It raged against guilt by association, accusation without evidence. . .

But at a time when the unAmerican committee was throwing all pretence of abiding by established American principles to the winds, and boldly setting out to establish a black-list of writers and actors in the movies and on the radio and television, the *Post* had strange words to say—strange, that is, from a 'liberal' publication . . .

Here indeed was an opportunity for the *Washington Post* to defend the freedom of the press . . . Did the *Post* seize the opportunity?

Instead, it chose Sunday, April 15 to devote a lead editorial to glorification of the unAmerican committee as the final authority on world affairs and to hail its denunciations of concrete activities for peace as a Communist plot.

The freedom-loving *Post* hailed the suppression of 273 million signatures to a peace petition. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Post* refused an advertisement for peace, to be paid for by the Progressive party, which quoted only leading conservatives. Was this another case of freedom of the press? . . .

The case history is repeated here because it is symptomatic. Because the unAmerican committee, for once, agreed with Secretary of State Dean Acheson, it seems, the *Post* deemed it worthy of elevation to the ranks of elder world statesman, while at the same time refusing to accept an advertisement which differed from the committee.

Yes, it's small potatoes. But it's worth remembering that the liberal papers in which so many Americans place their faith are liberal only when it serves their purpose. It would, of course, be subversive for the *Post* to sponsor peace.

J. B. STONE, Federated Press, 17.4.51

U.S.S.R.

Soviet Five-Year Plan Completed Ahead of Schedule

The 4th five-year plan (1946-1950), first post-war Soviet plan for the restoration and development of the national economy, was compieted ahead of schedule, i.e. in 4 years and 3 months.

In 1950, industrial production was 73 per cent. higher than in 1940 and was 17 per cent. more than the plan target.

The increase in the national income was considerably greater than the forecast figure. The 1950 national income was 64 per cent. higher than in 1940. 74 per cent. of this national income went to satisfy the cultural and material needs of Soviet workers. The number of workers in thc national economy of the USSR amounted at the end of 1950 to 39,200,000, being an increase of 7,700,000 over the 1940 figure.

The material situation of the Soviet people has steadily improved. The overall sum received in wages by manual and intellectual workers and peasants was 62 per cent. higher than the 1940 figure.

It must, however, be stressed that the Soviet workers' real wages are not entirely expressed by their money wages. In 1950, they also received from the State, 120,000 million roubles—three times more than in 1940—in the form of workers' social security allowances, grants and pensions; they benefited from free or moderately-priced holidays in sanatoria, rest homes and different children's institutions; they received free medical aid, free education, vocational training, students' grants and a minimum of 15 days' paid holidays.

Alongside the improvement in the

people's material conditions, there was continued progress in the development of culture, the sciences and the arts; in the post-war period, the number of pupils in primary, seven-year, secondary and technical schools and other secondary education establishments, increased by 8 millions to the figure of 37 million in 1950. There were 1,247,000 students in higher education in 1950 as compared with 812,000 in 1940.

The purchasing power of the population is steadily rising. In 1950 the co-operative and State shops sold 38 per cent. more meat than in 1940. The sale of fish increased by 51 per cent., butter by 59 per cent., vegetable oil and other fats by 67 per cent., sugar by 33 per cent., shoes by 39 per cent., cloth by 47 per cent. 3.3 times more watches were sold and 6 times as many radios, 1.5 times more motor-bikes, and nearly 3 times as many sewing machines.

During the five-year plan, State undertakings, various other organisations, local Soviets and private persons have built or restored, with State loans, housing space representing an area of 120 million square yards. A further 2,700,000 homes were built or restored in rural areas. New modern dwellings were opened for millions of workers.

The State budget for 1951 has set aside 120,800 million roubles (as compared with 116,000 millions in 1950) for the development of cultural and social works. This sum represents 26.8 per cent. of the total budget. The social insurance budget amounts to 21,100 million roubles. 39.5 per cent. of the budget is earmarked for the national economy and only 21.3 per cent. for military expenditure. Thus, by far the greatest part of the budget appropriations is intended for the development of the national economy and the social and cultural welfare of the population.

There is no better proof of the Soviet State's peace policy which seeks to strengthen co-operation between all peoples and to establish lasting world peace.

Soviet Press, 17.4.51

POLAND

Constant Improvement in Polish Workers' Welfare

The Polish Parliament has just adopted the National Economic Plan for 1951 which calls for a big increase in the production of food and utility articles.

According to estimates, the annual consumption of meat will rise to 34 kg per person (compared with 19.2 kg in 1938), the consumption of sugar will be increased to 24.8 kg per person (compared with 12.2 kg).

The Polish Government is exerting all its efforts to improve working and living conditions. Important steps have been taken to guarantee labour safety in all industries. Thus, in the coal industry, new laws have come into force, dealing with the organisation of protection for the workers and first aid. The mines will be equipped with all material necessary for this purpose. In the various technical institutions, labour safety professorships have been created, and in general, scientific studies will be intensified in this sphere. A special institution will be founded to study labour safety conditions. The accident rate in the coal mines is now a third of the pre-war figure.

Big construction works will be started in order to improve the general living conditions of the workers. Thus, the Government will earmark 32.2 million zlotys for the construction of miners' homes.

The greatest importance is attached to the workers' cultural development and the wiping-out of illiteracy. Towards this end, no less than 57,000 study courses have been created in two years, attended by 983,000 students.

A new generation of intellectuals is rising from the Polish working class which devoted all its forces to building a new Poland. An increasing number of Stakhanovite workers—bricklayers, turners, fitters, etc.—are studying in the technical schools in Warsaw where they are becoming familiar with advanced methods of work.

Zwiazkowiec (organ of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions). April 1951.

PORTO RICO

More Porto-Ricans Dying in Korea than in World War II

Porto-Rican troops sent to fight in Korea have suffered more than 500 losses in deaths, missing and wounded. While hundreds of Porto-Ricans are dying in this unjust war, thousands of miles from their homeland, their families are praying here for the end of the war.

This figure of 500 was given in the press, but it is considered to be below the actual number. In any case, the figure may be compared with the total Porto-Rican losses recorded during the second world war which were under 50 out of a total of 65,000 soldiers.

The colonial government and the Yankee Gestapo, the FBI, whose Island Police Branch is called the Internal Security Brigade, use all the means at their disposal to prevent the population from demonstrating its opposition to Porto-Rican participation in this unjust war. Those soldiers' families who use their constitutional right to present petitions to the Government demanding the reurn of the Porto-Rican troops, are victims of brutal investigations.

So far, this persecution has succeeded in preventing the outburst of the hidden and latent protest among all sections of the population against the use of Porto-Rican youth as cannon-fodder in Korea.

Yet, in one fashion or another, the Porto-Rican people is showing its condemnation of the Yankee aggression in Korea. This conflict could have been solved by peaceful means and it is on the basis of peace that it must be solved.

Pueblo (San Juan de Puerto Rico), April 1951

MEXICO

Surrender to Washington Brings End of Civil Liberties

The policy and preparation of the Yankee government to launch itself into its war-like adventures inflicts upon our people the increasingly violent suppression of the democratic freedoms which are consecrated in the Constitution, for the development of civil life, and consequently for the betterment of workers' conditions.

The so-called reforms and additions to the Penal Code, which, on the pretext of fighting the "red menace," destroy in one swoop the most solid pillars of our democracy, are the latest attack of this kind directed against the Mexican people and in particular against the working classes.

In the future, because of such reforms, the reactionary Ministers and high officials — the Secretary of Labour, for example—will not confine themselves to declaring a strike movement 'illegal' even before it starts as in the case of the miners' strikes, but, with the support of the Penal Code, a strike which causes a general stoppage within the industry in which it breaks out could be qualified as 'sabotage and disturbance of public order,' if that industry is under control of the belligerent Yankee monopolies.

In the same way, the right of assembly is only accorded to government-controlled organisations; the others, those Unions which fight for trade union freedom from the capitalist State, those which are in the front line of combat for the rightful demands of the workers, those which do not need the authorisation of the government, of the mayor or of some petty police officers to call a strike, these unions will be refused the right to meet in order to determine their line of action or to guide the working people. Because their meeting would be considered "a riot."

As for freedom of speech, the Penal Code has now equally destroyed this liberty, by considering the ideas which do not please the leading class as "emanating from foreign powers."

Workers' Bulletin of the Trade Union of Industrial Workers (Dinamita, Mexico), 15.2.51

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

April 15

LEBANON. — Parliamentary elections take place in an atmosphere of persecution, terror and fraud. Seventeen people are killed and twenty injured in Beirut.

ISRAEL. — The 5th Arab Trade Union Congress (the first since the war in Israel) ends. This Congress represents a victory for the democratic forces over the Government, which had previously banned the meeting. The Congress demands equal rights for Jews and Arabs, the admission of Arabs into the Histadruth (Jewish Labour Confederation in Israel) and the establishment of a sovereign Arab State in Palestine allied to Israel.

April 18

PARIS. — Representatives of the Governments of France, Italy, Western Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg sign the Schuman Plan. The French representative assumes the right to sign on behalf of the Government of the Saar. None of the peoples of the countries involved in this American-inspired scheme have actually been consulted.

FRANCE. — The Railwaymen's Federation announces the overall results of the election of shop stewards in which the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) has won big gains, getting nearly two-thirds of all votes cast, far more than all the other labour federations put together.

April 19

FRANCE. — The militant C.G.T. triumphs in the elections to the Works Committee at the Citroen automobile plant, winning 75 per cent. of the votes and 13 out of the 17 posts. The C.G.T. vote is 1,378 more than in the previous elections, despite the combined efforts of the reactionary Government, employers and trade union splitters.

NEW ZEALAND. — Following acceptance of the Government's settlement terms by the locked out dockers, on condition that their Union be re-registered, the Prime Minister in a broadcast unmasks his intention of smashing the Union by flatly rejecting any re-registration.

April 20

ITALY. — The Turin metalworkers' struggle against exploitation intensifies daily. Faced with the employers' intransigeance, 60,000 workers strike for periods ranging from 2 to 4 hours in all plants. Particularly significant is the fact that the struggle is supported by the technicians and clerical staff of all opinions in the Mirafiori plant. A proposal is made in a manifesto signed by their representatives for the formation of a united action front of manual and clerical workers and technicians to defend their common interests.

NEW ZEALAND. — The Prime Minister issues an ultimatum to the dockers to resume work by individual registration. This would mean the permanent outlawing of the de-registered Union and an end to the Union's closed shop on the waterfront.

April 21

SPAIN. — The Manresa textile workers' strike in support of their claim for a cost of living bonus of 60 pesetas per week and in protest against the employment of children aged 9 and 10 years in the factories, spreads to 20 other factories.

GUATEMALA. — A general strike paralyses railway communications throughout the country. Six thousand railwaymen employed by the International Railways of Central America stop work to protest against the dismissal of seven of their leaders.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Labour, resigns and declares that Britain is faced with economic breakdown if the Government continues its arms programme and its subservience to the U.S.A. In his expressed opinion Britain's arms programme cannot be realised without irreparable damage to British and world economy. He states that Britain has allowed herself to be dragged too far "behind the wheels of American diplomacy"; and that the shortage of materials created by the American arms race will mean unemployment in Britain's main industries this summer.

INDIA. — In Cooch, Bihar, three days of mass processions and demonstrations against the rice famine and the exorbitant prices culminate in the police shooting and killing six marchers who break through to the prohibited area around the Deputy Commissioner's office. Rice prices are three and a half times the "controlled" price.

April 22

IRAN. — A huge students' demonstration in solidarity with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company strikers takes place in Teheran, calling for the departure of the Anglo-Americans and the effective nationalisation of the oil industry.

GERMANY. — In Frankfort more than one thousand Social-Democrats from all over Western Germany meet in a conference against the remilitarisation of Germany and for a plebiscite. The Conference, which admitted no one unable to produce a membership card in one of the Social Democratic organisations, decides to set up a "Social-Democratic Committee Against Remilitarisation." The Conference is dispersed by the police on the orders of the Minister of the Interior of Hesse, himself a Social-Democrat.

April 23

SPAIN. — Workers in the Basque country—in which Spain's heavy industry is located—begin a 48-hour strike to protest against the rise in living costs and to demand a weekly cost of living bonus. Following on the magnificent movement among the Catalan workers, this strike shows the Spanish workers' fighting spirit and unity against Franco. The strike gradually spreads to all factories in the area, including Bilbao, San Sebastian, and numerous smaller towns. The number of strikers on the first day is estimated at 250,000 despite threats by the Franco authorities to annul work contracts.

CHILE. — South American Bank employees who had struck on April 20th reject the Government's ultimatum ordering them back to work or they will be sacked. They decide to continue their strike until they win satisfaction on the wage demands.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Twenty-five thousand Merseyside engineering workers end the overtime ban started on January 29th, the employers having agreed to negotiate claims for all round increases for piecework. Failure to agree locally will be referred to the national level.

— The Manchester dockers support the demand for the union to open negotiations for the Dockers' Charter. Should the union fail to open negotiations within a month all overtime working is to be banned.

April 24

U.S.S.R. — At the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions a delegation from the French C.G.T., including Lucien Jayat and Jacques Marion, arrives in Moscow.

A delegation of French Women headed by Marie Cassin, a member of the World Peace Council, arrives in Moscow at the invitation of the Antifascist Committee of Soviet Women.

BULGARIA. — The State Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has published an account showing fulfilment of the economic plan for the first quarter of 1951. Industrial production increased 25 per cent. in comparison with the first quarter last year, coal production 20 per cent., reinforced concrete 80 per cent., cotton cloth 45 per cent., shoes 81 per cent., flour 40 per cent., rice 143 per cent., vegetable fats 42 per cent.

CHINA. — It is learnt that a detonator with Japanese markings, made in 1943, was picked up by a railway worker after an American air raid on North East China on March 30th. This is in contravention of a resolution made by the Far Eastern Commission in June 1947 that all military weapons and ammunition in Japan were to be destroyed by the Allies.

FRANCE. — The Chamber of Deputies extends the single voting college (universal suffrage) to French Colonial Africa (the double college is thus maintained in Madagascar only). But the conditions imposed for qualification as a voter are such that very many people will be unable to take part in the elections.

SPAIN. — The strike in the Basque country spreads to include not only industrial workers, but fishermen, bank and insurance employees and many others. The Falangist authorities imprison hundreds of workers. including a leader of the Falangist Chemical Workers' Union. At Tolosa, a women's demonstration is savagely attacked by the police.

ITALY. — Public service employees in Calabria, Piedmont, and Emilia strike to demand equalisation of cost of living bonuses.

April 25

CHINA. — The Chairman of the Chinese People's Relief Committee for Overseas Refugees from Malaya states that no reply has been received from the British Prime Minister to the request that the Committee go to Malaya to investigate the conditions of the Chinese expelled from their homes and put in concentration camps in Malaya. As far back as March 1950, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies admitted there were 400,000 of these "displaced" Chinese in Malaya. The situation has worsened since then.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Six thousand workers end their strike at Cadbury's "model" chocolate plant at Bourneville. They had struck in opposition to the new piece work rates. The settlement of the strike is to be reviewed after two months.

SPAIN. — The Basque strike ends with the workers achieving most of their aims, but the strike continues in many firms where reprisals were taken, to demand the reinstatement of dismissed workers and the release of imprisoned workers.

— W.F.T.U. President G. Di Vittorio sends a message of greeting and solidarity to the Spanish workers and calls upon world labour to back their heroic struggle for work, bread and democratic liberties.

ARGENTINA. — Argentine workers, peace fighters and democrats obtain the release of Vicente Marischi, member of the National Peace Committee and of the National Committee of the Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of Trade Unions. Marischi had been arbitrarily imprisoned by the sinister Special Branch of Peron's police for 40 days during which time he was subjected to savage torture.

April 26

GERMANY. — Twenty thousand metal workers strike for wage increases in Wurtemburg-Baden, despite the opposition of right-wing trade union leaders.

The Bonn government forbids the people to hold conferences against rearmament and dissolves all organisations linked with this movement.

ITALY. — Four hundred thousand transport workers (railways, trams, 'buses, etc.) go on strike in support of the metalworkers. They demand a revaluation of wages through the application of a sliding scale and increased pensions.

UNITED STATES. — In the fight against the wage freeze, a victory is won by the railroad shop workers when the Economic Stabiliser is forced to approve the first break in the 10 per cent. ceiling on wage increases. A cost of living rise of 6 cents per hour for one million workers is approved, although previously the Economic Stabiliser had refused to approve wage increases which had been negotiated in the textile, shipbuilding, meatpacking and other industries.

INDONESIA. — The Indonesian Defense Minister states that the Government has no intention of taking part in any regional "defence pact," such as the one planned by the U.S.A. in the Pacific area.

MALAYA. — The leading Malay newspaper *Utusan Malaya* quotes cases of persons imprisoned for three years without trial under the Emergency Regulations. It reminds the government that "a state of war has not yet been declared in Malaya."

U.S.S.R. — Two delegations of the Austro-Soviet and the Danish-Soviet Societies arrive in Moscow following invitations of the Soviet Society for relations with foreign countries.

CHINA. — A session of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Students opens in Peking, with participation of 47 delegations of students from the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Korea, Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic, Spain, India and other countries.

The session is opened by the president of the Union, Joseph Grohman. The meeting is addressed by Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Central Government's committee for cultural and educational affairs.

LEBANON. — The Trade Union Federation calls a three-day strike for wage increases which will be continued beyond the three days if the government refuses to accept the workers' demands within that period.

ITALY. — Following a call from the FIOM (Metalworkers' Union), 600,000 metalworkers throughout Italy come out on a 24-hour strike. The strike is a demonstration of the workers' determination to oppose the policy of gradual liquidation which is threatening many firms throughout the country and also the disastrous policy of rearmament and the continual threats against trade union liberties.

April 27

IRAN. — Following the unanimous adoption by the Parliamentary Commission on the oil industry of a resolution calling for the immediate nationalisation of the industry, Prime Minister Hussein Ala resigns.

BRAZIL. — The Second Workers' Trade Union Conference of the Trades Council of the Federal District opens. The conference has been preceded by workers' assemblies and meetings in the factories and in the different industries throughout the Federal District.

CHILE. — Technicians and employees of electricity and telephone companies come out on strike for wage increases. The government orders a state of siege in the province of Santiago and at Valparaiso.

ITALY. — Following the struggle launched by State pensioners under the leadership of the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour) the Chamber of Deputies adopts a law raising pensions by 10 per cent. with retrospective application to July 1, 1950.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Vickers-Armstrong engineering workers decide to lift the ban on overtime on the basis of negotiations for an 11s. increase to apply to all piece-workers.

— The Executive of the Union of Post Office Workers decides to ask for immediate arbitration on its claim for an increase of 10s. per week and a national minimum rate of £5 per week for men, turning down an offer of 4s. per week for men and 3s. for women. A strong minority urged strike action or "working to rule" and it is agreed that the union shall not restrain such "unofficial" action until the date of the hearing is announced.

UNITED STATES. — The House Appropriations Committee is considering a proposal to build four concentration camps as places of detention for "suspected" subversives in the event of war. At the same time F.B.I. chief J. Edgar Hoover testifies before the same committee that the F.B.I. is prepared to arrest 14,000 Communists to be inmates of these camps.

U.S.S.R. — A number of delegations from abroad have arrived at Moscow, among them an American workers' delegation headed by the president of the Co-ordination Committee of the Independent Trade Unions of New York, a delegation of Bulgarian Trade Unions, youth delegations from Sweden and Western Germany, a delegation of the Italy-U.S.S.R. Society, a delegation of Finnish agricultural workers and labourers and Finnish journalists.

— The Soviet Trade Unions send a delegation to Bucarest to take part in the May Day celebrations.

BULGARIA. — The biggest irrigation works in the country are opened at Bryshliansk in the Dobrudja. Together with their political and trade union leaders and the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the workers who took part in constructing the canal participate in the solemn inauguration of the canal.

April 28

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Scottish Trade Union Congress carries a resolution demanding that the government restore the cuts made in the Social Services. The Congress also calls for a stop to United States interference in British trade policy and for the expansion of trade with the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies and China.

UNITED STATES. — Confirming America's stranglehold on the French colonies and their transformation into strategic bases, the Government announces to the House of Representatives its intention to open a consulate in Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast (French West Africa) "in order to supervise anti-Communist activities in that area."

SPAIN. — The solidarity and protest movement of the Basque workers continues despite police terror, the closing down of firms, and the arrest of hundreds of workers. The Falangist government has closed down many factories, textile plants, and business houses. At the port of Pasajes, near San Sebastian, more than 20 ships lie at the piers awaiting unloading. The spread of the strike movement shows the widespread sympathy of the population.

April 29

GUATEMALA. — The 6,000 railwaymen employed by International Railways of Central America bring their 10-day strike against the dismissal of seven comrades to a victorious end. The Company is forced to agree to the reinstatement of the dismissed workers.

MALAYA. — The inhabitants of Pusing, recently fined £4,666 for refusing to betray the Malayan Liberation Army, are warned by the British that they "must either stop helping the terrorists or face the consequences." The "consequences" may be guessed from the treatment given to the villagers of Jenderam, Selangor State, who early this year were ordered out of their homes and then had their village completely burned down.

HUNGARY. — The law for the defence of peace, according to which persons guilty of spreading war propaganda are liable to punishment, is applied.

SOVIET UNION. — Among other delegations arriving in Moscow are delegates from the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, representatives of cultural organisations in Iceland, Finnish workers' delegations from the food and transport industries, a Finnish youth delegation, a Netherlands workers' delegation, a delegation from the Italian Confederation of Labour and Swedish and Polish trade union delegations.

April 30

KOREA. — The President of the Supreme National Assembly of the People's Republic of Korea bestows the title of Hero of the Korean People's Republic on the woman partisan Li Su Dek, as well as the order of the "State Banner" first class, and the medal of the "Golden Star."

UNITED STATES. — After declaring they would boycott all "defence" agencies from February 16, the United Labour Policy Committee, representing leaders of the A.F.L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods, vote to return to the government "defence" boards, and are given represention in the Office of Defense Mobilisation under Big Businessman Charles Wilson. But they make no move against the wage stabilisation order, which is of real and immediate importance to workers, and remains unmodified.

LAKE SUCCESS. — The U.S. representative to the United Nations, Warren Austin, says the United States wants other nations to contribute more troops to the fighting in Korea.

NEW ZEALAND. — On the pretext of acts of violence from which the de-registered dockers' union officially dissociates itself the Prime Minister accuses them of "sabotage" and prepares to set in motion the State apparatus of repression.

The first of a series of booklets under the general editorship of **S. Rostovsky,** Secretary of the WFTU

Mary Yeates

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

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MEMORANDUM

from the Delegation of the

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

to the

SEVENTH SESSION

of the

United Nations

Economic Commission

for Asia and the Far East

LAHORE, 28th February—7th March 1951

Supplement to No. 9 of World Trade Union Movement

Memorandum

from the Delegation of the

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

ON behalf of the delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions with a membership of over 78 million organised workers, and in accordance with the purpose of ECAFE and the demands of the working class of the Asian countries, the following considerations and proposals regarding the promotion of independent economic development in the ECAFE region and the betterment of the living standards of the workers in it are made.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, embracing the trade union organisations of fifty-six countries, is an important international working class organisation. Its policy is to unite workers irrespective of race, religion or political beliefs, to eradicate all forms of fascism, to combat war and the cause of war and to fight for lasting peace and for the vital interests of the workers. This policy is in full accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, it is the desire of the W.F.T.U. that this Commission should really endeavour to "promote the economic development and reconstruction" and "raise the living standards of Asia and the Far East" in conformity with the United Nations Charter and the Commission's declared purposes.

In the vast lands of Asia and the Far East live half of the world's population. Here, natural resources are abundant and the peoples are industrious and intelligent. However, with the exception of the People's Republic of China where a fundamental change has taken place, the economy of this region is still very greatly under-developed and the people's living standards are as low as ever. The working class in particular is in a state of poverty and misery. On that point there can be room for little discussion.

The conditions in the countries of Asia and the Far East have resulted in a working class and peasantry impoverished, starving and housed in animal-like conditions. Disease of all kinds is rampant and the mortality rate is the highest of any region in the world. Two figures will suffice to show the general tendency. According to statistics of the Japanese Ministry of Labour published on April 29, 1950, the number of unemployed and partially unemployed had reached over eight million by the end of 1949. Real wages of those in employment had fallen to 50% of the pre-war level.

In the Philippines, even the figures published by the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Philippine Government in March 1950 showed that the number of unemployed in that country in 1949 exceeded one million.

This simply illustrated a general situation which has been chronic in Asia and the Far East for many years, but which is consistently becoming worse.

During the past five years, the W.F.T.U. has put forward concrete proposals to the Economic and Social Council suggesting ways and means of combating unemployment, safeguarding trade union rights, doing away with forced labour and abolishing all forms of race and sex discrimination in these countries.

The United Nations Organisation and its subsidiary body the Economic and Social Council were duty bound to pay close attention to the acts of the metropolitan states which endanger the vital interests of the Asian workers and to consider seriously the proposals of the W.F.T.U. for the safeguarding of the workers' interests.

Nevertheless, due to the manipulation of the United Nations Organisation by the United States, the former has not fulfilled its functions and responsibilities. On the contrary, many of the reasonable proposals of the W.F.T.U. have been turned down at past sessions of the Economic and Social Council. We cannot but express our regret that such vital problems, which ECAFE has been set up to solve, have not, in our opinion, received the attention which they merit.

Nature of U.S. Economic Aid

What are the solutions to the economic backwardness and poverty of the people and the misery of the working class in Asia and the Far East?

Briefly any solution to the problems of the workers and peasants must start from the need to break the grip of foreign countries and capital on the life of the region, change the feudal land system, and build up an independent national economy.

Yet in this situation we find that the general background against which all plans for the development of Asia and the Far East are being studied and solutions proposed is an acceptance of the principle that even more foreign capital (in this case mainly American) should be introduced into the region.

According to Mr. Truman and his colleagues, it is the lack of "foreign capital" which makes it impossible to develop the economy of backward countries. They say that with "economic aid" from the United States, these areas can be developed and the people's living standards raised. These statements appear reasonable, and there are people who actually believe them. Unfortunately, facts entirely contradict Mr. Truman and his colleagues.

The backwardness and destitution of the ECAFE region is not due to the "lack of foreign capital," but is the very consequence of manipulation and exploitation by "foreign capital."

Mr. Truman and his colleagues further attribute the under-developed economic situation in the Asian and Far Eastern countries to the absence of science and technology, and the lack of knowledge and skill. This is not the cause but the consequence of the inability, so far, to develop an independent national economy in these countries. The cause of their economic backwardness is the penetration of foreign capital, because such capital is utilised to exploit the people and not to help the development of economic independence and freedom.

It is an irrefutable historical fact that the underdeveloped economy and poverty-stricken lives of the people in the ECAFE region are due to the penetration of imperialist forces which have used military, political and economic pressure to transform the Asian and Far Eastern nations into colonies and semi-colonies. The political and economic independence of these countries has been undermined, they have been turned into markets for surplus commodities, into sources of raw materials, into areas for exploitation of cheap labour and for investments. This has reduced the industrious and intelligent peoples of Asia to a backward and poverty-stricken condition.

Therefore, in order to develop the economy of their countries and to better their living conditions, it is only natural that the peoples of the Asian countries should first oppose the whole colonial system and fight for national independence. They have struggled in this way in the past and are continuing to struggle in the same way today. The great People's Republic of China with a population of 475 millions has already won victory.

As regards this point, Mr. Acheson has been forced to admit that "We must understand that a new era is in full course in Asia." Referring to Asian countries he has also said: "The other common aspect that they have is the revulsion against foreign domination"; and again: "the desire for national independence is the most powerful spontaneous force in Asia today."

In face of this situation, the American Government proposed U.S. "economic aid" and the Point Four Programme for the development of the backward areas of Asia and the Far East. It says that this is the best way out for the Asian people. But, in fact, this is only a new rope to strangle the Asian peoples.

In the post-war years, the United States has seized the opportunity to carry out her policy of expansion and world domination not only in Western countries, but more and more conspicuously in Asia. Her "economic aid" and Point Four Programme to "help develop the under-developed areas of Asia and the Far East" are weapons to oust the forces of other metropolitan countries from Asia, to suppress the people's liberation movement and to turn the Asian and Far Eastern countries into her colonies.

To reveal the true nature of American "aid," it is sufficient to study more closely the concrete conditions under which it is granted and its actual effects.

The methods of applying "economic aid" by the United States may be divided into two categories: the first are the "bilateral agreements" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia," and the second, the "general agreements" under Mr. Truman's Point Four Programme. The first category includes the "Sino-American Agreement on Economic Aid," or the Economic Bilateral Agreement between America and Chiang Kai-Shek (concluded July 3, 1948), the "Economic and Technical Assistance Agreement between Thailand and U.S.A." (September 19, 1940), and the recent "Memorandum on the Economic Assistance Agreement between U.S.A. and the Philippines" (November 14, 1950). The second category includes the "General Agreement for Technical Cooperation between Ceylon and U.S.A." (published November 7, 1950), which is the first standard General Agreement concluded on the basis of Point Four in the East, as was remarked officially by the United States.

In spite of all the surface appearance of these economic agreements, their real contents are of an aggressive nature.

According to the provisions of these "bilateral agreements," all countries receiving American economic aid are called upon to fulfil the following obligations:

1. The recipient countries will guarantee supervision and control by the United States over the use of American aid, thereby placing their economy under her control.
2. The recipient countries will accept the United States' "international free trade" principle, and

clear the way for the dumping of American surplus goods on to their domestic markets, thereby destroying completely their national industry.

3. The recipient countries will give the United States priority in securing supplies of strategic and raw materials.
4. As a "counterpart fund" of American aid, a sum in "national currency" equivalent in value to the American aid will be deposited in a "special account" in the national banks of the respective recipient countries, and the use of this fund will be supervised by the United States.
5. The recipient countries will be obliged to submit all information demanded by the numerous missions sent by the United States and at the same time to guarantee that the missions will "enjoy diplomatic immunities and privileges."

These are the main conditions for receiving economic aid from the United States. And no matter how the consequences may differ in degrees the general result of these agreements can only be to lower the people's living standards and prevent the formation of an independent national economy. Thus the recipient countries are forced to depend upon America and become her colony.

This is obvious from what has happened in the Philippines. Since 1946, the United States has imposed the Bell Act and the Parity Act on the Philippines, using the $620 million economic aid of the "Rehabilitation Act" as a bait.

Under these Acts, American monopoly capital, which had been trying to buy up the Philippines, further tightened its grip. In other words, on receiving "aid" from the United States, the Philippines were even further reduced to the status of an American colony.

According to the provisions of the Bell Act, the Philippines should resume her pre-war "free trade" with the United States for the first eight years after the Act comes into force, American goods must be exempted from tariff duties and restrictions on their importation removed. In the twenty years then succeeding, 5% of the fixed tariff may be levied annually. An additional 5% may be added each year afterwards. Thus the United States can take advantage of her superior industrial force to dump surplus goods on to the Philippine markets, consequently stifling the national industry of that country and bringing about a serious excess of imports in the Philippine balance of trade.

During the fifty years of American domination there was practically no development of Philippine national industry. And, though originally an agricultural country, the Philippines are now compelled to import American food as a result of the forced adaptation of her national economy to the needs of the United States. Even American tobacco is imported to this land of the world-famous Luzon tobacco. On the other hand, the import of industrial equipment really needed by the Philippines has decreased from the pre-war 25% to only 7% of the import total from the United States. This state of affairs is obviously detrimental to the interests not only of the common people, but of the national industrialists and businessmen of the Philippines as well.

In addition, the United States controls the factories, mines and finances of the Philippines through its investments and banks. According to Article 341 of the above-mentioned "Parity Act," Americans may continue to make investments in the Philippines. It is also provided that "the disposition, exploitation, development and utilisation of all agricultural timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coals, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the United States citizens."

Hence, not only foreign trade, but also the factories, mines and industries of the Philippines are put under the control of American capital. By extending loans and issuing bonds through its banks in that country, American capital furthermore manipulates the Philippines' finance. And, in collaboration with the Philippine compradores and feudal landlords, it imposes inhuman exploitation upon the people of that country, bankrupting her economy and finance and reducing her people to a deplorable condition.

Even the United States former Assistant Secretary of Finance, Daniel Bell, who conducted investigations in the Philippines last July, was compelled to admit that economic conditions in that country had deteriorated, industrial and agricultural production was below pre-war levels, while the living standards of the people were especially low as compared with pre-war. The daily wage of an agricultural worker was 1.5 pesos or less. The Philippines Government was confronted with a financial crisis and considerable treasury deficits, with its tax revenue meeting only 60% of its expenditure. Commodity prices on an average had increased 3.5 times compared with pre-war, while the credit of the currency was faltering.

Such are the results of the "economic aid" rendered by the United States. And this is but one typical example of such results. Similar measures are being adopted by the United States in other countries in Asia and the Far East.

Another typical example is the "Bilateral Agreement between the U.S.A. and Chiang Kai-shek" under which an "economic aid" of $275,000,000 was extended to Chiang Kai-shek in 1948; in return, America tightened her grip over the various departments of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the economic life of Kuomintang China.

Such "economic aid" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia" type is in fact intended to open a road, through the form of bilateral agreements, for the export of American capital, the seizure of markets, the

obtaining of strategic and raw materials, the domination of the recipient countries and their transformation into colonies.

Moreover, it is worth pointing out that " economic aid " rendered by the United States further involves the obvious aim of military and political invasion. This can best be shown by the " aid " of $6 billion given by America to the Kuomintang regime to wage a civil war of slaughter against Chinese people.

The economic aid given by the United States to the Philippines was also used by the former to secure military bases.

Many facts show that America is utilising economic " aid " to force the recipient countries to adapt themselves both internally and externally to the demands of her policy of plunder. On the one hand, this " aid " brings about daily deterioration of the national economy of the countries of Asia and the Far East and ruins the workers, peasants, small proprietors and national capitalists as well; on the other hand, it props up big capitalists and feudal landlords in those countries and supports them against the national liberation movement of the people.

It can be seen from the above that the essence of the " economic aid " of the United States, patterned on the " Marshall Plan for Asia," is not only a weapon of American monopoly to undermine the economic development of the Asian countries and exploit their people, but at the same time is also a means of vicious aggression and interference in the domestic affairs of those countries.

Truth About Point Four Programme

As regards Mr. Truman's Point Four Programme, although it is different in name from the "bilateral agreement" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia" type, in its very essence it is also of a predatory nature.

In accordance with these agreements, large numbers of American "technical experts" of all kinds can swarm over recipient countries and openly collect economic information about their natural resources. Based upon such investigations, the United States may draft different programmes in her own interest —programmes actually meant to manipulate and exploit the economy of the backward areas.

Countries accepting Point Four Programme Assistance have to concede the following special privileges to private monopolists who make investments there :

1. The recipient countries will guarantee to extend the "most favoured nation clause" or equal treatment to American investments without discrimination by law.
2. The recipient countries will guarantee the security and profit of United States investments so that American private capital will not be confiscated without compensation and the payment of "legitimate profit"; at the same time all kinds of facilities for remittance of these profits back to the United States at any time have to be provided.

In other words, American capital will enjoy every privilege in the recipient countries without any restriction.

Hence we must stress to the people of the countries in Asia and the Far East that if Mr. Truman's Point Four Programme is enforced in any country, not only will it not promote an independent national economy or raise the living standards of the people, but, on the contrary, it will bring further disasters. The aim of the Programme is to carry out the economic exploitation and political enslavement of the people concerned, through American private investments.

One particular result of the increasing penetration of United States capital and the growth of American political and economic control throughout the ECAFE region, which is of vital concern to the World Federation of Trade Unions, is the persecution of genuine Trade Union organisations.

The result of the general lowering of living standards and the interference of foreign capital in the internal affairs of the Asian countries has been a systematic repression of genuine Trade Union movements, the limitation of democratic freedom, the creation of pseudo trade union organisations under imperialist and local government control and the attempt to group them into pseudo-international federations. The workers of Asia must continually be on guard against such attacks on their trade union organisations.

The United States is not only following a policy of direct penetration in the ECAFE countries, but is also actively rearming Japan, resurrecting Japanese militarism and using it as her tool of aggression in Asia. Based on this general scheme, America is now developing large-scale military industry in Japan, turning the latter into her Asian arsenal and disrupting normal trade relations between that country and other parts of Asia, thereby hindering economic development.

After World War II, the United States started an aggressive scheme of "industrial Japan, agricultural South-east Asia." On the one hand, she is exploiting the raw material of South-east Asia to increase Japanese war production under the domination of American monopoly capital, and on the other hand, is extorting the blood and the sweat of the people of

those countries through exchanges of unequal value, thereby increasing the super-profits of American monopoly.

In this set-up of "industrial Japan, agricultural South-east Asia," the United States naturally placed herself in a leading and dominating position and put both "industrial Japan and agricultural South-east Asia" under American economic monopoly. Although Japan is an industrial nation, she is under control and domination of a colonial type and all her finances and economy are subject to United States control. Japan has lost her economic independence and is no longer an independent industrial state. She has actually become a dependency of America. The so-called "Nine Principles of the Economic Stabilisation Programme," "Dodge Line," and "Logan Concept" applied by Washington in Japan are all aimed at dominating the economy and finances of the latter and at securing super-profits for American capital. The function of the "U.S. Aid Fund" in Japan, just as in other Asian countries, is to serve as a weapon for achieving the above purposes.

All the facts show that no matter whether it is "economic aid," Point Four Programme or the building up of Japan, although they differ in methods, they are in essence all means of carrying out the American policy of expansion and aggression. They serve only to guarantee the profits of American monopoly and oppose both the independent development of national economy and real independence for the people of the countries concerned. They not only lower living standards, but also doom the national capitalists of those countries to depression and bankruptcy.

The W.F.T.U. earnestly supports economic aid which conforms with the provisions of the United States Charter for the promotion of the independence and self-reliance of under-developed areas. Such aid should be rendered according to the principle of developing national resources, industry and agriculture of the under-developed areas, and must neither infringe upon the independence and autonomy of the recipient country, nor involve any military or strategic conditions.

But the United States, which carries on a great deal of propaganda about her "economic aid" to Asia and the Far East, actually refuses to render real economic assistance to the Asian nations based on the principles of the United Nations. In contravention of the decision that "no aid shall be used as a political weapon at any time," as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 11, 1946, the United States, nevertheless, employs her economic aid as a weapon to enforce her policy and to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Asian countries.

Road for Economic Development of Ecafe Countries —China's Experience

What then is the correct path for the development of the backward economy and the improvement of the peoples' living standards in the countries of Asia and the Far East? Is it possible for the peoples of these countries to develop their economy independently of foreign conditional assistance?

In order that this important problem may be seen in its true lights, the experience of China may be considered. How China develops her economy and how she achieves her economic construction furnish the most appropriate answer to this question.

Under Kuomintang rule, China depended on the United States for large sums of so-called "economic aid." However, the result was that American monopoly capital and Kuomintang bureaucratic capital allied with it, drew huge profits from China. American goods flooded the market, American capital and Chinese bureaucratic capital collaborated with each other and strangled China's economy. They organised civil war and created complete financial bankruptcy, malignant currency inflation and an endless rise in commodity prices. Normal commerce came to a standstill and rural economy was entirely disrupted. Finally, the whole national economy collapsed.

The reactionary rule of American imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism was the fundamental cause of the economic crisis in China. Only by shattering the fetters which hindered the development of China's economy, was it possible for China's national economy to flourish and the Chinese people's living standards to improve. This is the truth that the Chinese people learned from their bitter century-old experience. Like one man they took part in the heroic people's liberation struggle and overthrew the rule of American imperialism and its puppet, the Kuomintang. It was not until the grip of foreign capital had been destroyed that a wide and unobstructed road was opened for the development of China's economy.

Firstly, the independent development of China's national economy was guaranteed after the eradica-

tion of imperialist influence and the special privileges of imperialism. In the past, the imperialists opened banks in China and controlled China's finance. But today, China has abolished foreign imperialists' privileges which enabled them to exercise this control. China has independently established strict control over her finances and prohibited the circulation of foreign banknotes in the country. Transactions in foreign exchange, foreign currency, gold and silver are all in the hands of the State Banks. The People's Government reserves the sole right to issue banknotes. Formerly, imperialism violated China's tariff autonomy and controlled China's foreign trade. In this way, it monopolised the market, dumping foreign goods, buying raw materials at low prices and strangling Chinese national industry. Today, China enjoys full tariff autonomy, she has established control over foreign trade and created healthy conditions for the industrialisation of China.

Secondly, the elimination of the monopoly over and exploitation of the whole national economy by bureaucratic capital enabled the various sections of China's economy to make reasonable adjustments and to develop systematically. During the 20 years that they held power, the four big families of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and Chen Li-fu, concentrated in their hands a colossal sum of between 10 and 20 billion U.S. dollars, thus placing the nation at their mercy. After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the monopoly capital of the four big families was immediately confiscated and became the property of the new democratic state. This measure uprooted the economic foundations of Kuomintang rule, and changed this monopoly capital from a means of oppressing the people into a method of rendering it service.

Now, "all state-owned resources and enterprises are the public property of all the people and are the main material basis on which the People's Republic will develop production and bring about a prosperous economy." (Article 28, *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*).

Thirdly, by land reform land taken from the landlord class was distributed to the landless and land-hungry peasants. This reform has fundamentally changed the feudal land ownership system to one of peasant ownership. The production forces of the villages have been fully released, the life of the peasantry improved, and their purchasing power has risen. This release of productive forces has not only provided unlimited sources of capital for industrial development and an adequate supply of food and raw materials for the cities, but has also opened an extensive home market for industrial products. An important condition has thus been created for the development of industry and the national economy.

In place of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy, an independent and free new democratic economy came into existence. The economy inherited by the Chinese people from the Kuomintang was in a very bad state, but in the short space of one year, the Chinese People's Republic has already obtained remarkable results.

These achievements are first and foremost manifested in the unification of the national finance and economy, in the balancing of the national budget and in the stabilisation of finance and commodity prices. This put an end to currency inflation and speculation created by imperialism and Kuomintang rule. Economy and trade were stabilised, enabling public and private production and commerce to proceed normally. This is an important achievement in the economic history of China.

The Kuomintang could only survive through issuing large quantities of banknotes and borrowing foreign money. But today for the first time, China's finances and economy has been unified, and her national budget balanced. And the Chinese People's Government has been capable of carrying out important reforms in a very short period and obtaining results, in spite of the blockade by American imperialism.

In the period from 1937 to 1948, under the Kuomintang, commodity prices increased 6 million times. However, since March 1950 commodity prices throughout the country have been stabilised, and the soaring of commodity prices throughout the past 12 years has been brought to a halt. This has guaranteed the economic life of the people all over the land and has also laid the foundation for the rehabilitation and development of industry and commerce. Capital is invested in industry and commerce instead of being lost in speculation. A sound beginning has been made in the entire country for the establishment of a new democratic economic order and the reform of the national economy.

The second achievement is the development of agricultural water conservancy, flood control and drought and pest prevention. In the era of Kuomintang rule, land accumulated in the hands of the big landlords. The peasants became impoverished. Large tracts of arable land lay waste. Livestock decreased. Water conservancy was neglected for a long period. Consequently, productivity in agriculture greatly diminished. But today, the situation in the villages is completely changed. Peasants of China who have already obtained land or are obtaining land, are working with unparalleled enthusiasm. Moreover, with the systematic help and direction of the Government, the peasants are being organised into various forms of mutual aid teams and co-operative production schemes, voluntarily and to their mutual benefit.

A campaign for improving agricultural technique is in full swing. The use of fertilisers has increased; improvements of agricultural implements and seeds, and protection and breeding of plough animals have been carried out.

Furthermore, due to the People's Government's policy of promoting production, large loans have been extended to the peasants. Agricultural products may be sold to the Government to ensure legitimate profit to the farmers. As a result, peasants who have obtained land have displayed new enthusiasm in their work.

Agricultural productivity has been raised to unprecedented heights. In 1950, the crop yield throughout China was over 120 million tons, an increase of 9% compared with 1949. In the same year, the total production of cotton was 710,500 tons, surpassing that of 1949 by 56%. China's rural economy is steadily marching forward.

In 1950 water conservancy projects alone such as blocking breaches, repairing dykes, opening up channels, dredging riverbeds and constructing new waterways amounted to more than 419 million cubic metres of earthwork. Here, the Huai River water conservancy project deserves special notice. Throughout China's history this river has never been properly maintained; it has had a long record of overflowing its banks. But today this river is under proper control. The completion of these large-scale conservancy projects and the extensive flood control work which was completed before the rainy season have brought a new countenance to the water conservancy system of the country. The major part of 6,600,000 hectares of land which was flooded at the time of liberation has been turned into fertile land in 1950. Apart from the above, in 1950 China reclaimed over 201,000 hectares of paddy fields. The achievements in water conservancy have provided favourable conditions for developing agricultural production in China. The above facts suffice to show that agriculture, the backward section of China's national economy, has begun to prosper.

The third point is that during the past year the People's Republic of China has also achieved outstanding results with regard to the rehabilitation and development of factories, mines and communications; a sound preliminary foundation has been laid for the industrialisation of China. Long fettered by the combined forces of reaction, China's industry was originally very backward. Totalling approximately 10% of the whole production of the country, it was composed for the most part of light industries, with the textile industry as the main component; most of the raw materials were obtained from the United States.

After the founding of the Central People's Government of China, it was decided that:

"In order to lay the foundation for the industrialisation of the country, the central point of industrial work shall be the planned, systematic rehabilitation and development of heavy industry, such as mining, the iron and steel industry, power industry, machine-making industry, electrical industry and the main chemical industries, etc. At the same time, the production of the textile industry and other light industries beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood shall be restored and increased so as to meet the needs of the people's daily consumption." (Article 35, *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*).

This is a policy of independence, autonomy and the construction of national industry. It differs entirely from the former policy of industrial construction adopted by the Kuomintang regime, which relied on, and was an appendage of American imperialism.

In a report released by the Ministry of Heavy Industry of the People's Government of China, the following comparisons are drawn with regard to the total production of the various principal products of China's heavy industry:

In 1950, between January and August, as compared with the corresponding period of 1949, the production of pig iron increased 11.4 times, cement 3.8 times, ammonium sulphate 3.2 times, and machinery also more than 3 times. In others, such as the production of steel in North-east China, according to statistics for the first half of 1950, a rise in production of 2.9 times was registered as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

According to figures released by the Ministry of the Fuel Industry the production of coal in 1950 increased by 37.35% as compared with 1949; the generation of electricity increased by 30.7% and the consumption of electricity by 57.5%.

In the textile industry, in 1950, the total production of cloth by public and private cotton mills throughout China exceeded the plan by 118%. At present the rate of cloth production by state-operated factories alone has surpassed the total production level under the Kuomintang regime.

In the restoration and reconstruction of communications, the achievements are even more astonishing. In a short period, from the time of China's liberation till 1950, 90% of the railways of the whole country were open to traffic. Now, railroad administration all over the land has been entirely unified. In 1950 for the first time, there was a nation-wide, unified and complete transport plan for the railways. This is unprecedented in the history of Chinese railways and a great reform. It marks an important milestone on the Chinese railway industry's progress.

Due to the improvement in railroad administration, equipment and installation, the efficiency in railway transport has been raised to unprecedented heights. Similar results have also been obtained in road and water transport.

From these facts it can been seen that with the imperialists driven out, China's communications which used to be controlled by foreigners, and which are now in the hands of the people themselves, are progressing and developing daily.

The fourth point is that in China today, in the field of international and domestic trade, new achievements have also been obtained. Under the Kuomintang, the trend of a serious excess of imports over exports persisted; but with the founding of the People's Republic, this trend has been stopped. Exports and imports have been balanced and a relatively favourable balance of trade can be seen.

For instance, in 1946, because of the large-scale dumping of U.S. goods on Chinese markets, China's

excess of imports over exports reached the huge amount of U.S. $410 million, constituting 74% of the total volume of trade. But today, a change has been effected in foreign trade. According to the returns of Chinese Customs Administration the total volume of exports and imports in all ports throughout the country amounted to U.S. $460 million for the first half of 1950. Exports constituted 57.3% and imports 42.7%. Actual excess of exports over imports amounted to U.S. $67 million.

In addition, the items of export and import goods have also begun to undergo a change. Particularly in imports, the ratio of various types of basic production machinery, appliances, chemical products and other industrial raw materials has begun to increase while that of luxury and general consumer goods has greatly decreased.

This signifies that a great achievement has been carried out in China's tariff policy and in the control of foreign trade. The economy of China has already freed itself from the clutches of imperialist economy.

In domestic trade China concentrates its strength on the development of the state and co-operative trade system. At the same time, progress can also be seen in private business circles. Under the principle of benefiting both public and private capital, a free trade policy within the country is being resolutely implemented. And within the whole country, this policy is unifying the planned adjustment and allocation of materials, strengthening their flow between the cities and villages, guaranteeing supplies to various localities, stabilising the prices of commodities, cracking down on speculation and developing proper business.

Special mention should be made of the achievement of co-operative business in China during the past year. For China and the other countries in Asia which are principally dominated by scattered petty peasant economy, co-operative organisations have great significance in the development of a national economy.

Up to the end of September 1950, there were 45,000 co-operatives in the cities and villages. And there were approximately 25,120,000 members of co-operatives.

These co-operatives have become a nation-wide, systematic mass economic organisation of China today. They play a very important role in reducing intermediary exploitation, protecting the interests of small producers and consumers, solving difficulties among the masses, organising and aiding production in agricultural and subsidiary industries, and organising refugees in stricken areas into schemes of production and self-help. They have become a force that cannot be overlooked in the entire people's economy of China.

Finally, China has not only rehabilitated and developed her economy, but has also raised the living standards of the Chinese people. The peasants of China have begun to throw off the conditions of oppression under which they had to labour, day in day out, without getting enough to eat and wear. And today, like masters, they work zealously and happily, enjoying the fruits of their own labour and using their own production implements on their own soil. The Chinese peasants are becoming more affluent, many poor peasants have become middle peasants.

The lives of the working people have been similarly improved and the average wage of workers and employers is being raised yearly. Take the North-east area as an example : In December 1949, as compared with May of the same year, the average wage had risen by 27%, while the average wage of December 1950, as compared with that of December 1949, had increased by 8%. The average wage of technicians was raised by 38.9% in the same period. Because of the stabilisation of prices in China, an increase in wages is equivalent to an increase in real income. At the same time, great strides have been made in the direction of labour insurance and welfare work for the workers. The People's Government, together with the All-China Federation of Labour, have exerted great efforts in establishing hospitals, homes for the aged, and schools, clubs, etc., for the workers. These are designed for the improvement of the health, culture and recreation of the working masses.

In short, following the victory of the revolution, the Chinese people have already broken loose from the hard lot which was imposed on them by the imperialists and the Kuomintang regime, and they are successfully building up their country and are themselves raising their living standards.

From the above facts, we may see that the development of China's economic reconstruction is entirely independent of American economic aid to which brutal political, military and economic ties were attached. It is the result of refusal of and opposition to such aid. It is the result of united and strenuous struggles undertaken by the great Chinese people.

In seeking to find a way for the economic development of the countries of Asia and the Far East, a satisfactory answer may be found in the experience of China.

What major experiences and lessons can be drawn from the economic development of China for the benefit of other countries? It is that by resolutely opposing American penetration and aggression as China did, national economy may be developed and the people's living standards raised . The method of economic development in China is the correct road of economic development for other countries in Asia. Only after freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism and establishing a people's government can the living standards of the people be raised, working conditions improved and trade union rights safeguarded. This is the conclusion furnished us by history.

Our Proposals

On the basis of this analysis and in accordance with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the original purposes of ECAFE to truly promote the economic development of the countries of Asia and the Far East, raise the economic standards of their people and protect the rights of Asian workers, we request that the present Session of ECAFE should adopt the following minimum programme :

1. Safeguard national independence and the economic autonomy of the ECAFE countries and promote the development of their national industry, condemn U.S. economic penetration in the ECAFE region as a violation of the United Nations Charter.
2. Propose that the United Nations insist that Governments effectively protect trade union rights, as well as freedom of thought, expression, publication and assembly, that existing anti-labour laws be repealed and forced labour abolished, that all discrimination based on race, sex or age be wiped out and the living conditions of the workers be effectively bettered.
3. Establish a sub-committee of ECAFE with the participation of representatives of the W.F.T.U. to investigate the question of safeguarding trade union rights in countries of Asia and the Far East.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

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The Scabs' Demagogy is Belied by the Facts

THIS year has seen the development of particularly widespread and intense workers' struggles in all the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries to counter the offensive on their living standards.

The workers are fighting against war preparations and the immediate results of the arms race—swollen war expenditure, increased taxes, inflation, the reduction of capital expenditure and civilian consumption, the cutting of housing projects and the reduction of pensions. The workers are also fighting against repression and the offensive against trade union rights.

The May Day demonstrations clearly demonstrated that the workers are firmly resolved to continue and develop these struggles, in spite of violent repression.

Workers' unity is being forged in the struggle despite the machinations of the splitters and the disruptive work carried on by the agents of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement.

The thick smoke-screen of lies and slander against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic cannot conceal the simple living truth from the workers, namely that only in those lands where the workers themselves hold power is there a steady improvement in the workers' welfare, and clearly defined prospects for a continuous expansion of the people's economy and raising of the workers' living standards. The workers of these countries are firmly and resolutely defending the cause of peace.

THE ordinary working man is inevitably led to reflection over the comparison between the situation in the capitalist countries and in the USSR.

Why, for example, has Great Britain not yet succeeded in getting out of the post-war crisis although it was for many long decades the workshop of the world, lord of the seas and banker for the whole world, had accumulated large gold reserves through the persevering labour of the British workers and the exploitation of the colonies—and suffered relatively little from the war?

Rationing is still in force in Great Britain, there is still a shortage of foodstuffs, clothing, and homes for British workers. The country is going from crisis to crisis: the currency crisis, the fuel crisis, the electric power crisis, the meat shortage and so on.

Similarly, why is it that in France, which also suffered only limited destruction during the war, today, six years after the end of the conflict, the workers' wages are half their pre-war value? Why are prices steadily rising and the French people's living standards falling without cease, and why has no end been put to the "filthy war" dragged on in Viet Nam by the Governments which follow each other at ever-increasing speed?

Why is it that in the U.S.A., which enriched itself in the war out of the blood and suffering of the peoples, the workers' living standards are not rising but falling, while prices are soaring, the inflation threat is increasing, expenditure on social services is being cut, a sharp housing crisis is developing, and there is large-scale unemployment; while a state of emergency is declared in time of peace and crazed Senators and Generals see no other way out of the situation than the use of the atom bomb, the arms race and war hysteria.

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WHY is it that at the same time, the Soviet Union, which suffered incalculable losses during the war, is making steady and successful progress? It will be remembered that in the USSR, 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages were completely destroyed, 25 million people were left without shelter, the railways in the occupied areas were put out of action, all the mines in the country's main mining area—the Donbas—were destroyed and flooded, all factories in the towns and villages invaded by the enemy were razed to the ground, agricultural cultivation and machinery destroyed and the cattle stolen. And yet, only two years after the end of the war, the USSR had completely abolished rationing of all goods and the five-year plan was successfully completed in four years and three months. The Soviet Union has completely rebuilt the factories and plants destroyed, has restored its agriculture and has taken a gigantic stride forward with a 70 per cent increase in production. It has built more than 6,000 new factories, introduced three successive price reductions, reformed the currency, and considerably raised the people's living standards. Why is it, moreover, that the Soviet Union marches ever more determinedly onwards, undertaking huge new construction projects unknown to history and which no capitalist country is capable of carrying out?

Why have People's Poland and the other People's Democracies, pillaged and bled white during the war, been able to wipe out the chaos in record time, to surpass the pre-war level of production, abolish unemployment and considerably improve the workers' well-being?

Why has the great Chinese people succeeded, in little more than one year, in restoring the country's railway network which had been completely destroyed; banishing inflation, which for scores of years had been the scourge of China's economy; obtaining a rich harvest, in undertaking immense construction projects in industry and agriculture; starting an important land-improvement scheme, reafforestation, adjustment of river beds; intensifying the fight against unemployment, illiteracy and poverty; and raising the general living standards of the population?

Why is all this possible in these war-plundered countries, and impossible in the United States which grew rich out of the war, or in wealthy Britain, or in France, countries which did not suffer so greatly from the war?

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THERE is one simple and irrefutable reply to these simple questions. The difference between the situation in the USSR and the People's Democracies on the one hand, and the capitalist countries on the other, is to be explained by the fact that in the first group of countries, the power and the country's entire economy belong to the workers themselves, who work for themselves and for their State. In these countries, the Governments devote all their efforts and all their thoughts to the development of the economy and the expansion of the workers' welfare. They are vitally interested in the preservation of peace and in the limitation of armaments.

But in the capitalist countries, on the contrary, the economy, and therefore real political power, lies in the hands of the capitalists and landowners who are solely concerned with extorting the biggest possible profits for themselves and their class. The efforts and thoughts of the Governments of these countries are directed towards other ends—the maintenance and consolidation of capitalist domination by force; the stifling of all the workers' striving for freedom; the "annihilation of Communism," by which they mean the USSR, the People's Democracies, People's China, the German Democratic Republic, and all progressive workers' organisations in all lands, for they regard them as a threat to their social "order" of injustice, poverty, war and exploitation.

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THE imperialists are prepared to go to any extreme to preserve their domination and swell their profits, up to and including the unleashing of war. They have started and are continuing frantic preparations for this war—naturally at the workers' expense, while they themselves are making huge profits from this preparation.

It is obvious that the capitalists cannot openly declare their true reasons for hating the Soviet Union and everything progressive. They are forced to lie and to resort to expedients. They try and pass themselves off as peace-loving democrats, champions of liberty and equality. They attempt to justify their aggressive designs on the grounds of so-called Soviet "aggressiveness."

The workers can expect nothing else from such people. It would be naive and childish to believe that the bourgeoisie is capable of being objective about the States where the workers have taken power.

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THIS same attitude of hostility towards the USSR and the other countries where power belongs to the workers, has been adopted by the trade union leaders of the "Scab International" which has installed itself in Brussels.

When progressive labour leaders declare that the so-called "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" is an instrument of imperialism, this is by no means a gratuitous insult or an exaggeration.

The Confederation was set up with the approval of the United States and British Governments. It carries out its work under the benevolent eye of the State Department and the Foreign Office, maintaining touch with the whole network of governmental institutions in the United States, Great Britain and other capitalist countries.

The fundamental aim of this organisation is to "fight communism." This is the factor uniting the leaders of the Confederation, and if this aim were removed, a fight would immediately break out between them and the whole organisation would collapse.

Naturally we are referring here to the leaders of this organisation and not to the workers belonging to trade union organisations affiliated to the Confederation.

Unfortunately, a certain number of workers belonging to these organisations still believe in the demagogic speeches of the "Scab International" leaders, either because these workers do not have the opportunity, with the means at their disposal, of seeing things in perspective, or because they do not attach any particular importance to the Confederation's work which is injurious to the workers themselves.

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AN example of this kind of demagogy and this contemptible deception of the workers, is provided by the recent anti-Soviet slander of the "Scab International" leaders against the Soviet trade unions at the Santiago (Chile) Session of the Economic and Social Council. They sought to demonstrate that the

Soviet trade unions are not real unions. Naturally, the lie is given to this slander by the scab union leaders' own declarations during the war years, when they were still claiming to be friends of the Soviet people, as well as by the many reports from trade union delegations from all corners of the earth who have visited the USSR in large numbers, seen what they wanted to see and spoken freely to whomsoever they wanted to speak.

In actual fact, no single trade union organisation of any capitalist country whatsoever, including the British Trades Union Congress, the American AFL and CIO, enjoys one-fifth of the influence, weight and importance in every aspect of the social and cultural life of the country, as well as the rights and responsibilities, that the Soviet trade unions possess.

American workers' organisations have more than once remarked that if there were in the AFL and CIO one-fifth of the genuine democracy which exists in the Soviet trade unions, then things would be very diffcrent in these two organisations; and that in any event, men like Green, Matthew Woll, Dubinsky, Murray, Carey and the like would not even be able to stick their noses inside the American trade unions.

For example, it would be absolutely impossible in the Soviet trade unions for such an attitude to be adopted against the workers as that recently resorted to (and not for the first time) by Deakin, General Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union. When the representatives of locked-out dockers went to seek his aid, he refused to see them.

From the outset, the very fact of a lock-out is impossible in the USSR. Secondly, if any trade union leader whatsoever dared to ignore a workers' delegation, he would himself be put outside within 24 hours. But Deakin still keeps his well paid life-post as General Secretary, just as if nothing had happened, while boasting that "true democracy" prevails in his union and that in the Soviet trade unions, according to him, this does not exist.

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ANOTHER example of their shameless deception of the workers is provided by the May Day manifesto issued by the strike-breakers of the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."

The entire manifesto is nothing but frenzied demagogy and the incitement of the workers in capitalist countries against the USSR and the People's Democracies.

The scabs claim, for example, that they are in favour of peace and unity, whereas in actual fact they back the arms race, divide the workers and undermine trade union unity.

They claim that it is the Soviet Union's policy which forces the imperialist

powers to rearm. But the facts also give the lie to this slander. The workers see that it is the United States and not the Soviet Union which has declared the country to be in a state of emergency in peace-time, which is spending three-quarters of its budget on rearmament, and which is recruiting a far bigger army than it had during the war against the fascists.

It is not the Soviet Union which is building military and air bases in Mexico, Cuba, Canada, along the United States frontiers, but the United States which is surrounding the USSR by a ring of military and air bases. No one in the USSR is threatening to drop atom bombs on New York, Washington, Detroit or Pittsburg, whereas in the United States, brainless Senators and responsible statesmen openly threaten the USSR with the atom bomb. It is the United States, not the USSR, which drew up the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, which is rearming Germany and Japan and preparing a Pacific Pact. And yet, the leaders of the "Scab International" have the impudence to assert that the Soviet Union is the aggressor and the United States imperialists are poor innocent little lambs.

If these men really believed in the aggressiveness of the USSR and the love for peace of the United States rulers, then they should support the proposal for a peace pact between the five great powers, they should back the demand for the banning of the atom weapon and atomic propaganda, and take part in the international campaign to preserve peace.

But they do quite the contrary. The police in the capitalist countries persecute the defenders of peace; they themselves oppose the banning of the atom weapon and the conclusion of a peace pact and conduct propaganda in favour of war.

Then they put forward in their manifesto the demand for "equality of sacrifice."

They call on the workers to make sacrifices on an "equal" footing with the lords of Wall Street, with the Stock Exchange sharks and with the other multi-millionaires who are creating war hysteria, and amassing fabulous profits in the arms race and the bloody adventure in Korea.

"Equality of sacrifice" between the exploiter and the exploited, between the war profiteers and those who bear the whole burden of the arms race!

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IT is not surprising that class-conscious workers contemptuously turn away from the black-legs' International and appeal to those workers still dazzled by its propaganda, to think things over, to see where the Greens, Murrays, Careys, Deakins, and Oldenbroeks are driving them. Their path results in divisions among the workers; their road leads to the abyss of war.

In contrast, the World Fedration of Trade Unions defends the cause of friendship between the peoples. It stretches a fraternal hand to workers of all political and religious beliefs and of every race and nationality.

It repudiates the Scab International leaders' false assertion that the WFTU unites communists alone. The WFTU is a trade union organisation, not a party. By their very nature, the trade unions are organisations which unite both workers belonging to this or that party and workers who have no party affiliation.

Therefore Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Muslims and Buddhists belong to the trade union organisations affiliated to the WFTU. All of them fight for the same common cause.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is a free and voluntary association of trade unions which are non-party organisations having the objective of improving the workers' conditions.

The WFTU rejects the arms race; it stands for a peace pact between the five great powers. It is against the rearmament of Germany and Japan. The WFTU defends the unity of the workers in the fight for their economic and social demands.

The WFTU is against so-called "equality of sacrifice." If the capitalists want an arms race, then let them bear the entire burden of these sacrifices themselves and not impose them on the workers.

The WFTU supports the idea of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist systems and considers it perfectly possible to find a peaceful solution to all questions in dispute. It considers that the recognition of this principle gives hope of release from the arms race and the fear of war, and makes it possible to start on a systematic reduction of armaments.

The WFTU is for the peaceful and speedy settlement of the Korean question, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and for giving the martyred Korean people complete freedom to settle its internal affairs itself.

It is precisely for these reasons that the World Federation of Trade Unions has always been and remains the sole fighting trade union organisation of the working class of all lands which bears high the banner of proletarian solidarity, mutual assistance, peace, progress and the workers' welfare.

SERGEI ROSTOVSKY.

MAY D

NEVER before has May Day been celebrated by the workers of the world with more fighting spirit and unanimity on aims in the struggle than May Day 1951. In a situation in which United States imperialism, increasingly aggressive, is menacing the peoples with war, and when the workers' living standards in capitalist countries are steadily falling, May Day was the demonstration of a single, common and united struggle by all workers for bread, peace and liberty.

But the May Day demonstrations were held under widely different conditions in the various countries. In those countries where the State defends the interests of the workers—in the Soviet Union, China, the People's Democracies, the German Democratic Republic—the day was celebrated on a tremendous scale and in overflowing joy. In other countries, the governments used every possible means, including brutal police repression, to impede the holding of the demonstrations and to limit the workers' fighting spirit.

By this very contrast, the common celebration of May Day by the workers of all parts of the world brings out more clearly and strikingly their determination to unite and fight, as one, for their welfare and for peace.

MOSCOW

In endless ranks, Moscow workers march through Red Square.

RIGHT: **U.S. delegates wave to cheering Moscow demonstrators hailing them.**

AY 1951

Magnificent Expression of the Workers' Desire For PEACE and UNITY

HUGE mass movements shook one of the most important bases of United States imperialism—Spain. The fact that for the first time since Franco seized power, May Day was marked by widespread demonstrations throughout the country is of particularly significant importance. Neither the threats of the authorities, the preventive arrests, nor the despatch of the cruiser "Almirante Cervera" to Bilbao were able to stop the workers from celebrating the day of international working-class solidarity. In Seville, Malaga and throughout the province of Andalusia, the workers refused to go to work. 5,000 textile workers struck in Mataro. In Barcelona, in spite of the calling out of considerable police forces, factory-gate meetings were held and many textile and heavy industry plants remained closed. These demon-

PARIS

ABOVE: **Young Parisian girls, carrying the flags of the five Great Powers, demand the signature of a Peace Pact.**

RIGHT: **The Place de la Bastille in Paris. "Unity for our demands," "Unity for Peace," were the May day slogans in France.**

strations, just as the recent magnificent strikes, show the workers of other lands the Spanish workers' militancy and self-sacrifice and spread confusion in the imperialist camp.

In the eastern hemisphere, another base of U.S. imperialism, Japan, was also the scene of magnificent May Day celebrations. The American authorities, followed by the Japanese Government, had banned the only big demonstration which was to take place in front of the Emperor's Palace in Tokio. So 50,000 workers belonging to progressive trade unions, together with many Koreans, organised big separate demonstrations in four districts of the town, at which they demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty and protested against the imperialists' war preparations. In other towns, the workers held tremendous joint demonstrations—100,000 people attended the demonstration in Osaka for example. The police provoked incidents in a number of towns and made arbitrary arrests. Eight demonstrators were injured at Toyahashi. In spite of the American authorities and the Japanese Government 1,500,000 people celebrated May Day in Japan, in solidarity with the progressive anti-imperialist forces of the whole world.

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IN Iran, the battle is on with both British and U.S. imperialism. On May Day, all factories were closed in Teheran, and public transport services did not function. More than 70,000 demonstrators voted for a resolution demanding the eight-hour day, increased wages, the punishment of those responsible for the recent bloody events in Abadan, Bonder-Mazour and Ispahan, and the respect of democratic liberties.

In Syria and the Lebanon, the authorities had banned all May Day demonstrations. The police acted with great brutality, arresting more than 20 people in Damascus and firing on students distributing leaflets. But they only partially succeeded in preventing the workers from demonstrating. At Beirut, in spite of the mobilisation of the police, the gendarmerie and the troops, most of the factories stayed shut and demonstrations were organised outside some of them.

Throughout the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, the May Day demonstrations were held under the slogan of the fight against imperialism. For example, no less than 250,000 workers demonstrated at Djakarta, capital of Indonesia, appealing for a fight against imperialism, for peace, and freedom, and the workers' welfare. In Rangoon, a huge demonstration was held in which peasants, students, shopkeepers, street salesmen, etc., took part and which enthusiastically adopted resolutions proposed by Thakin Lwin, President of the Burma Trades Union Congress, denouncing American imperialism and the Burmese Government's subservience.

* * *

THE workers' determination to fight the U.S. stranglehold on their country and against its consequences was also demonstrated in Latin America on May Day.

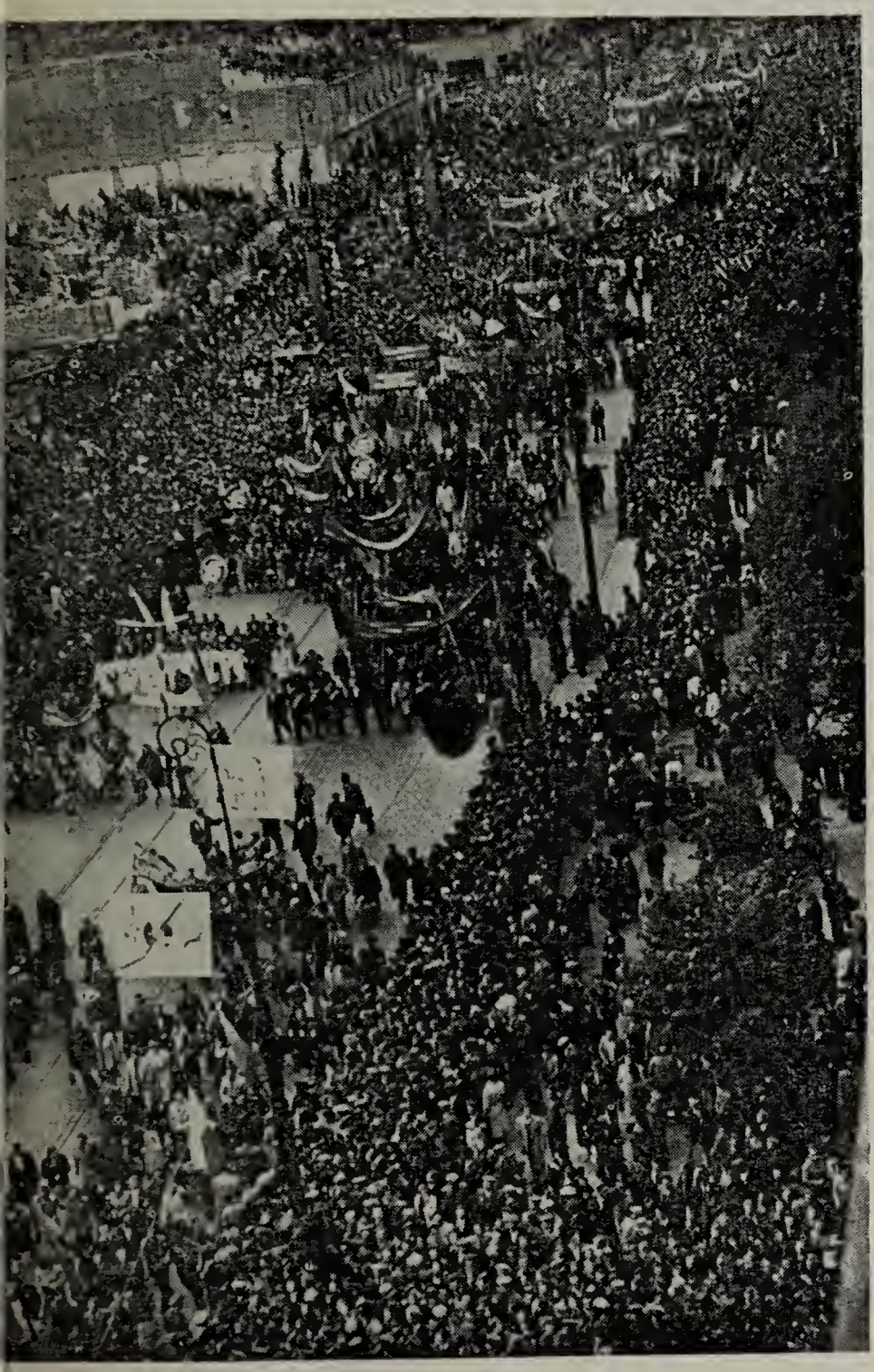
In Havana (Cuba) for example, 25,000 workers went to the stadium to hear Lazaro Pena, Vice President of the W.F.T.U. and General Secretary of the General Confedera-

TURIN

In Turin, children and youth demonstrate for peace. The workers of the "Great Motors" factory (Fiat) carry slogans for peace production.

WARSAW

Workers, intellectuals, old and young, men and women—all Warsaw is on the streets to celebrate May Day, greeting the 6-year plan and demonstrating their love for peace.



tion of Workers of Cuba, make an important speech. The crowd gavc a long ovation to the slogans: "A 30 per cent wage increase," "Not one Cuban soldier for Korea," and "For a peace pact between the five great powers." The large police forces massed outside the stadium were not able to prevent the workers from celebrating this day with effect.

At Rio de Janeiro, the Government had banned and rendered all street demonstrations impossible, so the workers organised a symbolic visit to the graves of Zelia Magalhaes and Lafaiete Fonseca, working-class heroes. In the evening,

Roberto Morena, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers of Brazil, made a speech stressing the important role played by the W.F.T.U.

At Santiago de Chile, the police also tried to prevent the celebration of May Day, but the workers, following an appeal from the Workers' Confederation, succeeded in organising a meeting at which the policy of the United States and the Government of Chile were forcefully condemned.

In Mexico, the Workers' and Peasants' Alliance of Mexico organised a big demonstration at which the speakers condemned the American agression against Korea. The speeches made by Lombardo Toledano, President of the C.T.A.L. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and other trade union leaders received enthusiastic ovations.

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IN the United States, May Day was widely celebrated. In New York, 75,000 people marched in procession between dense walls of spectators. On the rostrum were progressive trade union leaders, intellectuals, writers, and others. The writers Howard Fast and Albert Kahn marched in the demonstration with the negro trade union leader Ferdinand Smith. In the lead were anti-Fascist veterans of the second world war, followed by members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who carried banners declaring "Lincoln Brigade Veterans Fight for Peace," "No Alliance with Franco," "No Reprisals against the Barcelona Strikers."

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THE workers' determination to make the fight for bread and the fight for peace a single struggle and their determination to wage this struggle in unity was the dominating feature of the May Day celebrations in France and Italy as well as in many other capitalist countries.

In Paris, the "Regional United Action Committee for the Preparation of May Day 1951" organised the demonstration in which hundreds of thousands of workers took part. Alongside workers belonging to the C.G.T. marched members of the C.F.T.C. (Christian unions) and Force Ouvriere, (Right-Wing Socialist unions), thus showing their leaders their disapproval of their disruptive policy.

Hundreds of peace-doves are released during the big May Day demonstration on Marx-Engels Square in Berlin.

BERLIN

Such unity exists also between French and North-African workers living in France, so the police tried out a brutal disruptive manoeuvre by savagely attacking the North-African workers marching in solid ranks with their French brothers. In united riposte, the Frenchmen and North-Africans repelled the police attack. Similar police provocations took place at the May Day demonstrations in Longwy, Mezieres, Maubeuge, Rouen, etc. Everywhere, the French workers rushed to the aid of the North-African workers, proving to the Government that any attempt to divide them is doomed to failure.

Tremendous demonstrations took place throughout Italy. 50,000 people filled the great square in front of the Coliseum in Rome. A huge banner spanned the square bearing the slogan: "Our unity will bar the way to war and put an end to hunger and unemployment." At a magnificent meeting in Milan, G. Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.T.U., made an appeal to the demonstrators for a united fight for bread and peace.

* * *

IN spite of police repression, particularly big demonstrations took place in Western Germany, proving that the workers of this country, which has been handed over to U.S. imperialism, stand resolutely alongside the progressive forces in the world. The slogan of a plebiscite against the remilitarisation of Germany, together with the slogan of united action by all workers, dominated the demonstrations. To give some figures showing the size of the demonstrations, there were 80,000 demonstrators in Munich, 60,000 in Duisbourg, 30,000 in Dortmund, 80,000 in Hamburg.

In Munich, one speaker tried to address the demonstrators to advocate the formation of a "European army." His voice was drowned in booing by the crowd which shouted: "We don't want an army but a plebiscite against rearmament." In Kiel, all the police forces were mobilised against 15,000 demonstrators from whom they tried to tear away banners protesting against the Bonn Government's ban on the plebiscite. Serious clashes also took place in many other towns but the demonstrators everywhere bore high their peace slogans.

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IN the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, everywhere where the workers have taken possession of power and the means of production, it is not by a fight against capitalist employers that they improve their living conditions, but by a fight for the ever better organisation of their own work, for the steady improvement of their own social and cultural organisations, by the fight against nature, which yields her wealth only to those who know how to seize it from her. They also need peace to be able to do this.

In the capitals of the People's Democracies, the crowd of workers, peasants, students, men and women, marched in their hundreds of thousands past the rostrums upon which trade union leaders had taken their places alongside the chiefs of State. In all the speeches and on all the banners, the main theme was both: "the completion of the Plan for economic, social and cultural construction" and "the fight for peace." The workers in the People's Democracies celebrated May Day in the towns and countryside with joy in their construction, aided by a powerful State, a Socialist society.

Demonstrations of an unprecedented size and enthusiasm marked May Day throughout the German Democratic Republic. 200,000 workers demonstrated at Chemnitz, the great industrial centre in Saxony, 170,000 at Halle, 100,000 at Erfurt. In Berlin, more than 900,000 workers, intellectuals, craftsmen, etc., took part in the march and their slogans for the completion of the five-year plan and the fight for peace were acclaimed by the crowd.

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PEOPLE'S China celebrated May Day 1951 in undescribable enthusiasm—the second May Day they have celebrated. 600,000 people took part in the demonstration in Peking, greeted by Mao Tse-tung and the Central Gov-

PEKING

At the May Day demonstration in Peking, the beloved leaders of the Chinese people stand on the tribune. RIGHT TO LEFT: Chou En-lei, Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi. In Peking, thousands of young people get ready to dance the picturesque drum-dance.

ernment; more than 2 million demonstrated in Shanghai. Never was the enthusiasm more justified. The Chinese people celebrated on May Day the magnificent successes won in the economic and social construction of a new China, the victories of the Chinese volunteers in Korea, the great prospects for the future opened by the driving out of the American imperialists for ever.

Creative labour, struggle against American aggression, and friendship with all peoples of the world, were the slogans joyfully and seriously acclaimed by millions of demonstrators on May Day in China.

* * *

ALL workers in the U.S.S.R. solemnly and enthusiastically celebrated the day of international workers' solidarity and fraternity. On the rostrum in Red Square were the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Russian Socialist Republic, heroes of socialist labour, Stalin-Prize winners, Stakhanovites, etc., as well as some thirty delegations representing workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, journalists, and foreign trade unions. After the military parade, the workers' parade from the 25 districts of Moscow was led in by a large group of demonstrators carrying the banner of the Moscow Soviet and made up of famous workers of the capital, headed by Rossiliski, foreman of the "Calibre" precision tool plant.

The demonstrators carried banners and placards indicating the results obtained in fulfilling the Five-Year plan: completion of the Plan ahead of schedule, in 4 years and 3 months; 73 per cent more production in 1950 as compared with 1940. The workers in the different firms in the capital announced the amounts of foods—machines, textiles, foodstuffs, and other consumer goods, etc.—which they had produced in excess of the Plan's target. The Timiriazev Agricultural Academy group carried a big poster showing the new canal network which will make the arid steppes and desertland into flourishing gardens. The building workers carried banners announcing the big construction plans for 1951: 710,000 square metres of housing space. The Dynamo factory workers bore a huge map of the Volga-Don canal with the slogan: "We must provide the highest quality equipment for Communism's great projects." The co-operation of the entire people in these great projects was the main theme of the demonstrator's slogans.

At the same time, the Soviet workers acclaimed the fraternal friendship and co-operation of workers of the whole world. Thousands of people bore high the Soviet people's message: "Fraternal greetings to all peoples fighting for peace, democracy and socialism," "Long live friendship between the British, American and Soviet peoples in their fight for world peace," "Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of peace into their own hands and go all out to defend it."

BUDAPEST

In Budapest, men and women workers from the countryside demonstrate with city workers their enthusiasm for their joint construction of the new Hungary.

May Day was a mighty demonstration that the peoples of the USSR are firmly united in their resolve to make ever stronger their Socialist homeland— bastion of peace and security for the peoples of the entire world.

THE W.F.T.U.

AT THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL IN SANTIAGO, CHILE

LAST November, the Economic and Social Council decided to hold its 12th Session in Latin America, at Santiago de Chile. The real reasons for the taking of this decision by the Council majority are quite obvious. Certain Governments and leading figures in Latin America hoped that, by organising noisy publicity and relying on the impact of the lying anti-Soviet propaganda poured out by fifteen of the eighteen members of the Council, they could reinforce their shaky position and regain their long-lost popularity.

For indeed, the conditions of the working peoples of Latin America are daily growing worse. The Latin-American ruling class is incapable of meeting the people's needs, and therefore attempts to divert its attention by expensively orchestrated lies and slander against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Santa Cruz, Chilean President of the Economic and Social Council, clearly gave this manœuvre away in his statement to the Press on January 30, 1951. He said: "For the first time, the Latin-American public will get a close-up of the political struggle between the Soviets and the free world. . . . The basic political and economic position of the two worlds will be submitted for the Latin-American public's verdict. The capability of the delegations and the boldness of their suggestions and proposals will decide whether, after the session, the cause of the free world will win or lose supporters on a continent whose backing is of vital importance owing to its geographical position and economic potential."

But the hopes of reactionary Latin-American circles were disappointed. The contributions made in discussion by the democratic group—which possesses only three votes (U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia) to the fifteen of the capitalist group—met with wide response among the working masses, students and intellectuals in Latin-America. To the extent to which the Economic and Social Council's debates influenced the political situation, this influence will prove to be quite different from that intended by the Yankee imperialists and Latin-American reactionaries.

The W.F.T.U. played a very important rôle at the 12th Session. It made a big contribution to exposing the real situation as regards world economy, forced labour and trade union rights. It made constructive proposals in line with the interests of all workers. Its authority and prestige has been consolidated in Latin-America.

THE W.F.T.U.'S STEPS AGAINST THE FASCIST MEASURE TAKEN AGAINST IT BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

IT will be remembered that on January 26th the French Government decided to ban—and to try even to disband — the W.F.T.U. by giving it one month to get out of France. The W.F.T.U. forcefully opposed this Fascist measure as soon as the 12th Session opened. On the eve of the opening session, the W.F.T.U. delegation—composed of Brothers Pedro Saad (Ecuador), Georges Fischer (from the W.F.T.U. Secretariat), D. Soto (Chile), and Sister Elinor Kahn (from the Secretariat of the permanent W.F.T.U. delegation to U.N.O.)—submitted a document to the Council showing that the French Government had violated its pledges as a member of U.N.O.

The illegal measure, in fact, constituted a blatant infringement of the status of non-governmental organisations as defined by the Economic and Social Council. Moreover, this measure was a clear violation of the free exercise of trade union rights and of the right—recognised by all in theory—by which no trade union organisation can be disbanded by administrative measures. Freedom of association, which is set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was also brutally infringed by the French Government, which sought, moreover, to isolate the workers of different countries from each other,

and thereby to destroy the bonds of solidarity uniting the workers of the world and representing one of the guarantees for peace.

The W.F.T.U.'s memorandum stated that it was therefore not surprising that the "dissolution" of the W.F.T.U., as part of the war policy, had been decided on after General Eisenhower set up headquarters in France. Furthermore, it was considered necessary, as a bourgeois Swiss newspaper, the "Gazette de Lauzanne," pointed out, to provide, a few days before the French Prime Minister, Pleven, set off for Washington, fresh proof of the French Government's servility. The W.F.T.U. memorandum drew a striking comparison between the behaviour of the French Government towards the W.F.T.U., the workers' fighting organisation ,and its attitude towards the " Scab International," the strike-breakers' and provocateurs' organisation, which carries on open political espionage and is nothing more than the political tool of the imperialist warmongers.

Finally, the W.F.T.U. memorandum asked the Council to undertake immediate discussion of the matter and to recommend the French Government to cancel the measure. The majority of the Council rejected our request on the absurd and formal pretext that it had not been submitted in good time, namely, within the regulation eight-week time limit before the beginning of the session, at which period the French Government had not taken any measures.

The Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak delegations unsuccessfully demanded satisfaction for the W.F.T.U. It was also in vain that they stressed the urgent and important nature of our request. After procedural manœuvres, our application was referred back to the non-governmental organisations Committee, which declared it unacceptable. This decision was endorsed by the Council majority, in spite of its absurdity.

DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS

AFTER this unjust decision, discussion opened on the question of trade union rights, enabling us to re-state our complaint against the French Government.

It will be remembered that in 1947 the W.F.T.U. had presented a report to the Economic and Social Council on the problem of guarantees for the exercise and development of trade union rights. In violation of the Charter, the majority of the Council decided to bury this embarrassing question by referring it to the I.L.O. for examination.

In January, 1950, in the absence of the Soviet and People's Democratic delegations, the Economic and Social Council decided the setting up by the International Labour Organisation of an investigation and conciliation committee on trade union rights. The nine members were appointed by the I.L.O. Director-General to this commission, without regard even for the terms of the resolution adopted by the Council, for this resolution deemed that the members of the Commission should be chosen in terms of their competence and independence. In actual fact, the members appointed are top-level civil servants, diplomats, and politicians; in other words, people who are quite detached from the workers' lives and from trade union problems and who are closely connected with the anti-democratic forces. This explains the haste with which the majority of the Council referred the protest on the violation of trade union rights to this Commission, which is obviously a very handy tool for the anti-worker Governments.

The Soviet, Czechoslovak and Polish delegations first of all showed that the Council resolution of February, 1950, was an illegal one since it had been adopted in their absence. But the majority gave no consideration to this justified observation and immediately decided that all complaints should be referred to the I.L.O. Commission in differing manners, depending on whether the States in question were or were not members of the I.L.O.

Similarly, the complaints made were divided into several groups according as to whether or not they came from member States of the I.L.O. or the United Nations, with the result that it was impossible to make a complete and coherent survey of the problem as a whole or of the complaints submitted. It should be added that the written complaints put forward by the W.F.T.U. at the beginning of the Session were pronounced unacceptable " because they had been sent in too late," and they were referred to the 13th Session of the Council.

On the W.F.T.U.'s behalf, Brother Saad forcefully denounced the measure taken by the French Government against the W.F.T.U. and the infringement of trade union rights in the Cameroons. Saad also recalled the heroic struggle of the Argentine railwaymen, their great strike and the savage repression by which the Fascist Peron Government sought to strangle the movement. He vigorously denounced the violation of trade union rights in Spain, as also in Japan, where the American authorities are seeking to stifle all free expression of the workers' demands by terror and repression.

Mention must be made here of the lying, slanderous and provocative complaints filed by the " Scab International " against the U.S.S.R. and the People's

Democracies, that is, against those countries where the workers have freed themselves from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. Brother Korneiev, of the Soviet delegation, demonstrated in his speech that the Soviet trade unions were the most democratic in the world and that their achievements and activity were the admiration of all workers from other lands who had visited the U.S.S.R., particularly the British trade union delegation, which had gone there last year on an investigation trip.

With documents to support him, Brother Saad caught the "Scab International" red-handed in its lies against Hungary and Rumania. He proved the democratic nature of their unions, the tremendous rôle they played in the entire economic and social life of their countries, and the magnificent achievements made by the working class of these two countries, largely owing to the work of their trade union organisations.

The W.F.T.U. delegation also submitted a draft resolution on trade union rights containing proposals complying with the interests of all workers. This draft, given official backing by the Czechoslovak delegation, was referred to the next session of the Council by nine votes to four, with five abstentions. (The text of this document appears as an annexe to this issue.)

WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

BROTHER G. FISCHER presented the W.F.T.U.'s viewpoint in the debate on the world economic situation. He showed, first of all, that contrary to the claims of the United Nations Secretariat, it was hardly possible to talk of an economic revival in the United States during the first half of 1950. Insofar as production and investments were rising, this was already due to the rearmament policy and to increase in Government purchases of goods and services for war purposes. The same held good for the economic situation of the West European countries, particularly France.

After the American aggression in Korea an actual increase in production did take place, together with a hitherto unequalled expansion of military expenditure. The capitalist régime thereby shows that it neither wants nor can mobilise large resources for anything other than destructive ends, solely for death and not for life.

In contrast, production and consumption was steadily and continuously expanding in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, immense resources were being utilised for the well-being of all, and the people's living standards were constantly rising. Brother Fischer laid particular stress on the latest price reductions introduced in the U.S.S.R. on March 1st, whereas in the same period the workers of all the capitalist countries were crushed under the burden of continual price increases.

Brother Fischer then outlined the effects of the war economy in the international sphere—rise in prices, shortages due to United States control of raw materials, slowing down of productive economic activity, increased export of raw materials and semi-finished goods from advanced capitalist countries to the manufacturing industries of the United States—thus intensifying the colonial character of these countries' economies; flight of capital, intensification of the policy of trade discrimination with regard to the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, slowing down of the industrialisation of under-developed countries.

In the internal sphere: intensified industrial concentration and tighter grip by trusts and monopolies on the State apparatus, decline in investments and consumption, inflation, increased prices and profits, fall in real

The W.F.T.U. delegation at the 12th Session of the Economic and Social Council. LEFT TO RIGHT: Elinor Kahn, Domiciano Soto, Georges Fischer, Pedro Saad.

wages, higher taxes and longer and harder working hours.

Brother Fischer then pointed out that if this situation was to be remedied, war economy must go.

He submitted a W.F.T.U. resolution, which received official endorsement from the Polish delegation. The text of this resolution also appears in the annexe to this issue.

This important proposal, which is in line with the desires of all peoples, was nevertheless rejected under formalistic and procedural pretexts by the majority of the Council (15 votes to 3), cynically proving once more that it was in favour of war, that in its view, a war economy was henceforth the sole force capable of stimulating capitalistic economy, and finally that it was completely unconcerned with the welfare of the working peoples.

The discussion on this question clearly showed that the W.F.T.U., supported by the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak delegations, were alone in defending the cause of peace and the workers' interests. Indeed, the "Scab International" representative openly expressed support for war economy and demanded, for example, measures to increase "labour mobility" such as would uproot the workers from their homes and workplaces and force them to change their trade and to leave their home circle.

These are the ruthless consequences of the reconversion of peacetime industry to war industry. As a result of this reconversion, the workers lose the benefits of a long apprenticeship and the trade qualifications they have received after many years of labour. These changes represent a considerable decline in the workers' living standards.

The "Scab International" representative also laid emphasis on the so-called very advantageous conditions which, according to her, were enjoyed by the American workers owing to the U.S. war economy. In so doing she administered a rebuff to the courageous struggles at present being waged by the American workers against the price rise and the fall in real wages, the direct outcome of the preparation for war.

FORCED LABOUR

THE imperialist and "Scab International" delegations tried to bring up the whole of their rusty arsenal of anti-Soviet slander on the question of forced labour. But the discussion took, on the contrary, an extremely disagreeable turn for these provocateurs, for the contributions made by the W.F.T.U. and the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak delegations clearly demonstrated, with the aid of proof and documents, the true situation in the capitalist countries and their colonies.

Brother D. Soto, Acting General Secretary of the Confederation of Labour of Chile, made an important speech on this matter, the text of which is published in the annexe to this issue.

The majority of the Economic and Social Council nevertheless referred the question to the I.L.O., instructing it to set up a five-member enquiry commission which, as Brother Soto pointed out, would be completely ineffective.

Thus the Council majority once more demonstrated that its sole concern was, not to defend the interests of the working peoples, but to serve the purposes of the imperialist Powers and that it was entirely uninterested in any concrete and effective solution.

Ferenc BOZSOKI

Deputy Head of the International Department of the Council of Hungarian Trade Unions

The Cultural Life of HUNGARIAN WORKERS

ONE of the most important laws in the Hungarian Constitution guarantees the right to culture. Since the workers took over control of their country, their cultural development has experienced an extraordinary growth. All talents which the former Government had stifled and prevented from finding outlet are now in free and full expansion.

The cultural activities carried on by the workers within the factory itself are of particular importance—not only are they inspired by the creative work carried on in the factory, but in return they help to improve this work. There are many forms of cultural activity in the factories and they are constantly being improved.

Theatre Groups in the Factories

The actors' group hold first place among the cultural organisations in the factories through their importance and cultural influence. These performances reflect the life of the workers, aid in developing their creative sense and effectively contribute to the construction of the country.

In order to give this cultural work the highest artistic level, professional artists—there are at present 260—are charged with directing it. Through this activity, they themselves obtain valuable experience.

The activity of the theatrical group is regarded by all factory workers, including those who do not participate, as being of fundamental importance. They therefore attend rehearsals and advise the actors, especially when the play deals with their own work.

Naturally, the Trade Union Central Council contributes in all ways to the growth of this working class cultural activity; it has published plays suitable for presentation and organised a centre for hiring out costumes and scenery.

Music and Choirs

The Hungarian people possess an exceedingly rich folk-lore. To recognise this fact, one has only to record the rich tzigane music. Through the material conditions provided by the Government of the

Hungarian folk-dances are well-known for their liveliness and gaiety. Our picture shows a "Czardas" being danced by the members of a metal workers' dance group.

People's Republic, this source of activity has been able to expand freely.

The number of people's choirs has increased considerably; there were only 80 before the war; now the workers in the cities and in the countryside have founded more than 2,000.

The number of factory choirs is on the increase. The best choral groups frequently broadcast over the radio. The public is often invited to the factories to attend concerts organised by the workers. A close and fruitful contact is in this way established between the amateur artists, the workers and the public.

The workers' choral societies have created in the factories the conditions essential for the development of other musical groups. Music was formerly inaccessible to the workers. No one could afford the luxury of going to fashionable concerts.

To-day, a very important percentage of pupils in the music schools are of working-class and peasant origin; this percentage amounts to 45 per cent. in the secondary and advanced classes of these schools.

There are at present in the factories 650 symphony orchestras, excellent chamber music, wind and string instrument ensembles, and dance music and tzigane orchestras. The best factory orches-

The choir of the Metal Worker

A rehearsal, organised in a workshop, by the cultural section of the "Egyesult Izzo" factory.

tras often give public concerts. In this way, the whole population becomes acquainted with the rich treasury of Hungarian folk music.

The works of classical composers are included in the permanent repertoire of the factory groups and thus become known to the workers.

The expansion of the workers' musical culture is such that the need for music schools in the factories has been felt; such schools have been set up in the Matyas Rakosi Metal Works and those of Mavag and Diosgyor. These schools are run by the Popular Arts Institute.

Another characteristic phenomenon of musical development in Hungary is the creation of opera groups by the workers. The workers of the Mavag founderies, collaborating with the Postal Workers' Trade Union, have set up a group of this type, which includes not only factory employees, but also their relatives.

This group, which is composed of soloists, a choir, an orchestra, and a corps de ballet, enjoys a well-deserved reputation.

Folk Dance Groups

The art of dancing has also undergone a tremendous growth. More than two thousand folk dance groups have been created in the country, and the big factories and trade unions have contributed largely to this. The dance group of the Diosgyor "Red October" Foundry has stimulated the

rade Union.

development of dancing in the whole district. It studies systematically the rich regional folk dances and adapts them to the needs of the new cultural life.

With the same aim, the Hungarian Dance Association was founded in 1948, and with the constant co-operation of the workers, is popularising this art throughout the country. Many schools have been established to train directors for the factory dance groups. The academies of theatre and dancing also participate in this educational work.

Factory Puppet Shows

Puppet shows have come to be used as a means of expressing working-class culture. There are 228 marionette theatres functioning to-day in the factories.

The characters personified in the puppet shows are based on reality. There are peasants, such as "Traktor Ferke" (Frank the tractor) typifying the workers at the agricultural machine depots; "Okos Kata" (Clever Kate) symbolising the wide-awake Hungarian woman peasant who keeps step with progress; or her opposite, "Szatyorneni" (Aunt Basket), representing the reactionary village type, etc.

The Puppet Show Group of the Public Employees' Trade Union have created a character called "The Investigator of Records" in order to fight against bureaucracy. The Puppet Show Group of the Tractor factory "Hoffherr" has taken advantage of the dinner-hour break and visits the different shops with its transportable stage. The members of the group have themselves written little plays dealing with daily life and the workers in the shops. Certain workers are praised or criticised for their work or their attitude.

The workers who have been praised frequently ask for the photograph of the puppets who personify them. It sometimes happens that the scene is written in a fashion that stimulates the taking of sides by workers during the performance. Extremely amusing and instructive discussions are then carried on between the audience and the "marionnettes."

The Chinese Shadow play, accompanied by ironic songs, is equally used in this factory. The audience, sitting in a dark room, sees outlines which are easily recognised appear on a screen. This is satiric in character; it leads to constructive criticism, as it refers to shortcomings which occur in the factory and certain attitudes of mind. It is becoming increasingly current in the factories.

Painting and Sculpture Schools and Exhibitions

In the past, the Fine Arts were one of the sections of culture most strictly closed to the Hungarian working class.

There are to-day 46 Fine Arts schools in existence; 25 are in the factories and the workers are given every possibility of attending them. The students apply themselves at first to studies from life; later they try more difficult and more artistic

Musicials of the cultural section visit workshops during the break at the rubber factory "Ruggyantaarugyar." This is a good relaxation for the workers, who sing in unison with their visitors.

compositions. In this way the workers approach the essential problems of creative art, those which give a picture of man, work, society and reality. The history of art forms the basis of the instruction. The students learn to make use of the experiences of the past and to become acquainted with the manner in which the artists of other epochs described—or falsified—reality. The schools make every attempt to join theory with practice.

The free schools generally give two or three courses each week, in the afternoon or evening, and they often have daily courses. They are directed by eminent artists and art professors. Six young sculptors and painters this year entered the Academy of Fine Arts from the free school of the Matyas Rakosi factories alone. Some of our young worker-artists have made such progress that their paintings have been exhibited at the First Hungarian Fine Arts Exhibition.

Members of the cultural section of the Matyas Rakosi factory visit workshops during a break to give the workers the news of the factory.

The number of exhibitions is also increasing and they meet with great success. The exhibitions of reproductions are utilised to explain the history of painting, as for example, that presented by the miners of the free school of Tatabanya, which the workers visited between shifts. Another example is the train exhibition of the Railway Workers' Union, which made known throughout the country the main achievements in sculpture and painting.

Mass Lectures

Just as with all cultural work in the Hungarian factories, mass instruction seeks to raise the cultural level of the workers and to educate them in socialism. This instruction is carried on by a series of lectures on scientific, political, medical, trade and other questions, accompanied by film shows and drawings.

The scientific lectures are very popular among factory workers. The following are some of the subjects covered by the lectures: "The world in which we live," "The origin and development of life," "Origins of man," "The structure of the atom," "The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes," "The history of the machine," "What we should know about energy," "Socialist man changes nature."

Scientific education teaches the Hungarian workers that their lives are not directed by forces situated outside nature and society, that they must not resign themselves to the whims of destiny, but must try consciously to direct their own lives. Such ideological knowledge helps the Hungarian working class to firmly maintain the political power that it has conquered.

This important educational work is carried on in the factories by the trade unions, aided by the Society of Natural Sciences.

62,000,000 Volumes in 1950

Formerly scientific and professional libraries were open solely to graduates of universities. Not one of the twelve public libraries existing in Budapest was situated in the working-class suburbs, whereas there were two in the tiny Belvaros quarter which was inhabited by the very rich bourgeoisie. Certain scab and capitalist organisations had founded libraries in the factories, but these were intended to corrupt the workers and to isolate them from their class. There were no progressive books in these libraries; they were full of books characterised by fascist, nationalist and clerical ideology, and attacking the working class movement.

The masterpieces of classical and modern literature of the great Western countries were not included. Shakespeare, Moliere, Goethe, Heine, Bernard Shaw, Zola, Anatole France, Traven, Jack London, all those progressive writers so popular today among the liberated working class, found no place in the libraries of the past. Realistic and progressive literature, the real national literature, was equally banned.

Since the liberation, the publication of books has undergone enormous development, and the present situation can in no way be compared with that of the past. In 1949, 2,860,000 volumes were published, in contrast with 700,000 in 1945. In 1950,

The " Ssabo Ervin " library at Ujpest, industrial suburb of Budapest.

a total of 63,000,000 copies of 6.400 books were published.

All the best books dealing with Hungarian and foreign progressive literature, Socialist classics, theoretical works, and popular science are to be found in the factory libraries. The libraries are generally made up as follows: 60 per cent. pure literature, 20 per cent. theoretical works, 20 per cent. works on popular science.

A network of workshop libraries was recently established in the big factories; the number of readers has increased considerably.

The library network of the building workers is worthy of particular examination. As a result of their work, the latter travel about more than other industrial workers. Therefore, their network of libraries has taken on special forms. Huge crates filled with books are sent out from the Central library of the building enterprises to the different sites. They reach the sites which have been recently established just about the same time as the building material is delivered. When the books have been read, the crates are sent to another site and a new crate of books arrives from the centre. These " book crates," which are sent out every two months, enjoy great popularity among the building workers.

Literary circles have been formed in many factories, composed of intellectuals and manual workers who have been reading a lot and are seized with the desire to put their thoughts down in writing. At first, the workers tried their hand at writing for the columns of the wall newspapers. As a result, the wall newspapers set up in each workshop not only transmitted the criticisms of the workers to the management of the factory or to their fellow workers, but they were often the medium through which the first literary essays of the workers were published.

Literary Circles and Cultural Centres

The growth of the number of factory literary circles resulted in the members of the Association of Hungarian Writers becoming the " Godfathers " of working-class writers. Contact has already been established between factory literary circles and professional writers. These writers give considerable aid to working class writers through general guidance, criticism and practical advice.

Recently, for example, the literary club of the " Gyapjumoso es Finomposzto " textile factory organised a literary competition among the factory workers with valuable prizes for the winners. Sixteen workers, almost all young people, took part in the competition, contributing three stories and 39 poems. At the request of the workers, the jury was composed by the editor of the " Csillag," literary review of the Association of Hungarian Writers, and a literary critic of the same review.

The Hungarian workers' interest in literature is typified by an open letter from the Stakhanovites of the Ganz Wagon Factory which appeared in the August 15 issue of the daily newspaper " Vilagossag." In this letter, the Stakhanovites state that they have carefully followed the development of literature since the liberation, particularly since the new Hungarian Literature has taken its place along with socialist competition among factory workers in the service of the construction of Socialism. The signatories to this letter, on behalf of all their comrades, criticise the playwrights who do not produce enough plays dealing with contemporary Hungarian life. They call on the writers to dramatise the life of the workers and the problems of factory production. Referring to Soviet examples, they ask the writers to familiarise themselves more thoroughly with the work and life of the factories so that their plays will be more realistic. Finally, they declare that they look upon Hungarian literature as their concern, hence their letter.

Such things are inconceivable in a capitalist country.

The building space utilised for cultural work in the Hungarian factories was far from sufficient; great centres, real palaces of culture have had to be built. The Hungarian Five-Year Plan has earmarked 54 million forints for the construction of cultural centres.

A library at the apprentices' training school.

Puppets presented by the cultural section of the "Ruggyantaarugyar" rubber factory.

The factory libraries will be situated in these centres and theatre and musical performances will be presented there. Reading and discussion rooms, sports rooms, and film projectors will be at the disposal of the workers, members of their families and their guests.

The cultural centre movement is expanding at an increasing pace. Buildings have been constructed or reconstructed in the factories so that cultural centres can be set up. The workers have given many hours of work without pay to this task. Since the beginning of this movement, more than 600 cultural centres have been installed.

The cultural centre movement has grown not only in the capital but also in the countryside. The best cultural centre in the country is located in the little town of Szentgotthard, some way away from Budapest. It was founded by several hundreds of workers of the Scythe Factory and is attracting more and more the other workers of the little town. Vast study halls are open to those attending the trade, linguistic and other courses. Two rooms serve as a kindergarten while parents attend lectures. These rooms are full of toys and decorated with paintings and are as charming as fairy tales.

These lines are far from giving a complete picture of the cultural revolution now going on in Hungary, or of the multiple and growing activities of the factory workers. It is evident that such development can occur only where the workers have taken the power in their own hands, where they have taken over the means of production and where Socialism is being constructed. The Hungarian workers well know that they owe not only their economic development but also the results achieved in the field of culture, to Soviet aid and the policy of the Hungarian Workers' Party. The Hungarian workers are resolved not to stop halfway. They are striving to win new successes in the cultural as well as in the economic field. For this reason, they above all need peace, in their country and throughout the whole world.

This is why the Hungarian workers, in achieving the targets of their Five-Year Plan, strive to obtain new economic and cultural gains, and fight at the same time for peace, for without peace there can be neither prosperity or culture. The cultural work of the Hungarian workers discussed in this article is one of the proofs that they sincerely desire peace and are engaged in constructive activities.

The Mexican Miners' "Hunger March"

By

JUAN MINERO

FOR a clear understanding of the origin of the Mexican miners' magnificent fight, it is necessary to go back a number of months and retrace the course of events.

The Mexican Mine, Metal and Allied Workers' Union, with 65,000 members, is the largest of the trade union organisations which remained faithful to the Mexican Alliance of Workers and Peasants (U.G.O.P.), affiliated to the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U.

At the general assembly of this union in May, 1950, a group of breakaway leaders "manufactured," with Government support, a non-existent majority which sought to take the Miners' Union out of the U.G.O.P., the C.T.A.L., and the W.F.T.U. It should be remembered that this disruptive action took place after other manœuvres by the treacherous leaders with Government aid, leading to a split and the withdrawal of the railwaymen's and oil workers' unions from their national and international class organisations.

But the great and genuine majority of the miners, led by honest leaders, held another assembly in August which democratically elected an Executive Committee presided over by Antonio Garcia Moreno (Vice-President of the Miners' Trade Unions International, WFTU Trade Department), and endorsed its membership of the Mexican UGOP, the CTAL, the WFTU and the Trade Unions Internationals which cover their industries.

The treacherous leaders of the rump trade union and the Ministry of Labour began a bitter struggle against the organisations and leaders which effectively represented and defended the workers' interests. The majority's Executive Committee and its organisations were not recognised by the Ministry of Labour which, on the other hand, granted legal status to the breakaway minority. Those trade union branches and leaders who refused to bow to the dictates of the splitters and the Government authorities were deprived of all rights to negotiate with the employers.

THE WORKERS FIGHT BACK

DISPUTES were soon to flare up in the mining industry after these scandalous measures and the flagrant violation of the law, particularly with regard to the question of the regular review and respect of collective agreements, both of which are strictly guaranteed under Mexican law.

In actual fact, on the Government's orders, mining industry employers either refused to negotiate or purely and simply broke the collective agreements when they had to deal with really representative trade union branches, democratically elected by all the workers and, as a result, hostile to the disruptionist leaders protected by the authorities. It should be pointed out that, in the main, these agreements had been legally counter-signed by those very same trade union branches which were being forced into a situation of illegality since the Government had ordered the employers to negotiate with the treacherous leaders.

This was what happened in the centre of the main mining area in Mexico (State of Coahuila), at Palau, Nueva Rosita and Cloete. All workers, irrespective of differing views, immediately and vigorously fought back. The overwhelming majority of the miners, nearly 8,000, first in Palau (in September) and then in the two

Flags in the van, the column marches along the endless, sun-scorched road.

other mining centres (in October), came out on strike to demonstrate their inflexible defence of their trade union organisation's independence.

A HEROIC STRIKE

ONCE more infringing their own laws, the authorities declared the strike illegal, although the right to strike is recognised by Mexican law.

It is not without interest to note that two of the three strike-bound firms (Compania de Sabinas S.A. —a coal mining company—and the Mexican Zinc Company) belong to the American Smelting and Refining Company which controls practically all Mexican coal, coke and zinc. This Company belongs to a United States trust directed by the powerful Morgan, Rockefeller and Guggenheim monopoly groups.

For months, the Mexican miners magnificently held out against the ruthless attacks of the combined forces of the Government, the employers and their individual agents.

With fierce perseverance, these indomitable fighters fought hunger, terrible poverty into which they were plunged by the freezing of their trade union funds and the closing-down of the co-operative and the clinic, and the cutting-off of water and electricity supplies. At night, there were long queues of women waiting to collect from the slaughter-house waste pipe the blood of slaughtered animals which was often the only source of nourishment for their families.

They did not give way either in face of the campaigns of lies poured out by a servile press and radio, nor in face of the reign of terror conducted by the troops which occupied the villages and guarded the closed trade union offices. The strike-bound mining areas were transformed into veritable concentration camps under a state of siege and all rights were suppressed.

They held out thanks to the iron morale of the fighters for a just cause and as a result of the vast wave of solidarity throughout the country and the whole world. All democratic organisations and the entire Mexican population helped to their utmost the courageous miners' struggle.

The support of United States, Chinese, Polish, East and West German miners, and the solidarity of the WFTU and the Miners' and Metalworkers' Trade Unions Internationals still further strengthened their high morale and their fighting spirit.

THE SMOKE-SCREEN OF LIES

BUT the heroism of these uncompromising fighters went still further. After a 4-month strike, the struggle took on a new form. Faced with Government and employer intransigeance, 4,300 striking miners set out on January 20th for Mexico City, the federal capital, to obtain satisfaction. On that date, these men began the glorious and unforgettable hunger march from Nueva Rosita to the capital, more than 1,000 miles away, where they wanted to appeal to the President of Mexico, Aleman.

This new and striking form of struggle by the miners immediately set in motion the slander machine which sought to give the impression that the famous caravan was nothing other than a scheme concocted by "Communist agitators" and that it was made up of a few peasants, and no miners; that the "Reds" indulged in all sorts of violence, that they stole and plundered everything they found on their way; that they forced women and starving children to join with them, etc. The mining companies ordered from their newspaper scribes articles full of lies and insults against the miners, published in a Press to which access was strictly forbidden to any honest journalist or to any true and impartial information.

To get an idea of the depths to which the campaign went, there is the example of the exploits of a hired scribe in Nueva Rosita who publishes a newspaper with the mining companies' money. After pouring out columns of lies and insults over a period of four months, he announced in his rag one day that several of the marching miners had been arrested. One can imagine the terror of the families which rushed to the marchers. This sorry gentleman had the audacity to present himself as well in order to provoke the women, but he was recognised and was fittingly punished by having his head shaved.

THE ELOQUENT AND MAGNIFICENT TRUTH

BUT thanks first of all to the valiant strikers, to the workers' organisations and publications, and

to the entire Mexican people, the truth finally breached the wall of lies and filled with enthusiasm the minds and hearts of those who were not corrupted by hatred for the working class.

The impressive and solemn demonstration of thousands of genuine miners, stretching for more than a mile, advanced unfalteringly headed by the national flag, the union's red banner and the flag of the strike committee. Clearly to be seen on these men's caps were metal discs containing a photograph and some lettering. These are the identification badges worn by Mexican miners, bearing the name of the Company by which they are employed and their registration number. Thus everyone who got a close-up of the march during the long journey was able to see that these men were genuine miners.

There were indeed some women in the caravan—38 to be exact. They stayed with their husbands in spite of the latters' desire that they should return home. The miners reasoned, argued and explained in vain; the decision of the 38 women to follow the march right to the end was irrevocable. The following is the report of a conversation between the leader of the march and one of these courageous women:

"Brother Ciro, if you and the other miners think that we are going to go back to Nueva Rosita, you are making a big mistake. We prefer to be covered in mud on the road than to take one step backwards. I am already an old woman but I have enough strength to stand by my men. We have stood four months' of hunger and all kinds of persecution by the soldiers and the "white bellies." We are not going to give in on the last lap. You're making a mistake, brothers, you're making a mistake."

So the 38 women carried on, surrounded by the vigilant respect of their 4,300 comrades in struggle.

The organisation, order and discipline of the procession was irreproachable. One is filled with great respect and deep admiration at the thought of this huge walking camp, these men and women who had walked about 20 miles a day for 7 weeks, in all kinds of weather and had slept in the open through the cold nights; at the thought of the immense organisational work which had to be done to ensure food supplies, restbreaks, medical aid for the sick, and vigilance against provocations.

At night, they sat around the camp fire singing folk songs and telling stories about the mining country. In spite of the suffering they endured and their heavy sacrifices, they were always calm, optimistic and confident in their just cause and fortified by their determination to fight injustice.

Every evening, when crossing their home districts, 20 or 30 miners left to visit their families, but no-one left the procession without the permission of the strike committee. At night, pickets watched over the slumber and safety of the camp. For example, in one night alone, the guard brigades discovered 150 bottles of liquor ("tequila") which the agents of the companies were trying to distribute to the miners in order to provoke disturbances.

So the heroic column marched forward, in face of all adversity, backed by the enthusiastic solidarity of the entire people. Every day, workers, tradesmen, peasants, men, women and children collected for the strikers and often went several miles on foot to bring them food.

On March 10th, the marchers reached the capital, where they were welcomed by thousands of Mexican workers, students and intellectuals, headed by the President of the C.T.A.L., Lombardo Toledano. In the afternoon, 25,000 people attended a great meeting near the President's Palace. At this meeting, Antonio Garcia Moreno first thanked all those who, in Mexico and abroad, had given their support to the strikers, and then drew the lessons from this memorable fight waged in complete unity.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

THE popularity of the hunger march, its strength and great prestige, aroused growing support and assistance among very different sections of the population.

It is significant that people who are a long way from questions of the class struggle clearly understood the unjust and disgraceful nature of the measures taken by the Government and the disruptionist leaders against the independence of the miners' trade union organisation, such measures being quite contrary to the best interests of the country.

An honest journalist who firmly believed in the possibility of peaceful collaboration between employers and workers, and who can in no way be suspected of having "subversive" ideas, was forced to admit that the origin of the movement lay in the fact that there had been Ministry of Labour pressure in favour of the disruptionist group led by Jesus Carrasco; and that the mining companies had broken the work agreements solely for this reason.

"The abominable thing," he wrote in substance, "is that in order to keep some Carrasco in the trade union leadership, a Secretary of State should, to the shame of Mexico, take upon himself the responsibility of causing a hunger march, come to demand justice." Thus the strike brought into the limelight the rôle of the Government as accomplices of the splitters and enemies of the workers' just demands.

By fighting with great self-sacrifice for the independence of their union from the employers and the Government and for the respect of their right to organise, the Mexican miners showed great maturity and a remarkable level of class consciousness.

They understood that their strength lies in organisation and that without an independent and democratic trade union organisation they can never effectively defend either their economic interests or their threatened liberties.

They understood, by practical application, the basic aim of **united action among the rank and file**, at their place of work, around a concrete slogan of immediate import-

The men form a compact column never overcome by fatigue.

A brief halt; men and women talk.

ance, capable of mobilising all workers in the enterprise. Garcia Moreno stressed this point at the meeting in Mexico City. He said, "New workers' unity has been forged during this fight, irrespective of trade union membership and of religious or political beliefs."

The miners' struggle and their experience in the fight also provided an opportunity of more effectively exposing and condemning before the workers and public opinion in general the disastrous rôle played by the splitters in the ranks of the labour movement—their complete subservience to the enemies of the working class and their organisation of provocations and division in order to help forward the plans of their bosses.

There is no doubt that, following on the resounding defeat of the Scab International in Mexico last January (see "World Trade Union Movement" of February 20th), the miners' struggle provides in this sphere still more of the clarification which is necessary to give impetus to the fight for organisational trade union unity.

Furthermore, by their widely-supported action, the Mexican miners contributed to strengthening unity between the working class and the peasants.

The Mexican miners' affiliation to the W.F.T.U. and to its Trade Departments is a reaffirmation of their spirit of international solidarity and mutual assistance; and these bonds were strengthened by the moral and material aid which the strikers received from the working class and organisations throughout the world.

Thus the Mexican miners' heroic movement is clearly a splendid example. It will remain one of the

Whatever their faith, all are united in their determination to achieve their goal.

most courageous battles in the history of the international working class, worthy of the homage and gratitude of the workers of the whole world.

• • •

JUST after this article was written, it was announced that the Commission appointed by President Aleman had rejected the miners' demands.

It decided that only 1,000 strikers would be re-hired, with conditions which are worse than those existing before the strike. The Commission suggested that the others should be employed as agricultural workers. It recognised the splitters and traitors imposed by the Minister of Labour and repudiated by the strikers, as the miners' representatives.

After the Commission's decision had been made public, the police surrounded the stadium where the strikers had been camping since their arrival in Mexico City, isolating them from the population and transforming the reception centre into a concentration camp.

These outrageous measures against the fighters in a cause which has become that of all Mexican workers and the entire people demonstrated the terror of the Government and employers when faced with the miners' fighting spirit and public opinion.

They hoped to disrupt, isolate and vanquish these magnificent workers by poverty, terror and the filthy work of their corrupt agents. But nothing and no one can master the fighting determination of men capable of such courage, nothing and no one can smash their striving for justice and liberty, nothing and no one can shake their conviction that their cause is sacred and that the battle is not yet over.

YOUNG WORKERS OF THE WORLD

United For Peace

THE initiative taken by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students in organising in Berlin from August 5th to 19th, 1951, the Third World Youth Festival for Peace has aroused lively enthusiasm among the young workers of all countries. They know that peace is the first essential to their life and future development. Peace is indispensable if the youth of all nationalities and races and of all beliefs are fully to develop their personalities, and bring the fruits of their labour to the advancement of all humanity.

In Korea, imperialist aggression continues, destroying towns and villages, schools, universities, cultural centres, hospitals, massacring the civil populations, devastating the country, exterminating with its war the efforts of a whole free people for betterment and progress. The remilitarisation of Germany and Japan, and the imperialist war preparations are a menace looming more and more blackly over the world. The Iranian Oil Company is an example, that they are opposed to national self-government. Reaction openly and brutally attacks the liberties won with such difficulty by the people who were victorious in the war against Fascism. The worsening of conditions of work in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries greatly increases the difficulties of young workers of both sexes. All men concerned with peace must unite to prevent another bloodbath, to bar the way to the warmongers, to the speculators in death. In this great task, the youth, whose lives and futures are the first to be menaced, have a rôle of great importance to play. Their dynamism is indispensable to the great cause which we are defending.

The W.F.T.U., which has always paid particularly close attention to the conditions of young workers, warmly supports the initiative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The W.F.T.U. considers the unity of all youth—without distinction as to origin, race, religion or political or trade union affiliation—essential if their struggle is to be successful. Young workers and students, workers from the town and the countryside, must all stand shoulder to shoulder in this magnificent worldwide fight to save peace. The W.F.T.U. calls on all National Centres and affiliated organisations to give their utmost support to the organisation and the success of the Festival of World Youth for Peace. Where support has already been given renewed help should be planned to guide the youth to the maximum in their aims; and with the enthusiastic participation of our trade union organisations, this great Rally should strengthen, in a concrete and constructive manner during our daily work, this indispensable unity of all young workers for the realisation of their common aim: the safeguarding of peace, the winning and the guaranteeing of a free and happy future for the youth of all countries in the world.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Vienna, 28th May, 1951

"SECTARIANISM MUST GO!"

Vienna, 28th May, 1951.

The article published under the above title in our issue (No. 3) for February 5, 1951, by Henri Martel, President of the Miners' Trade Unions International and Secretary of the French Miners' National Union, raised a problem of paramount importance for workers everywhere, as evidenced by the many letters we have received from readers in different countries, commenting on this widely-discussed article.

From among our readers' letters we have selected, as a typical and enlightening example, the following commentary from Brother Mirajkar, vice-president of the All-India Trades Union Congress, in Bombay. In our opinion it brings a useful contribution to this wide debate on how best to fight sectarianism and achieve workers' unity on the broadest basis in their daily struggle for peace, bread and freedom.

"Dear Brother,

"I read with interest an article, "Sectarianism Must Go," by Henri Martel, appearing in the "Review" of February 5, 1951. I immensely liked this article for its simplicity and the straightforwardness with which it points out the way leading to the unity of the miners in France. Such writings would be of great use to us in India, where the sectarian tendencies have greatly weakened the working class movement. This tendency has isolated the militant section of the working class from the mass of workers and directly helped the splitters of the Trade Union movement in India.

"Sectarianism and empty Left slogans which are not supported by the large section of the workers have not only helped the enemy and splitters of the working class, but has also acted as a great impediment in the unity of the working classes. There the article has an added significance to our Trade Union Movement. It shows concretely how to approach the working people belonging to other organisations to achieve rank and file unity. I hope that the "Review" will publish many more articles of this nature. Trade Unionists in India who are making a mighty effort to forge unity in the movement once again will get concrete guidance from such articles.

"Under Indian conditions of to-day the working class is suffering considerably. Workers' problems are multiplying, grievances accumulating. On the one hand there are the urgent problems facing the workers, namely, rationalisation, retrenchment, inadequate wages, bonus, soaring prices, growing unemployment, etc., and on the other they have to face brutal police repression, illegalisation of Trade Unions; divisions in the ranks of the workers, as many as four Central organisations speaking differently with differing voices. Same is the pattern in each industry—three or four Unions, one of which (namely, I.N.T.U.C. Union) has the Congress Government's and employers' backing. In these circumstances the rank-and-file worker sees for himself the urgent need for unity. Recently, in a textile centre at Indore, representatives of widely-differing textile Unions met and formed a joint Committee to fight for workers' immediate demands. Such things are happening on the working class initiative elsewhere also. But our sectarian lack of understanding holds up in many places the pace of working class unity. In addition to this, ultra Left tactics have smashed the Trade Union Movement in India, and the W.F.T.U.'s guidance in the shape of such articles are of much assistance to us.

"I must also refer to the great lead given by Comrade Saillant's Editorial, "Taking the Lead for Labour Unity," to the labour movement in general. This article is a clarion call for unity of the working class throughout the world. The article rightly points out:

> "We have entered into a phase in which our unity policy must be intensified, not only to render it more effective in the action we must carry on in defence of peace and the well-being of the working people, but also because it helps to achieve a still clearer exposure of the splitters in the eyes of the workers."

" We in india are trying to assimilate the lessons of this article and put them into practice in our given circumstances. I have no hesitation to state that this article again is a very timely one so far as we are concerned.

" Sectarians accept in theory the need for unity, the need to work for it, because they have to accept the reality; but when it comes to practice, the theoretical acceptance does not mirror in their practice. Therefore sectarianism is a disease which must be consistently and persistently fought. We in India are making a genuine effort to overcome it and with the guidance and help from the W.F.T.U. we shall succeed in uniting the working class and our people for the struggle for a lasting peace and real Freedom.

" With warm greetings, fraternally yours,

" S. S. MIRAJKAR,

" Vice-President,

" All-India Trade Union Congress."

We believe that this discussion should be pursued among our readers in all countries, and could be usefully carried further to include other kindred subjects affecting trade union activity, in the light of current events.

Therefore we most cordially invite our readers, from every land and trade, to write and send us their comments or criticisms on the way in which a given question has been raised, a situation analysed, or a concrete experience appreciated, in our columns; and to send us their suggestions in order to enable us to perform our task with the best possible practical results.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

CEYLON

Sterling Balances—the Loss

Suppose our total exports for 1942 was Rs. 1,000/.—Of this sum, only a part was paid back in goods. Another part was not paid back in 1942 or in 1943 or later. It was placed to our credit in the account books of the British Treasury, and it was presumed that this debt would be paid to us in the future. These sums due to us are the major portion of the sterling balances, and this is how these balances came to exist. I shall emphasise that these balances were, largely, the unpaid part of the moneys due to us for our exports, sold to Britain at prices which it deliberately fixed at as low a level as possible.

These sterling balances continued to accumulate and were estimated at the end of the war at Rs. 1,100 million. It was expected that once the war was over, Britain would honourably settle these balances by paying us in goods. A small part of this debt has been settled; a large part remains to be settled.

The important point is that when goods were sent to us in settlement of this debt, money had fallen in value and goods had increased in price. The result was that much fewer goods were sufficient to account for these balances than earlier. Had our 1942 surplus balances been paid to us in 1943, it would have required, say, 100 units of British exports to us. But, a repayment of the 1942 surplus balance in 1948 was made, not with 100 units of exports, but with some 50 units of exports. The fall in the value of money has been so phenomenal during these years.

Moreover during the last year and the present, there is a favourable surplus balance on our current trade with Britain. This is lving to our credit in London. And Britain, because of her suicidal policy of rearmament, is almost certain to be unable to pay us these current balances in goods. In fact, it is being suggested that British Treasury experts are already trying to negotiate with the Ceylon Government that these current balances be added to our sterling balances, and that payment in goods would be made in the future, when Britain has completed her rearmament and released resources for production of exports!

All the time, of course, the real value of money, its purchasing power, is falling. The "gallop of inflation" in Britain is only beginning. So, when these balances are repaid in the future, they could be settled with much less goods than even now. Meanwhile, this country has to do without these essential goods!

Of course, this country can, if it wishes, export its goods to countries which will not only pay us good prices but also pay us in goods *immediately*. But, this is what the present anti-national U.N.P. (United National Party) Government is not able to do, bound as it is hand and foot to its alien masters in London.

People's Voice (Colombo), 13.4.51.

INDIA

Towards Unity Among Railwaymen

The Convention of the All-India Union of Railway Workers (AIURW), which met in Calcutta in the second week of April under the presidentship of Sri Jyoti Basu, has decided to dissolve the organisation and to request the Unions to seek affiliation with the All-India Railway Federation.

The Convention viewed with the deepest concern the rapidly deteriorating condition of the Railwaymen and the mounting economic hardships and repression they are subjected to and has come to the conclusion that the need of the hour is to heal the split and reforge unity among Railwaymen. The resolution adopted by the Convention reads in part:

"The Convention is of the firm opinion that the Government and the Railway Board and different Administrations are emboldened to launch such all sided attacks against the Railwaymen and their organisations because of the serious split in the ranks of the Railwaymen. The A.I.R.F. stands weakened and paralysed, because many mass Railway Unions are to-day outside its fold.

"Under these circumstances the Convention considers the unity of Railwaymen as of vital importance. It realises that the A.I.R.F. is the oldest Central Organisation of the Railwaymen and was strengthened and popularised by the sacrifices and efforts of all Unions including those which have been disaffiliated or refused affiliation. The Federation can and must once again be a platform of unity and take its rightful place at the head of all Railwaymen.

"Therefore, the Convention considers the CONTINUED existence of the A.I.U.R.W. as UNNECESSARY and an IMPEDIMENT TO UNITY.

"Whatever might be the differences between different Unions, on specific issues attempts should always be made to resolve them by preserving the unity of the Federation.

"The Convention wishes to bury the painful past of disunity and DISSOLVE THE A.I.U.R.W. as the first necessary step in order to forge the unity of Railwaymen for struggle. It requests the Unions affiliated to the A.I.U.R.W. to seek affiliation with the A.I.R.F.

"The Convention fervently hopes that the A.I.R.F. will grasp the hand of friendship of thousands of organised Railwaymen whose representatives are participating in these deliberations and who are sincerely desirous of learning from their mistakes. They are anxious more than ever of once again building up the A.I.R.F. as the most powerful central organisation of Railwaymen."

Cross Roads (Bombay), 27.4.51.

AUSTRALIA

Tory Attacks on New Zealand Dockers

So desperate is the Holland Government at its failure to isolate the Watersiders from the rest of the New Zealand people that it proposes to divert some of its attack against the wives and kiddies of those workers who are in action against the dastardly attempts of their fascist government to bring the New Zealand Trade Union movement to its knees. That "great humanitarian," W. Sullivan, has publicly stated that the police have been instructed to take extra measures to ensure that the necessary sustenance does not get to the women and children.

Every day the daily press is stressing that the workers are defeated, but in eight weeks only four overseas ships sailed from New Zealand, two

only partly loaded. The same press has not informed the public that there are more than 400 soldiers in gaol for refusing to scab, and were it not for intimidation the number would be very much greater. Undoubtedly, public feeling is swinging to the watersiders.

It sounds incredible, but it is true, that the Union's Hospital Comforts Fund has been frozen. This fund has been raised mainly by watersiders and seamen donating each week or month from their pockets. It is used to give some relief and a little happiness to sick people in all hospitals around the Auckland area. Members who give their time each week to convey these little luxuries to the patients have never worried about their politics, their religion or anything else. But this action of the unspeakable Holland will prevent the watersiders continuing this worthwhile activity for the duration of time that the funds are frozen. This action could only originate in the crazy mind of a man thoroughly defeated.

Maritime Worker (Sydney), 14.4.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Spanish Refugees Persecuted in France

The readers of the *Manchester Guardian* doubtless remember the never-explained arrests and deportation by the French Government on September 7 last year of some 170 Spanish Republicans, domiciled in France as refugees since 1939, a good many of whom fought actively for France in the Maquis and liberation, were decorated, and even listed as part of the French Army. They were sent to Corsica and Southern Algeria and are constrained to live in the spot assigned them, reporting daily to the police. Not one of them was ever charged or given the chance to defend himself. Nor can any of them obtain an answer to the repeated demands made to know what they are accused of. This action taken against them is in conformity with the expulsion of foreigners guilty (or accused) of some action "endangering national security."

One remains stupefied that over seven months have now elapsed and that they are still living in the same appalling and penniless conditions they found on their arrival in the half-starving little mountain villages of Corsica and the abysmally poor, small Arab towns, villages, or hamlets where there is no work of any kind. None of the Spaniards has any money save that he may make, and the families of most, left behind in France, are in actual want.

In Corsica the two I know, the poet Juan Miguel Roma and Dr. Rovira, are breaking stones for 400 francs a day. The deported are mainly specialised workers (carpenters, masons, etc.), but among them are the four doctors and several medical assistants of the Hospital Varsovie in Toulouse, two or three lawyers, and the poet Roma. They all belong to the Republican parties and are not, as falsely reported, "all Communists." Several are disabled men and others are seriously ill.

Months ago Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary notified them that they and their families would be welcome there. And, though the hope of the Spaniards has been all along to be allowed to return to their homes, families, and work in France, the attitude of the authorities is such that they signed a declaration (also months ago) stating their grateful acceptance of this offer. It is now feared that every kind of obstruction will continue to oppose their departure from Corsica and Algeria and that their wretched situation may prolong itself indefinitely.

The letters I have received recently from J. M. Roma illustrate this fear, and I quote from them:

"Seven months now since our deportation by an arbitary and illegal measure! What are we reproached with? You, friends of Republican Spain know as well as we—with having kept the same ideals as ever, with wanting a Republic for Spain. Why will they not let us leave for the countries that welcome us? We want to be allowed to go immediately to one of the countries we can go to. We want everyone to know our situation, so that our friends of Spain can help us to get out of this island of Corsica, which to us is just a prison. Many of us are ill here. Help us to get out of here, where they want to keep us because we are the living proof of the feeling that brought about the recent events in Barcelona."

I have mentioned the doctors of the Hospital Varsovie. I myself saw Dr. Boach, the director of that hospital, living, by order, in the corner of a stable in Ain-Boucif, a remote hamlet where the very road ends on top of the Atlas. He has been there the whole time, unable to work or even to study, dependent for his daily food on the "odd-jobs" work of one or two of the five others.

Seven months in these ghastly conditions, separated from wives and loved ones, without being guilty or accused of anything whatever, is surely a lengthy enough price to pay for these Spaniards and their families to be allowed to leave French territory now for a normal life in freedom?

Nancy CUNARD in the
Manchester Guardian, 10.5.51.

FRANCE

The Rulers of Corruption

No-one is born with the soul of a policeman, a plunderer, a squanderer of public funds or a war criminal; it is not unusual to see shady scoundrels coming from perfectly decent families.

But when gangsterism controls a country, and the banks and main industries are in the hands of gangsters, so that the great majority of people are disgusted, corruption becomes the order of the day and there are always sufficiently unscrupulous and immoral opportunists to use the stepping-stones of lies to put themselves in power and to wallow in filth, where at first they prosper and then rot away.

In that case, one can hardly call our rulers politicians: France is governed by scoundrels.

Add up all the scandals in which they have been involved or which they have covered up.

The ministers are crouched like watch-dogs on a mattress containing a budget deficit of not much less than one thousand millions.

They are keeping watch over the four to five thousand millions of profits made out of the toil of millions of French men and women by a maffia of industrialists and bankers.

Each day these rulers of corruption rob you in this way of 50 per cent. of your means of existence.

This is no longer the classic and compulsory larceny of the capitalist regime: it is outright plunder.

The people protest: so they cook up a crooked electoral law.

No-one in France, except the maffia, their rulers and their press scribes, wants war.

But war is profitable to the latter and is, furthermore, a way of drowning popular discontent in blood.

Their electoral law is ready-made for war and that is why these discredited individuals look towards the fascist de Gaulle whom they regard as their saviour.

Some people may say that by talking about the elections here I am indulging in politics; I suppose that this is so, but let he who prefers to be "done" by these politicians of poverty and distress tell me so.

Gaston Monmousseau, in
La Vie Ouvriere, 2.5.51.

100 Per Cent. For Unity

Agricultural workers in Gruissan, in the Aude district, recently gave their views on demands in a secret ballot organised by the union.

All workers, without exception, whether trade union members or not, were invited to take part in the vote.

The results were as follows:

First question: ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR PRESENT WAGE?

Reply: Unanimous NO.

Second question: HOW MUCH SHOULD YOUR PAY BE IN YOUR OPINION?

Reply: Practically unanimous — 100 FRANCS AN HOUR.

Third question: WHAT METHODS DO YOU SUGGEST FOR OBTAINING THE WAGES YOU ARE DEMANDING?

Every voter here gave details of his preferences. Certain of them suggested a general strike, others said that the only way of putting an end to poverty was to expropriate the landowners; but all, without exception, gave as first condition: WORKING-CLASS UNITY.

As we have already said, these replies come from workers of all opinions who often are in strong opposition to each other on the political or religious plane, but all of whom want better wages, and all are convinced that unity is the prime condition for winning this increase.

Michel Rius in
Le Paysan, 6.5.51.

CANADA

I Am Chosen to Speak of Peace

I have been chosen.

A man has appeared at my door... and handed me a paper bearing Congressman Wood's name—a paper which becomes my economic death warrant, a sentence to my professional starvation, unless . . . Unless . . .

If to-night I were to say to you, "Drop the atom bomb on Moscow; war is inevitable; draft 16-year-olds," I would be called a good American by the un-American committee. I would be permitted to return to my interrupted career as an actress—a career I love with a very deep passion.

I would perhaps be permitted to play an important part in a picture they may soon make—extolling the great humanity in mass extermination of peoples, in putting whole populations of un-Godly Reds out of their misery.

Why should it be difficult for me to speak out, with some show of enthusiasm, just two words which would bring me "security," "praise," and a passport to my "free" profession? "Preventive war!" Just these two words and my picture would again grace fan magazines.

Or any other of the words they like—to show superiority and contempt!...

I cannot accept this idea because it is a lie, a fascist lie, and I am not, could not be, a fascist. But that is only a half statement. Because I am not a fascist I can feel myself one and in fraternity, with everyone who, knowing the total disaster represented by World War III, will under any and all circumstances continue to fight to achieve peace.

Because of this, when I stand before Congressman Wood's committee I will appear to its members to be a Jew-loving, Negro-loving, Red-loving, Peace-loving un-American woman. How incredible to be hated for loving so much, and so many, and so well...

But I will not be lonely.

Standing beside me will be the hosts of the decent living and the brave dead . . .

No, I will not be lonely. To-day the laughter-loving, cheerful people of this land are growing weary of the grim and acrimonious quality of this present era—era of scandals and thievery and hysteria and death to no end . . .

What am I, Congressman Wood?

I will tell you:

I am a chosen one. Chosen to speak of progress, of fraternity and peace.

I am an American.

Gale Sondergaard, Hollywood film actress, in
The Canadian Tribune, 23.4.51.

U.S.A.

The Military Plot for a Fascist U.S.

MacArthur's ouster appeared to many to be the traditional American assertion of civil over military authority. The President, however, did not publicly advance this argument—perhaps because the military has so captured the reins of power during his administration that civil authority, like soldiers who can no longer keep in step, is fading away.

In fact it was the dominant military clique, headed by Marshall, Bradley, Eisenhower, that fired MacArthur. So completely has big business achieved its aims that the only quarrel among the dominant groups is between two generals, two battlefields, two war policies.

A big-business-military dictatorship is being prepared in the U.S. On April 3 Rep. Thomas Werdel (R-Cal.) reported to Congress at length on the Pentagon's part in this plot... The press ignored Werdel's revelations, just as 17 years ago it supported the Morgan-DuPont attempt to set up a military dictator—first Gen. Smedley Butler (who told all), then Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

To-day not MacArthur, but Eisenhower, is being groomed by the financial groups that dominate the country. After six years their plan is close to fulfilment. It began this way:

In 1945, with the nation facing release of 12,000,000 men from the armed forces and a possible $100,000,000,000 drop in production, two courses were charted to prevent economic collapse. Roosevelt proposed an Economic Bill of Rights, trade, higher living standards around the world; Big Business charted a "permanent war economy," continuance of the "three-way partnership" of government, industry and army (in the words of Morgan's Charles Wilson, now mobilization tsar).

To put over this programme the dominant financial groups, dropping their old NAM (National Association of Manufacturers) opposition to government "interference" and eager not to repeat the Hitler experience, determined to control government directly.

Having blackmailed their way into government (under Roosevelt), they cemented their position at the war's end by marriage to the military. Both needed huge government expenditures and a war policy to perpetuate their profits and power . . .

The intermarriage was paralleled by the movement of both groups, in unprecedented strength, into the government. Within two years 170 top civilian posts in government were filled with former army and navy officers . . .

Tabitha Petran in the
National Guardian, 25.4.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

May 1

MOROCCO.—The General Secretary of the Union of Confederated Trade Unions of Morocco (C.G.T.), André Leroy, is arrested at the end of a mass meeting and expelled from Morocco.

UNITED STATES.—The Senate Crime Investigating Committee charges that William O'Dwyer, former Mayor of New York and at present U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, has been aiding the growth of organised crime, racketeering and gangsterism in New York City.

The U.S. Supreme Court rules that the Department of Justice's listing of organisations as "subversive" is arbitrary and that organisations which complain about the listing are entitled to court trial. This is the first time the Department's technique of declaring organisations guilty by proclamation has been upset in the courts.

SPAIN.—The Fascist Government of Franco takes extraordinary precautions to prevent any celebration of May Day. Armed patrols roam through the workers' living areas and around the factories. The cruiser "Almirante Cervera" arrives at Bilbao to intimidate the Basque workers. Despite these measures, thousands of Spanish workers stop work throughout Spain to commemorate International Workers' Day, in unison with their brother workers in all parts of the world.

CUBA.—Dockers of Havana and other Cuban ports come out on strike for 24 hours to demand wage increases of 30%.

NEW ZEALAND.—In a hysterical radio announcement, the Premier calls the locked-out dockers "wreckers" who are out to "overthrow orderly government by force" and calls for volunteers for an emergency civilian force to defend scabs and non-Union labour working on the waterfront and in industries where the workers are on strike in solidarity with the dockers. Picket lines are attacked by the police.

May 2

ALGERIA.—After a strike lasting 34 days, the public service and Government workers return to work, having won wages increases of from 20% to 25% instead of the 6% increase offered by the State.

MEXICO.—Opening of the Regional Agricultural Conference for Latin-America, convened jointly by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Secretariat of the Confederation of Workers of Latin-America (C.T.A.L.), and the Trade Unions International of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)

Representatives of agricultural workers and peasants of Mexico, Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Panama, Colombia, Equador, Argentine, Guatemala, and other Latin-American countries take part in the Conference.

IRAN.—The Shah signs the law nationalising oil, despite the opposition of the British Government, which draws attention to the fact that the cruiser "Gambia" is in Iranian waters.

NEW ZEALAND.—Police break up by baton charges a 2,000-strong demonstration of dockers, freezing workers, and seamen marching to Parliament, in Wellington, to protest against the Tory Government's union busting.

May 3

JAPAN.—Thirty-six trade union members of the Right-wing General Council of Labour are arrested in Tokyo for having demonstrated against U.S. plans for a separate peace treaty, the maintenance of U.S. troops in Japan, and the rearmament of the country. This is an indication of the mass opposition which exists to the United States project of turning Japan into a war base.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Thousands of postal workers "work to rule" in protest against the offer of a 4s. per week rise made by the Postmaster-General in opposition to the demand for a 10s. weekly rise and a minimum of £5 per week for male workers.

Royal Ordnance factory workers at eight different factories ban overtime in support of a claim for two weeks' holiday with pay.

IRAN.—The Government orders the application of the law nationalising oil and informs the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. that in future all approaches should be made to the Minister of Finance and not to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

NEW ZEALAND.—With 90% of the locked-out dockers' union forming the solid core of the united front 20,000 striking workers have formed against the Tory Government's attack on trade unionism, the Prime Minister places the newly-formed civilian "specials" under military control and extends the emergency regulations to increase the powers of the police. British seamen in Wellington decide not to work with the Government's "new" unions. Australian seamen refuse to work the trans-Tasman ferries, loaded by troops.

May 4

SPAIN.——A 48-hour general strike takes place in Vittoria, capital of the Basque province of Alava, in protest against the rise in the cost of living.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Central Committee for the Plebiscite against Remilitarisation (Dusseldorf) issues an appeal to the population of Western Germany to support the plebiscite, illegally banned by the Bonn Government.

NEW ZEALAND.—As a result of the Tory Government's continued lock-out of the watersiders' union, which has tied up fifty ships, totalling 500,000 gross tons, in N.Z. waters, British shipowners announce the imposition of a 50% surcharge on freight rates from and to N.Z. At the same time, 300,000 wool bales await the reopening of sales, suspended because of the dispute, and hundreds of thousands of cases of fruit have had to be ploughed in.

May 5

ALGERIA.—After a strike which lasted four and a half months in complete unity, the miners of Timezrit go back to work, having signed an agreement with the employers which increases the daily wage from 280 francs to 420.

SPAIN.—The strike in Vittoria spreads to involve 15,000 workers, despite the violence of the Franco police and numerous arrests of workers.

INDIA.—The death sentence of twelve Telegana peasants are commuted to life imprisonment, showing that the world-wide protest against the savage sentence has been effective.

FRANCE.—The Confederal Committee of "Force Ouvriere" (Right-wing breakaway group) adjourns without having been able to conclude a debate on the Schuman Plan. Many delegates vigorously opposed a speech by Leon Jouhaux, in which he stated that it was the rôle of the unions to strengthen the Schuman Plan.

MEXICO.—The Regional Agricultural Conference for Latin-America closes after adopting four resolutions on the conditions of life and work of Latin-American agricultural workers, agricultural reform, economic and social demands of the peasants, and forms of organisation for agricultural workers in Latin-American countries.

ITALY.—95% of all high civil servants, including magistrates, divisional chiefs, heads of offices and directors, go on strike, supported by other Civil Servants, to obtain an improvement in the classification of their grade.

CHINA.—An official despatch reveals that 417 state farms have been established in East China. The rôle of these state farms will be to serve as bases for the improvement of agricultural technique, investigation, research, experiments and the improvement of seeds.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Following on the European Workers' Conference against German Rearmament, held in Berlin in March, 1951, a series of workers' meetings are held in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Dortmund, Solingen, and other towns to discuss the campaign for a peace treaty with a united Germany and of opposition to German rearmament.

May 7

FRANCE.—The National Assembly finally adopts the new electoral law by 332 votes to 248. Under this anti-democratic measure the present coalition hopes that, through abolishing the present system of proportional representation, most of the progressive members will be eliminated at the next elections.

There is a 24-hour strike of administrative staffs in Secondary Schools, Training Colleges, National Technical Schools and Regional Centres for Physical Education and Sport.

SOUTH AFRICA.—A one-day general strike of non-European workers, skilled and unskilled, takes place supported by professional men and women, business men and traders. Organised by the Franchise Action Council against the Malan-Havenga Bill which removes coloured people from the electoral lists, this impressive united demonstration indicates the rising opposition to Malan's racialist policies.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The policy of re-Nazifying Western Germany carried on by the Western Powers begins to bear fruit in Lower Saxony, where the elections to the Diet result in the Fascist Party winning 11 per cent. of the votes cast.

SPAIN.—Returning to work after their 48-hour strike the workers of Vittoria refuse to sign declarations that they have broken their work contract and go on strike again.

In Pamplona, a women's demonstration against the cost of living and the price of foodstuffs is violently dispersed by the police.

INDIA.—The National Income Committee issues a report giving the average annual income of the population as 235 rupees for the year 1948-49 (£19 or $54).

UNITED STATES.—The U.S. Ambassador to Siam suggests that the United Nations open recruiting offices throughout the world for an "anti-Communist volunteer force."

NEW ZEALAND.—Walter Nash, Labour Party leader, attacks the Tory Government's refusal to allow Labour M.P.'s to broadcast on the waterfront dispute, to convene Parliament, and permit Labour M.P.'s to address their constituencies.

May 8

BULGARIA.—A "Press and Book Week" begins throughout the country.

UNITED STATES.—The Government rejects the proposal of the U.S.S.R. for a four-Power conference of Foreign Ministers, including the People's Republic of China, to draw up a Japanese Treaty.

IRAN.—The Tudeh Party, outlawed since February 1949, applies to the Iranian Prime Minister for "permission to carry on its activity officially like any other political party in Iran."

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. informs the Iranian Government that it intends to submit the action of the Iranian Government in nationalising the Company to arbitration.

FRANCE.—The C.G.T. and Christian trade union organisations of the Renault automobile factory issue a joint appeal in which they pledge themselves to go forward in unity for a minimum wage of 15,000 francs per month. The declaration also states that neither organisation will take part separately in any talks either with the Government or with the management so long as the 15,000 francs demand has not been met.

SPAIN.—A general strike breaks out at Pamplona in protest against police attacks on the women's demonstration yesterday and against the constantly rising cost of living. Thirty thousand workers are on strike and Falangist armed forces occupy the town.

PANAMA.—First fruit of the United States policy laid down at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of America held in Washington in April last: Arnulfo Arias, President of Panama, attempts a "Coup d'état" with the aim of abolishing the 1946 Consti-

tution which was restricting his activity in "taking part in the defence of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere" as demanded by Washington. The attempt is foiled by mass opposition led by the workers, who declare a general strike.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Secretary of the 83,000 strong Boilermakers' Union, Ted Hill, states: "unless employers give something to pieceworkers (in the engineering industry) there is going to be trouble. I am not telling the lads to go back to work when they come out, because I think they have a just claim."

ITALY.—Faced with stubborn refusal on the part of the Government to grant an increase of 12 per cent. in wages and a sliding scale, 1,600,000 public employees go on a national 24-hour strike. This united demonstration has been organised jointly by the three trade union confederations, the C.G.I.L., the C.I.S.L. (right wing Socialist) and the U.I.L. (Christian Trade Unions).

May 9

SPAIN.—New detachments of police arrive at Pamplona and, firing on the strikers, kill one and seriously injure four.

At Vittoria, the Franco Government interns 400 workers in the Nanclares de la Oca concentration camp and orders the closing down of 12 factories.

UNITED STATES.—Willie McGee, Negro victim of U.S. legal lynching, is judicially murdered in Mississipi for allegedly raping a white woman at a time when McGee was 30 miles from the scene of the crime. McGee and the Martinsville Seven, executed last month in Virginia, makes a total of eight Negro victims of the "American way of life" to meet death at the hands of racialists within a month.

May 10

CHINA.—A mining school opens in Peking. Four hundred pupils will study every branch of mining there.

HUNGARY.—The Executive Committee of the International Journalists' Organisation meets in Budapest. The main theme of the agenda is: "The struggle for peace is the principal duty of every journalist of integrity."

GREAT BRITAIN.—The annual conference of the Electrical Trades Union, by an overwhelming majority, opposes the rearming of Germany and Japan and also demands an extension of trade with the Soviet Union and the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Great Britain.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Following a decision of Parliament, the Government issues a decree organising a referendum on the question of the remilitarisation of Germany and the conclusion of a Peace Treaty. The referendum will take place from June 3 to 5.

NEW ZEALAND.—The secretary of the Labour Party states that the Government is using the emergency regulations to gag the Labour Party, is tapping telephone lines and opening mail, and restricting press freedom. In an attempt to prevent railway workers, whose wage settlement the Government has put off for four months, from striking for the increase and joining the nation-wide strike movement, the Government offers them 50 per cent. of their claim.

INDIA.—It is announced that Russian famine relief ships are on their way to India with grain. Making the declaration Prime Minister Nehru reveals that 50,000 tons will be delivered by the end of July and that a total of 500,000 tons has been offered.

UNITED STATES.—A "New York Times" survey of 72 major universities in the United States is forced to admit that there exists "a subtle creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech which is leading to a passive acceptance of the status quo, conformity, and a narrowing of the area of tolerance in which students, faculty and administrators feel free to speak, act and think independently."

SPAIN.—Replying to the threats made against them, the strikers of Pamplona present the following demands as a condition of their returning to work —increase of food rations and a reduction in their price, payment of wages lost through striking, release of imprisoned strikers and no vicitimisation.

PANAMA.—President Arias, brought down by the mass opposition to his attempted "coup d'êtat" is imprisoned and the Vice-President, Arosemena, is named by the Assembly as the new chief of State.

PAKISTAN.—The Secretary of the Punjab Trade Union Federation, a leader of the peasant movement and a number of other people connected with the peace movement are arrested in a mass round up under the Public Safety Law which permits the Government to hold anyone indefinitely without trial and without bringing any charge against them. This is part of the general attack against all progressives which has now been under way in Pakistan for some months.

May 11

SPAIN.—Women employed unloading trains at Port-Bou, the frontier railway station between France and Spain, go on strike for an increase in wages.

ITALY.—Following the lead of the C.G.I.L., all trade union organisations take up position against the proposed anti-strike law which the Government is threatening to pass. The Association of Higher Civil Servants also announces its intention of opposing any attack on the right to strike.

PHILLIPPINES.—Six members of the Communist Party are sentenced to death, and nine members of the politbureau to imprisonment for life on a charge of engaging in 'armed revolution" directed against the Government.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Government, through its Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison, openly states that it no longer regards the Cairo Declaration as valid.

AUSTRALIA.—Six thousand dockers strike in Sydney in protest against the High Court's refusal to release Edward Roach, Assistant General Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation, who was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for contempt of court. This consisted in Roach having written articles criticising a judge for his decision on basic wages for dockers.

May 12

SPAIN.—Pamplona workers win a resounding victory over the Franco rêgime. After a 10-hour Government meeting on the strike, Franco and his Ministers are finally forced to accept the strikers' demands for an increase in food rations, no victi-

misation, payment of wages lost through the strike and the release of the imprisoned strikers.

May 13

NEW ZEALAND.—Over 10,000 people at a meeting in Auckland hear Walter Nash, Labour Party leader, place the blame for the continued waterfront tie-up squarely on the Government and attack the dictatorial emergency regulations, but refuse to allow the locked-out dockers' president to speak. Nash also stated there was no justification for forming a civilian emergency force, as the dockers' movement was "no Communist conspiracy" (as is claimed by Federation of Labour union leaders and the Tory Government).

May 14

AUSTRALIA.—The Waterside Workers' Federation bans all ships from New Zealand loaded by "new" unions or troops; ten major port branches agree to levy for New Zealand dockers' funds.

May 15

NEW ZEALAND.—The London "Financial Times" correspondent states that as a result of the British rearmament drive and the waterfront stoppage, New Zealand is rapidly approaching an industrial crisis through a shortage of steel, which together with the suspension of wool sales and the increase in freight rates by shipping companies, will lead to unemployment and serious disruption of the national economy.

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THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

at the

TWELFTH SESSION

of the

United Nations

Economic and Social Council

held in

Santiago (Chile)

DOCUMENTS

concerning

★ The Defence of Trade Union Rights

★ The World Economic Situation

★ Forced Labour

Supplement to No. 10 of World Trade Union Movement

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Readers are referred to the article on "The WFTU at the Economic and Social Council in Santiago (Chile)" in No. 10 of World Trade Union Movement.

Complaints Regarding Infringements of Trade Union Rights

Draft Resolution submitted by the WFTU and officially endorsed by the delegation of Czechoslovakia to the 12th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Santiago, Chile.

The Economic and Social Council,

Considering that economic and social progress can be assured only if the free exercise of trade union rights, which are inalienable and inviolable, is fully guaranteed;

Notes that in a number of countries, particularly Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, France, Greece, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and in the British and French colonies, trade union rights are continuously infringed by methods such as the adoption of anti-democratic laws directed against trade unions, restrictions on the right to strike, interference by the public and administrative authorities in the internal affairs of trade unions, repressive measures directed against trade union leaders and members, and obstructions placed in the way of the development of international co-operation between trade union organisations;

Declares that such infringements are part of the offensive waged by the capitalist monopolies, in their preparation of a new war against trade union rights, the standard of living of the working masses and the democratic movement;

Affirms that the anti-trade union measures adopted by the above-mentioned countries are contrary to the principles expressed in Article 55 of the Charter;

Recommends to the above-mentioned countries that they should repeal the measures taken against trade unions and adopt as a matter of urgency legislative and administrative measures guaranteeing the rights and free activity of the trade unions;

Considers that all the State Members should ensure the effective application of the following rights :

1. Wage earners have the right to establish trade unions and pursue their trade union activities in all freedom.

2. Trade unions are organized on the bases determined by their congresses. Consequently, the public and administrative authorities do not have the right to require the registration of trade unions as a condition for their operation.

3. Trade unions have the right to draw up their own statutes, to make decisions on all problems falling within their competence and to appoint and elect their directing bodies and leaders.

4. Trade unions have the right to establish trade union sections at places where work is conducted, to establish local and regional organizations and federations and confederations, and the right to affiliate to international organizations.

5. Trade unions cannot be dissolved, and trade union leaders cannot be prosecuted for their trade union activities.

6. Public and administrative authorities may not interfere in the internal affairs of the trade unions. They do not have the right to require the submission of lists of members and officers, or of balance sheets or other internal reports and documents.

7. Public and administrative authorities do not have the right to prevent trade unions in their countries from establishing and developing international co-operation with trade unions in other countries or with international trade union organizations.

8. Trade unions and their supporters have the right to strike and sustain a strike for the purpose of defending their interests. No repressive measures may be applied on account of a strike.

9. Trade unions have the right to be represented in all governmental bodies dealing with matters affecting labour, wages, social security and with all matters directly affecting the working class or the workers.

10. The above rights must be guaranteed to the workers in colonial and dependent countries as well as to the workers in metropolitan territories.

WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

Draft Resolution submitted by the WFTU and officially endorsed by the delegation of Poland to the 12th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Santiago, Chile.

The Economic and Social Council,

Having examined the report on the world economic situation,

Considering that a war economy and expenditure on armaments entail a considerable lowering of the workers' standard of living and conflict with the achievement of the purposes enunciated in the United Nations Charter, such as higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

1. **Instructs** the United Nations Secretariat, in collaboration with the competent non-governmental organizatons in Category A, to draw up and submit to the Economic and Social Council annual reports, dealing in particular with :

   (a) development and distribution of national income;

   (b) development of the standard of living of industrial and agricultural workers;

   (c) development of profits accrued through war economy.

2. **Recommends** Governments to reduce their armaments budgets for the years 1951 and 1952 by from 30 to 50 per cent;

3. **Recommends** Governments to use the resources thus made available for the concrete implementation of a plan for full employment in production for peace and for raising the standard of living of the workers and lessening their burden. The resources in question should in particular be used :

   (a) to improve and develop legal systems of social security and to set up such systems where they do not already exist;

   (b) to spend more on culture;

   (c) to undertake large-scale programmes for the construction of urban and rural housing, schools, hospitals, rest homes, nurseries, etc.

   (d) to increase credits for small and medium farmers by supplying the equipment necessary to improve their standard of living and their methods and conditions of work;

   (e) to bring up-to-date and improve industrial equipment within an economy reconverted to peace;

4. **Decides,** in order to ensure the concrete and simultaneous implementation of these proposals, to set up a committee composed of *N*—— members :

5. **Instructs** this committee :

   (a) **to supervise,** on the basis of reports submitted by Governments and representative trade union organizations of the countries concerned, the allocation, in conformity with paragraph 3 of the present resolution, of finances obtained through the reduction of war budgets;

   (b) **to invite** the competent non-governmental organizations in Category A to participate in its work;

   (c) to submit its reports and conclusions regularly to the Council.

FORCED LABOUR

Report of the WFTU delegation to the 12th session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, submitted by Domiciano Soto, Acting General Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Chile.

THE W.F.T.U. has on several occasions intervened on the subject of forced labour. We wish to confirm and re-state our position.

The W.F.T.U. is the body most directly interested in the abolition of forced labour, which is one of the most inhuman methods of exploiting the workers and of enslaving and degrading man. The W.F.T.U. is unquestionably the most representative world trade union organisation of organised workers throughout the world, particularly workers in the colonial and dependent countries where forced labour methods are used openly and on a large scale.

The W.F.T.U. has therefore stated during previous sessions of the Council that it was ready to co-operate with the Economic and Social Council in order to solve this question on the basis of the most impartial methods capable of satisfying all concerned. It considered then and now that by adopting its constructive proposals, the Council would have strengthened its own authority and the prestige of the United Nations. By following the path indicated by the W.F.T.U., the United Nations would have been able to abolish these shameful methods of exploitation and slavery which impede the raising of living standards and the full expression of the human dignity of all workers.

Unfortunately, this question was brought before the Council and the International Labour Office with the sole aim of making war propaganda against the U.S.S.R., that is to say, against the country where labour has attained the highest degree of liberty and dignity that history has ever known. In this way we have reached a most absurd situation. Previous and present discussions on forced labour are used to attack the freest society in the world.

We inevitably arrive at the following conclusion: *an attempt is being made to conceal the facts, true in this case, on forced labour in the colonies and dependent territories.* Behind truth-distorting propaganda, efforts are being made to intensify forced labour and to divert the attention of world opinion from the policy of exploitation and misery pursued in the capitalist countries and the territories over which they have control.

Doubtless we will be reminded that a certain international organisation claiming to represent the workers is backing, and has gone so far as to provoke, this campaign against the U.S.S.R. But everyone knows that the role, mission and duty of the leaders of this organisation is to support the policy of hatred and preparation of war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies which is pursued by certain governments. We have already submitted detailed information on the attitude of this organisation.

It is precisely the preconceived attitude of hatred adopted by certain capitalist governments and organisations against the socialist system which distorts all the data on the problem of forced labour and is impeding the attainment of a practical and positive solution.

IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE W.F.T.U. has already had occasion to submit numerous examples of forced labour in the territories in question to the Council. The W.F.T.U.'s attention has yet once more been drawn to fresh cases of forced labour in the Union of South Africa.

In this country, African workers are compelled to do forced labour as a result of a whole series of discriminatory measures such as could not fail to arouse the indignation of all decent people.

For example, in February 1950, Minister of Justice Swart declared before the South African Parliament that seven private prisons existed that time with the authorisation of the Ministry of Justice which had granted licenses for this purpose. Six of the seven persons got their licenses after the Nationalists came to power.

Forced labour is used in all branches of economic activity in South Africa. About 2,600 non-European prisoners are supplied daily for work on the railways and docks. In addition, 1,400 non-European prisoners are daily provided to the gold-mining companies. Under this same system, a large labour force is supplied to farmers. Mention must also be made of the Minister of Justice's declaration that the system of forced labour on the farms is a national service.

The reason why forced labour is so widespread in the Union of South Africa is the existence of discriminatory and repressive legislation contrary to all the principles of the United Nations Charter. Firstly, mention should be made of the laws restricting Africans' freedom of travel. Another law seeks to suppress all democratic organisations and to reduce African workers to a state of slavery. Speaking on these laws to Parliament, the Minister of Labour declared: "Our entire way of life is founded on racial discrimination."

Forced labour is the punishment imposed for every infringement of these inhuman laws, particularly the Pass-Laws. The number of sentences on these grounds runs into thousands; farmers, mining company agents and industrialists visit the prisons for a free labour supply, which they transport in cage trucks specially built for this purpose. This same system prevailed in the Hitlerite concentration camps and was condemned by the whole of mankind. During 1949, 117,000 Africans were arrested and 104,000 sen-

tenced under the Pass Laws. This is a much bigger figure than in 1947, during which year 94,000 Africans were arrested and 85,000 sentenced.

The W.F.T.U. has received a large number of protests against the use of forced labour by the South African Government; they came in particular from H. A. Naidoo, who represented South African Indians at the United Nations in 1945; from A. I. Meer and J. M. Singh, Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress; and E. S. Sachs, General Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union and member of the National Executive Committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council.

IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

FORCED labour is continuing to spread in other countries.

The report which the Committee of Experts on the Application of Recommendations and Conventions made to the 33rd International Labour Conference, deals with several territories where forced labour is still in practice.

According to this report, "forced labour exists in a concealed form as agricultural labour executed for educational purposes" in the Belgian Congo. It should be noted that in this case, the men in question are not working under sentence.

A decree issued in Belgium on 5th December 1933 and still in force, lays down in Article 45, G. that "Native districts are under obligation to build and service means of communication and waterways without payment out of the colonial budget." Article 46 of the same decree stipulates that "Native districts are under obligation to perform the following work, with payment by the colony according to wages prevailing in the region:

"a) construction and servicing of road stations at points selected by the territorial authorities;

"b) construction and servicing of habitations used by European authorities in transit;

"c) servicing of roads within the district."

IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

WE would mention here the declaration of the Committee of Experts with regard to territories under British control: "the Government hopes that the experiments carried out in several territories tending to reduce or abolish forced labour, may be usefully applied in other areas with similar social and economic development, and will enable them to carry out reforms aimed at eliminating forced and compulsory labour as rapidly as possible."

One can hardly imagine a more frank confession of the existence of forced labour in the territories under British control.

It is in these territories that the largest number of examples of penal sanctions exist. The above-mentioned report enumerates the 21 territories where this form of forced labour is still in operation. It may be noted that the administrative authorities of five territories: the Solomon Islands, Gambia, Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Uganda, urgently demand the non-abolition of penal sanctions for the failure to execute a work contract. In justification of their attitude, these authorities resort to arguments of a racial nature; for example, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia states that in view of the African workers' mentality, the abolition of penal sanctions "might not only imperil the stability of the labour force but also increase general disorder."

This is the way in which the men made responsible by the British Government for the administration of important territories, express their deep contempt for the African workers and consider that forced labour is the only suitable system for them.

We would further emphasise the stress laid by the committee on the fact that this is not an isolated case, since the Governors of Tanganyika and Uganda use the same arguments. This is just one more proof of the close relation between forced labour and racial discrimination.

In the British colony of Kenya, with a population of 5 million, the official gazette published in January 1950 the provisions of a law entitled "Measures for the employment of certain persons in voluntary employment." This measure permits and, in fact, demands, the application of universal forced labour. It is obviously a move to increase the powers of the Government contained in the 1932 order on compulsory labour.

The Kenya charter allows the Government to recruit workers in peace time. During the last war, the charter forbade "compulsory work for private persons," according to a statement made by the Chief Native Commissions and published in the *East African Standard*. In actual fact, forced labour was used by private persons in the sugar and hemp industries during the second world war. To this end, the pretext was used that the article stipulated that forced labour could be used in industries of "national importance." According to the 1950 Act the Government may, in peace time declare a given industry "of national importance" and be therefore entitled to use forced labour. It is clear that, under the charter, only domestic labour is able to avoid falling within the provisions of this Act. The terms of the Act as published in the Official Gazette, cover the following points:

1. The Governor and the Labour Commissioner have power to declare that a territory is considered as a "Declared Territory," and that within these limits, any jobless individual may be compelled to work in the employment imposed by the Governor or the Labour Commissioner.

2. Individuals may be arrested in the street or in other places and compelled to do forced labour. The affected persons are those under obligation to produce the document proving their occupation, an impossible thing for those persons who live on the produce of their own land or who are self-employed.

3. Persons incapable of proving themselves to be in employment may be sent to work, with or without a time limit, or simply expelled from the Declared Territory. It can therefore be seen that this charter permits the suppression of all civil rights.

4. Persons thus arrested my be sent to work in centres where, in exchange for their labour, they receive only food rations which are calculated according to the scale fixed by the district authorities.

There are no regulations providing for appeal against such measures just as there are none on the amount of or even the obligation of paying wages. Finally, no person engaged in forced labour has the guarantee that he will be able to maintain his family, nor is he given any form of compensation for the unprotected state in which his family is left.

We will now refer to the 1947 annual colonial report on Nigeria (a British colony of 24 million inhabitants) published by the Government of Great Britain in 1949. In this report, no attempt is made to deny the existence of forced labour; it is merely sought to conceal its extent. It is admitted that 41,746 persons are under arrest. The report states textually that the majority of prisoners are employed on public work in the towns; but that in the bigger prisons, important industries have been established. The report admits that in 1949, the Nigerian police dealt with more than 38,000 cases, and that most of the prisoners are employed inside the prisons on the manufacture of articles in wide demand. Forced labour is the only system by which the government can obtain the necessary labour for working the raw material, as wages are so incredibly low that they would never be able to attract free labour. According to the 1947 report, these wages vary between 9 pence and 31 pence per working day in general, and between 13 and 42 pence for skilled work, according to district. The 1949 report quotes identical figures.

IN THE PORTUGESE COLONIES

FORCED labour still exists in the Portugese colonies. In April 1949 the magazine *Anti-Slavery Reporter* published the following statement:

> "Every year, tens of thousands of Africans from the Angola plateau are recruited by force to work in the coastal sugar plantations. A very small number of these unfortunates succeed in surviving and in escaping to rejoin their families in the villages."

This quotation which comes from a reliable source, gives an idea of the terrible conditions and the large scale of forced labour in the Portugese colonies.

IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH CONTROL

FORCED labour has by no means been suppressed in the territories under French control. The report of the Committee of Experts which we have already quoted on a number of occasions, makes the following declaration with regard to French overseas territories:

> "The Commission observes that the text containing penal sanctions, specially provided for by the Act of 11th April 1946, which was to ensure the abolition of forced labour proclaimed in the Act in general terms, has not yet been adopted."

We would quote here a few paragraphs from the speech on the Bill seeking to restrict forced labour submitted by M. Boganda, Member of Parliament and Catholic priest, to the French National Assembly in December 1949:

> "An Act dated 4th January 1848 proclaimed the emancipation of slaves in French territory. An Act of 11th April 1946 represented a further stage in colonial policy and abolished forced labour and native law within the French Union.
>
> "But does native law in fact exist today in Africa, or in other words, forced labour, arbitrary detention and the whip? Certain people would answer: 'Fortunately, such monstrosities dishonouring our western civilisation no longer exist.' But the opinion of our overseas populations is very different. I shall only quote a number of factual examples of which I myself was witness:
>
> "1) In September 1947, more than one year after the passing of the Act abolishing forced labour, 115 persons were recruited for work in the forestry undertaking in Mongumba, and 36 of them were chained by the neck on the district chief's orders.
>
> "2) In the Dmara district, at Oubangi Chari, no wage had ever been paid road-menders up to September 1947. At that time, I found children aged from 8 to 12, pregnant women and nursing mothers carrying their 2 to 4-month old babies, working on the remaking of roads under the overseer's lash.
>
> "3) In August 1948, 2 uniformed militia-men armed with rifles and whips, and provided with passes signed by the regional chief, were sent to the village of Bouchia to force the inhabitants to make bamboo tiles for the chief's residence. They were forced to work night and day under the militia-men's whip lash, and all forms of punishment were inflicted upon them. The huts of those who had not made enough tiles were destroyed. One of them died from pneumonia because all this took place during the rainy season.
>
> "4) At Bambari, the district chief whips the workers into cultivating cotton.
>
> "5) No native can free himself from cultivating cotton in the Oubangi territory."

This situation exists in many other French African colonies. The cultivation of cotton is also compulsory in the Chad, as the General Inspector of the Colonies stated in his 1948 report. In the Lollo and Kalé cantons, on the Ivory Coast, French West Africa, any person applying for a permit to purchase a weapon must pay a certain sum and in addition work without pay for 7 to 10 days for the Canton Chief. (Information taken from *Le Démocrate,* No. 251 10th December 1950). Also on the Ivory Coast, in the village of Karamakola, Mankno canton, the inhabitants were forced to cut 8,000 sheafs without payment as punishment for the burning of a few sheafs of straw belonging to the Administration.

IN LATIN AMERICA

MANY forms of forced labour also exist in Latin America as has already been demonstrated to United Nations bodies.

The political Constitutions of the Latin-American Republics proclaim the principle of individual liberty and freedom of work, they expressly and tacitly forbid slavery, servitude and all other similar forms of labour. But there is a wide gap between the theoretical principles and the real situation and the truth is quite different, in spite of the emphatic declarations these countries may make before the Economic and Social Council in denial of the existence of forced labour.

The truth is that servitude and slavery institutions continue to survive throughout Latin America, typifying the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system prevailing in these countries. This situation persists in spite of theoretical laws and principles and is even becoming more acute in certain countries, such as Chile and Brazil, as the result of the penetration of foreign capital which simply takes advantage of the backward economic and social situation to achieve its aim of imperialist exploitation.

Under the general heading of "forced labour" exist many different practices ranging from typical slavery and servitude to cases where compulsory employment of labour is concealed by legal provisions, or disguised as certain local customs, but which, in essence, violate every principle of the United Nations Charter.

Forced labour, which is contrary to the principles of the liberty of man, is extremely widespread in Latin America, where it is to be found in an open form in agriculture, the mines, domestic work and the construction of public buildings and roads. The victims of the most brutal forms are the Indians and Negroes. There are a whole group of tasks of a feudal character which the big landowners compel agricultural workers in all Latin American countries to perform. These are vestiges of the colonial *encomienda* system and cover the present methods of *pongueaje, colonato, hausicamia,* and other forms of agricultural and domestic servitude of varying names such as *yanapaje, muquiero, mitana, apiri, islero, chasquis, postillon, propio* (runners), etc.— all based on an extra-legal right of lordship exerted by the landowner over agricultural workers.

Another form of forced labour of a slave-like type is derived from the seizing of the land in particular, and the means of production in general. *Peonaje,* which dates from the colonising period, exists in modern agriculture and mining undertakings of a capitalist type which, by this means, have a cheap labour force at their disposal which brings in fabulous profits.

In analysing firstly forced or servitude labour, it is necessary to mention:

(a) *Pongueaje,* which exists in Peru and Bolivia and consists in the *compulsion on the Indians to work for nothing* on the owners' land five days a week, leaving them two days to work the piece of land they have been lent. In Ecuador, this system also exists, under the name of *huasipongo.*

(b) *Huasicamia,* which exists in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, and is a similar system to that just described but is applied to domestic workers as an obligation for the Indian workers to do a certain period of unpaid labour in the employers' house. The name of *huasicamia* is also given to the practice of placing children in the employers' charge. In this way, the employer exerts his domination over the Indian and his children, sometimes seeking to conceal this in the form of *adoption,* so as to legalise the exploitation of children. This occurs in the wealthy homes of the capital where one can see children snatched from their homes by the "lords," and forced to follow the tradition of serfdom, which often sets them on the path of child crime.

(c) Under the heading of personal services (servile labour) mention should be made of those forms to which the *semanero* Indian is subject (in the case of women, the name is *mitanas*). In exchange solely for food, the Indian must do kitchen tasks, washing, weaving, garment making, etc. The Indian *muquero, islero, apiri, yanacon,* do jobs which are nothing other than the *encomiendas* services of the sixteenth century. Similarly, the *Chasquio postillon* is used as a runner between the big estates and the towns. The job of the *propio, cacha* or *apiri* is the transportation of goods. These are some of the deplorable forms of servitude which still persist in Latin America. Indians often have the same surname as their landowner, who is in fact their lord and master. Generally, when a large estate is sold, the sale covers the cattle and the Indian families. A rich landowner in Huaran, Peru, recently declared to a foreign journalist: "the value of an estate increases with the number of Indians it contains."

(d) The system of *Aparceria,* according to the generally accepted meaning of the term, consists in the peasant's obligation to hand over part of his produce to the landowner in payment for the use of the land he has been granted. In general, this feudal system is accompanied in Latin America by personal services, as is the case for the Indian *Pongo, Huasicama,* etc. The agricultural worker is tied to the domain, to the estate, under the system called domestic servitude. As can be seen in Latin America, *aparceria* is a transition or overlapping system between servile labour, *peonaje,* and share cropping. Under this system, the peasant receives seed, tools and ploughing instruments, etc., for which he must pay in kind at a price fixed by the landowner, who also fixes the price of the harvest and of the surplus which the *aparcero* is compelled to hand over to him. It is clear that under such a system, the peasant never obtains a favourable surplus, with the result that he remains indefinitely tied to the land, which represents an *enfeudamineto* bond. In contrast, the landowner obtains very low-priced produce. This system is called *conuco* in Venezuela and *porambia* in Columbia. Naturally, the stability of the *aparceros* is only relative. They are constantly thrown off the land and go to swell the ranks of the *peonaje* (agricultural day labourers) and in this way increase the number of hands and cheap labour at the disposal of the lord of the land. It is necessary for us to stress at this session of the Council the method of forced labour existing in Bolivia, by means of which a landowner loans money to a peasant and forces him to make the repayment in the form of forced labour with the detrimental feature of passing on the debt contracted in this way from father to son. This means that the debt does not expire even on the death of the exploited peasant.

Another brutal system of forced labour is constituted by the system of *yanaconazgo.* The *yanacones* are Indians snatched from their homes and transported *en masse* to the big rural *haciendas* under a pretended system of paid agricultural labour. In this way, Indian labour is exploited in the cultivation of the sugar cane, cotton, and rice on the wealthy estates of the Peruvian coast.

A further form of slave labour is known under the name of *siriguaje* and is practised in Bolivia, Peru, Columbia, Venezuela and Brazil on the rubber plantations and in the harvesting of soya, nuts and other oil-seeds. This system is not practised in a collective form like *Yanaconazgo,* but individually, like *concertaje.* But it differs from these two systems in that it does not imply the previous existence of colonial institutions but is rather a form of the *peonaje* system introduced by capitalist undertakings in the exploitation of *huie* and palm oil. This system does not only affect the indigenous population but is applied equally to white as to coloured workers, to foreigners as to Indians.

I would like to draw the Council's attention to working conditions in the coffee, sugar-cane, cocoa, tobacco and bannana plantations of Central America, the West Indies, the coastal areas of Columbia, Venezuela and Brazil, and the Chaco of the Argentine and Paraguay. We find a similar situation here. It is not a matter of servile labour but of slave labour and *peonaje* (which, according to the employers' and official opinion, is not regarded as forced labour but as free and paid employment). In this type of plantation, the ethnic factor does not determine the intensity of exploitation; for the Indians, Negroes, half-castes and whites are up against the same problems: very low wages, excessively long working days, inadequate food, unhealthy living quarters, unjustified dismissals, and severe repression against any attempt to organise the joint defence of the workers' interests.

Generally speaking, there are in practice no regulations regarding agricultural labour in any of the Latin American countries, for where regulations do exist, they are not applied. There is no minimum wage, no medical aid, no compensation on dismissal, no healthy housing. Into the bargain, so-called agricultural trade union legislation does exist in certain countries but this in fact prevents the organisation of rural workers in defence of their interests.

The situation I have described in these plantations also exists in the vast forested areas of Argentine and Paraguay, in the *maté* growing plantations in Paraguay, where British and Argentinian firms enforce the *agasillae* system under which wages are paid in produce. The *péon* (agricultural worker) is compelled to buy the things he needs in the stores belonging to the estate and at high prices with the result that he accumulates never-ending debts to which he is enslaved.

In the field of public and administrative works there are also varied forms of forced labour. They take the names of *tequie, faena, chuncas, minga,* etc., according to the country in question. They entail the obligation of working for a certain length of time without pay on a whole series of public works.

According to the reports of the Columbian Institute on Indian Affairs, Municipal Councils impose tasks or *corvées* which may cover as much as 15 to 20 days per year. During this period, the worker only receives a food ration. The reports add that these abuses are due to the lack of vigilance on the part of the government. This system of labour is all the more scandalous since the labour force is used on tasks which have nothing to do with the interests of the community.

The following is one of the most typical examples: small Indian and half-caste tradesmen are compelled to sweep the streets and squares where they set up their stalls. The municipal police seek them out early in the morning and take some of their clothes away from them in order to force them to do the task before their clothing is returned. The most severe form is "compulsory road conscription," which consists in devoting, either in turn or by drawing lots, two or more unpaid working-days to the construction and repair of roads. This system also exists in Ecuador. But according to Convention 29 of the International Labour Office, *any service imposed on a person under threat of any punishment whatsoever is considered as forced labour.*

In the first case quoted, the punishment consists in the confiscation or loss of an article of clothing; in the second it consists in the payment of a sum of money into the municipal treasury, or even imprisonment if the individual does not carry out his task. In this same connection, the Columbian Institute on Indian Affairs states: "Recently, just as occurred in former times, a new church was built in San Sebastian and the facade of the church of San Juan was remade with the use of Indians from the reserves. The work, which is done in the form of a *corvée,* is unpaid. Indians receive nothing but *coca* to keep going during the day."

The International Labour Office report entitled "On the Living and Working Conditions of Indians," presented in Montevideo in 1949, states in one of the chapters: "The Indian population in fact represents one of the most important reserves of unpaid labour for the carrying out of a large part of the public works in the majority of the Latin American countries."

Reputed scientists recognise that the picture we have just presented in a summary fashion of the forms of forced labour at present practised in Latin America represents a violation of the principles of proclaimed human rights and liberties. This view was expressed—to quote only one source — by Mr. Moisés Poblete Troncoso, in an interesting survey entitled "Institutions, Practices and Customs of America resembling Slavery," which was widely distributed by the Economic and Social Council.

It follows from our foregoing statements that forced labour, in distinct forms, represents in Latin America one of the systems on which a considerable section of national productive activity is based. Several legislative measures have indeed been adopted to eliminate forced labour in Latin America; but as I have said, they are rarely put into application.

AGAINST FORCED LABOUR AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

WE have given these concrete and irrefutable examples in order to stress the necessity of taking effective measures to abolish forced labour.

Why has the condemnation of forced labour pronounced by the Council proved ineffective? We consider that the main reason for this is that the resolution adopted by the Council majority is not aimed at putting an end to forced labour but is openly directed against one of the member countries of the Council.

Proof of this is that this same majority instructed the I.L.O. to examine the W.F.T.U.'s proposals relating to racial discrimination. But the I.L.O. is incapable of acting in this field in view of the fact that its Constitution contains a colonialist clause under which the I.L.O. itself practises racial discrimination.

In our Memorandum on racial discrimination and with the examples we have provided the Council with today, we have proved the existence of and link between forced labour and racial discrimination. It is obvious that forced labour and racial discrimination are dependent on the same forces in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The monopolies do everything in their power to obtain a super-exploitable labour force. Forced labour is one of the means of paying insignificant wages or more simply none at all, of avoiding any system of social security and of enforcing inhumanly long working hours. It is therefore obvious that the I.L.O. is not qualified to make a positive contribution to solving this problem.

The W.F.T.U. adopted a resolution at its 1949 Congress demanding the repeal of anti-working class laws and the abolition of forced labour in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The W.F.T.U. stressed in this resolution the relation between the suppression of forced labour and the removal of all the economic and social conditions which make this system possible. The Second World Trade Union Congress therefore demanded:

> "The adoption of labour legislation protecting the workers and guaranteeing their effective participation in the elaboration and administration of the economic policy of their country.
>
> "A struggle against all social, economic or political discrimination based on race, colour, religion or sex."

The resolution further demanded the ending of the "system of colonies, protectorates and dependent territories as areas of economic exploitation."

By virtue of the foregoing, the W.F.T.U. asks the Council to consider the proposals submitted to it at the 8th and 9th sessions and to appoint a broad commission of enquiry composed of representatives of trade union organisations of all tendencies and chaired by the President of the Economic and Social Council.

This Commission should be instructed to examine the conditions of work and in particular of forced labour and the discrimination suffered by workers in colonial and dependent territories, and to propose concrete solutions permitting the abolition of these cruel methods of exploitation and human degradation.

Our proposal would allow the concrete solution of the problem in view of the fact that the workers are the ones most directly interested in finding a positive solution, for forced labour is not only a method of exploitation and an affront to the dignity of labour; it also represents a serious danger to free labour and therefore, a factor in the depreciation of labour in general.

Finally, our proposal would give the enquiry a broad, impartial and objective character.

The W.F.T.U. hopes that these proposals will not once again be rejected. At a time when repression is being launched with increased violence against the colonial and dependent peoples, it is the Economic and Social Council's duty, in the interests of peace, good understanding between the peoples and social progress, to remind the governments of the respect they owe to the United Nations Charter.

By approving our proposal, the Council would show its determination to contribute to the inevitable elevation of the dignity of labour and to the improvement of the workers' conditions throughout the world. If it rejects it, it would merely confirm the workers' conviction that social and economic progress can be achieved solely through their own endeavours and by their own struggle.

ENQUIRY INTO FORCED LABOUR AND MEASURES FOR ITS ABOLITION

Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the 12th session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Santiago, Chile.

The Economic and Social Council

Recognises the great importance of the question of "Forced Labour" under discussion by the Council and considers the material so far submitted by the originators of this question to be wholly inadequate, in many respects lacking in objectivity and truth, and grossly libellous and defamatory of the Soviet Union.

The Council notes, on the one hand, that the discussion on this question has revealed a divergence of views on whether labour is free or forced in those countries where there is ownership of the land by rich landowners, where there is private capitalist ownership of factories, plants, mines, banks, railways and all other means of production, and where the fruits of the labour of workers and employees are thereby appropriated by the rich—the great capitalists, millionaires and multi-millionaires who control the capitalist monopolies while the workers and employees are in complete economic dependence upon them.

In these conditions workers and employees are compelled to work not for themselves but for others, are compelled to do work which is not of their choosing but which they have been obliged to accept in order to avoid starvation. Because of these circumstances workers and employees in these countries are constantly threatened with losing their work and, in order to retain the means of existence, are frequently compelled to agree to lower wages, bad working conditions and cruel exploitation. In present-day conditions, moreover, workers and employees are in many cases compelled to take into account the fact that their material standard of living is being reduced by increases in the price of primary necessities, in taxation, rent and the like. Particular attention has been given to the fact that even at the present time, when there is no economic crisis, millions of unemployed and semi-employed persons in these countries are unable to work and provide themselves and their families with even the most essential means of existence, while latterly the number of unemployed and semi-employed persons had been steadily increasing. Thrown out of employment and brought face to face with death by starvation, unemployed workers and employees are compelled to seek any kind of work: this is being exploited by the capitalists in order to make still worse the the position of workers and employees in employment.

Attention has also been drawn to the fact that at the present stage of the development of civilisation it is inadmissible to retain slave and semi-slave working conditions and a beggarly existence for workers in colonies and dependent territories, and also to the defranchised conditions of the workers and the whole local population in those territories. It has been pointed out moreover, that in many countries where private capitalist ownership prevails, not to mention colonies and dependent territories, there is no system of State unemployment insurance, and no insurance and material assistance against sickness, disablement and old age; the result is that many millions of workers are ever deprived of the necessary means of existence and must constantly be haunted by the fear of unemployment, poverty and hunger.

The Council notes, on the other hand, that the discussion has revealed a divergence of views on whether labour is free in a country such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the land has been taken away from the landowners and given to the peasants, where the factories, plants, mines, banks and railways belong to the people as a whole, where the fruits of their labour belong to the workers themselves and are not appropriated by capitalist owners, as there are no capitalists in the Soviet Union and consequently no exploitation of man by man.

It has been pointed out that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guaranteees the right of work for all workers without distinction of sex, race or language, and that this right is secured in practice by the Socialist organisation of the national economy, by the steady growth of the productive forces of society with the active participation of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia themselves, and also by the fact that in this country there are no economic crises and unemployment has long been eliminated, so that each year the material living conditions of workers and employees have steadily improved. The effect of this can be seen in higher wages, in lower prices of consumer goods, in the development of a system of rest homes and sanatoria for workers, in the improvement of housing conditions, in the ever greater satisfaction of the growing cultural requirements of workers and employees, and the like. Workers and employees in the U.S.S.R. do not know what it is to be afraid of losing their work. They have no fear of want, nor are they uncertain of the morrow. It has also been pointed out that in the U.S.S.R. there is State insurance against sickness, disablement and old age, guaranteeing free assistance to all workers, male and female, in such cases, and there are also regular holidays at State expense and free education for children. It has been pointed out, furthermore, that the People's Democracies which have set foot on the path of Socialist development are also successfully carrying out measures in the interests of the workers.

In view of the divergencies in the views expressed on these questions,

The Economic and Social Council,
acting in virtue of Articles 55 and 68 of the Charter,

Resolves:

1. For the purpose of comprehensive and objective investigation of the real working conditions of workers and employees in the countries where private capitalist ownership prevails, and also in the U.S.S.R. and in the People's

Democracies, to set up a comprehensive International Commission consisting of representatives of the manual and intellectual workers united in all existing trade unions, without distinction as to the political trend and religious convictions of their members, to include: representatives of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, the American Federation of Labour of the United States of America, the American Congress of Industrial Organisations of the U.S.A., the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, the trade unions of France, Italy, the People's Republic of China, Germany, India and Japan, and other national trade union federations.

On the basis of one representative for every million trade union members, a total of 110—125 representatives.

National trade union federations with less than one million members, suitably grouped by countries, shall appoint representatives on the same basis.

The Commission shall also include representatives of existing international trade union federations—the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Latin-American Federation of Labour, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and others.

2. The Commission shall pay particular attention to the study of the situation of unemployed and semi-employed persons in all countries where unemployment has not been eliminated, in respect of their real living conditions and legal status, including housing and other conditions of life, social insurance and medical services.

3. The Commission shall take steps to investigate the actual working conditions of male and female workers and their children in the colonies and dependent territories, in order to determine how far the States responsible for the administration of such territories are fulfilling the obligations in this regard imposed on them by the Charter.

4. The Commission shall be instructed to collect as complete and objective information as possible on the above-mentioned questions, and to make use for this purpose of material and data submitted by governmental institutions and by trade unions and other workers' organisations, including the organisations of any plant, factory, mine, agricultural plantation and the like.

5. On the basis of the information received the Commission shall draw up reports and recommendations and submit them to the Economic and Social Council, and wide publicity shall be given to the results of the Commission's work.

In view of the importance of the question,
The Economic and Social Council

Resolves to submit this resolution to the General Assembly for ratification.

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EDITORIAL

DEFEAT

THE DRIVE TO RESTRICT W.F.T.U.'s ACTIVITIES

THE WFTU is a mass fighting organisation directly linked, through its affiliated organisations, its correspondents and supporters, with the daily life of millions upon millions of human beings throughout the world.

The aims which the WFTU pursues—aims proclaimed at its foundation in 1945—are known to both its friends and its enemies. No mystery shrouds its activity. Its deliberations are not held nor are its resolutions adopted behind closed doors. It makes periodic appeals to the working men and women of the whole world. Whenever the circumstances require, it states its attitude on the great international political and social events which directly affect the vital interests of the working masses and the cause of peace.

The WFTU's activity meets with support in all lands. In the USSR, in New China, in the People's Democracies, in the capitalist countries, mandated territories and colonial countries, the policy and activity of the WFTU are regarded by the workers as being the policy and activity of an organisation *freely* and *voluntarily* set up by the workers themselves. For them, the WFTU represents an indispensable force in the service of peace and social progress. It is also the organisation responsible for the increasingly high degree of international solidarity and mutual assistance between workers, whatever their nationality or race.

Those who exploit the peoples, whose wealth is derived from this exploitation and who plot night and day against the democratic rights and liberties of the working peoples, are not pleased by the importance which the world trade union movement, represented by the WFTU, has assumed.

These public enemies have cherished the dream of making it impossible for the WFTU to carry on; but their dream is far from being achieved. They are, there-

fore, seeking a little compensation. In particular, they would like to be the ones to decide in which countries the WFTU may, through its representatives, take part in workers' meetings, or associate itself with demonstrations organised by the workers, in particular in capitalist and colonial countries.

Acting on orders from the State Department, the French Government agreed to experiment with this *policy of restricting the WFTU's activities.* It banned the WFTU headquarters in France. The intention was more far-reaching than the actual measure taken by the French reactionaries. The intention was to render the WFTU's activities in all capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries impossible.

The WFTU's adversaries would like to see it cease to be a "world" organisation. They want it to be "territorial" and are looking for ways of achieving this aim. They believe this to be possible because they have a distorted impression of what the workers' world organisation really is. They end up by believing their own nonsense about the WFTU.

They say that the WFTU is nothing more than a propaganda machine, an agitation office. They repeat this so often that in the end they believe it. They build up their plan to repress the WFTU on the basis of this sententious opinion.

The repression already exerted against the WFTU's activities is an indication of the strength of our movement. If our organisation were not as solid as it is, would reactionary governments and their Scab International agents expend the energy they do in fighting it?

The WFTU is not merely an administrative apparatus now installed in Vienna, Austria. The WFTU is the millions upon millions of men and women, adults and young people, manual and intellectual workers living in all countries of the world, who daily express the real, living character of our Federation, who are the basic element of our vast, diverse and many sided world trade union movement.

We do not beg any favours from reactionary governments; we do not appeal to the American multi-millionaires and their docile servants to help along the activity of our progressive trade union movement. We know that, naturally and of necessity, they have to take the opposite course. When our trade union organisations or the WFTU itself contacts them, we do so to demand our rights, or to impose them if need be.

Immediately after the second world war they took the step of launching a vast wave of political and social reaction in the world, and the broad working masses in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries took up the challenge. The WFTU is not neutral in this huge world-wide struggle between the popular forces of democracy and social progress and the monopolist gangs and exploiters of the peoples. It fights alongside those who created the organisation. It is with the proletariat and serves it in its fight for its freedom, rights and emancipation.

As early as 1946, the WFTU Executive Bureau meeting in Washington warned that in its resistance to social and human progress, international reaction would take up the ideology and banner of fascism. Five years have gone by. In their machinations against the WFTU and against our entire progressive trade union movement, the reactionaries and their lackeys have borrowed not only the arguments, but also the brutal and illegal methods of fascism.

The policy of restricting the activities and normal functioning of the WFTU which was decreed by the Washington Government, begged for by the Brussels Scab International, and implemented by governments servile to the State Department, is a policy of fascist inspiration.

It has not, and cannot, meet with the approval of decent people. This is why many leading people and progressive and democratic groups in a large number of capitalist and colonial countries are allying themselves with the workers who are firmly attached to *their* WFTU, to strengthen international links between the working peoples and to defeat the policy aimed at cloistering the WFTU.

No initiative must be considered superfluous in this sphere. On the contrary, the initiative shown by a number of trade unions and National Trade Union Centres must give impetus to the initiative of other trade unions and other Centres.

☆ ☆ ☆

A SPIRIT of broad and fraternal collaboration between the trade unions of Latin America and the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' and the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Departments was expressed by two important international trade union conferences which took place from May 2nd to 14th, 1951. The first was held in Mexico City, while the Transport workers met in Guatemala. The Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL), which is the WFTU's Liaison Bureau for the Latin-American countries, was responsible for organising these two conferences.

I came back from these two conferences with the intention of quoting them as concrete examples of the practical measures which our world trade union movement can take in implementing its decisions and resolutions.

The main outcome of the Mexico and Guatemala meetings was the more effective organisation of liaison between the trade union organisations and the mass of agricultural workers and transport workers.

The Conference of Agricultural and Forestry Workers in Mexico made it apparent that the absence of a clear, precise and detailed programme of demands covering all sections of rural workers, made it difficult to develop trade unions and rally broad masses to their ranks. *The Conference delegates broke away from the policy of presenting general ideas and magic formulas, which are incapable of bringing a flood of new members into the unions and which do not prepare these organisations to undertake all the necessary campaigns for the day-to-day defence of the vital interests of the working masses.*

The conditions of Latin-American agricultural workers is one of dire poverty. Agriculture, the fundamental basis of the Latin-American countries' economies, is in an antiquated, anachronistic state. Backward working conditions are allied to semi-feudal living conditions for the rural populations. Since the end of the war, the businessmen of the North-American trusts have been flocking into Latin America to increase Yankee imperialism's domination there. They are seeking to turn these countries into sources of low-priced raw materials and highly profitable markets open exclusively to U.S. industries. In order to prevent the development of national industries, they are endeavouring to isolate the countries of Latin

America economically from the other continents by seizing control of their foreign trade.

But going beyond these mere statements of principles which nevertheless are illustrations of bitter reality, the Mexico Conference drafted a programme of agricultural workers' demands and a set of measures for agrarian reform as the basis for the fight against feudal exploitation and the designs of the imperialists. The Conference gave a particularly important place to the trade unions' tasks in both organisation and activity, and valuable guidance was given to trade union cadres and active members, in a resolution adopted after far-reaching discussion by the Conference.The liaison between land-workers' organisations and industrial workers' unions will be considerably strengthened in the future if the Conference decisions are correctly applied. A special Secretariat was organised inside the CTLA Central Committee to deal systematically with the demands of agricultural workers and with agrarian problems. A representative of the Latin-American agricultural workers' unions was appointed to the Administrative Committee of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Department in order to strengthen international relations at the WFTU level.

The Transport Workers' Conference opened in Guatemala a few days after the victory won by the Guatemala railwaymen over "International Railways of Central America," a railway company in the hands of the North-American monopolists. The success of this united workers' strike, backed by the entire population, provided the Conference with the opportunity of making a thorough examination of the methods and means of action of transport workers in defence of their demands. The difficult but courageous strike of Argentine railwaymen also provided an opportunity of extending this analysis to the conditions of the struggle to democratise the trade unions under the control of reactionary governments.

Through its work in drafting an important set of demands ranging from immediate ones relating to wages, social security, labour safety, working hours, and the free exercise of trade union rights, to the more general one for the nationalisation of the railways, which are mostly in the hands of foreign capitalists, the Guatemala Transport Workers' Conference made a contribution towards rendering the future action of workers in all Latin American countries more methodical and concrete.

The positive character of the Conferences in Mexico City and Guatemala are relevant to another sphere also. Both of them provided an opportunity of examining the usefulness of the recommendations made by the WFTU Executive Bureau on December 7, 1950, following the meeting with the CTAL Central Committee.

The assurance with which we speak of the importance of our world trade union movement, the certainty with which we regard the future development of our world organisation does not however lead us to conceal our weaknesses nor modestly to shroud our shortcomings and difficulties.

As long as we know how to draw the workers' attention to our weaknesses, as long as we dare to state publicly the origin of our shortcomings and difficulties, we shall have ever greater assurance and ever greater certainty.

The impression I gained from taking part in these two Conferences and from conversations with all the Latin-American brothers whom I met in Guatemala, Mexico City and Havana, is that a too-timid start has been made along the path indicated by the recommendations contained in the resolution the Executive Bureau

adopted on December 7, 1950. This resolution was not sufficiently publicised in all the countries for the workers to be able to learn of its contents and orientation and for the stimulation of broad discussions in all unions, whether affiliated to the CTAL and the WFTU or not.

The Executive Bureau's recommendations are not the exclusive property of trade union leaders, at whatever level. They are intended for every single working man and woman.

It is to the credit of the CTAL Central Committee that it drew the WFTU's attention to the oppression raging in Latin America against the workers' and peasants' movement. It will be to the WFTU's credit to provide the workers of Latin America with the benefits of the experience acquired by the international labour movement and the lessons which it has drawn both from its successes and its defeats, while giving full weight to the evolution of the trade union movement in Latin America, its history and its present potential.

The Executive Bureau made three main recommendations :

1. To step up the struggle for economic and social demands and *to link it up all the time* with the fight for national independence and peace, using different methods of action according to concrete local conditions;
2. A determined drive for *rank-and-file united action* in the factories, in the various branches of industry and agriculture around immediate objectives capable of rallying the broadest masses of workers, thus preparing favourable conditions for the achievement of organisational trade union unity.
3. To improve organisational work *at all levels* of trade union activity and to fight for democracy in the trade unions, particularly in those under the control of reactionary governments which pursue an unremitting policy of corruption inside their ranks.

This is the path to be followed in order to improve and clean up the trade union situation in Latin America.

The success of the May Day demonstrations in Chile, prepared on the basis of united action between all organisations, whether affiliated to the WFTU or not, is proof that it is possible to advance with confidence in the direction indicated by our recommendations which have thus proved themselves to be correct.

The setting up in Guatemala on May 12th of a Preparatory Committee for a National Unity Congress to unify all Guatemalan trade union organisations, shows that the workers follow this path with enthusiasm once it has been clearly pointed out to them.

The WFTU Executive Bureau was right in saying, in its resolution of December 7, 1950, that :

> *"it is also necessary to rid the trade union movement of sectarianism—which is an obstacle to common action—by strengthening the unity of all workers, whether organised or not, and regardless of their trade union or political affiliations or religious beliefs."*

Manifestations of sectarianism still persist and they are, today, the source of the failure to understand the role of mass trade union action. This sectarianism leads to the loss of the simple and direct language which should unite our movement with the working masses.

Sectarianism is the passion of the weak or of the enemies of working class unity and of alliance between all progressive and democratic forces.

The CTAL and the National Trade Union Centres have a decisive role to play in eradicating the present trade union divisions in Latin America. They can play this role only by resolutely attacking every sectarian tendency and manifestation paralysing the efforts to rally the working masses.

We are engaged in a struggle against the attempts of the imperialists and their agents to "isolate" the WFTU. It would therefore be a terrible thing if the survival of sectarian and narrow tendencies within the very ranks of the organisations proclaiming support for the WFTU were to give indirect aid to the endeavours to isolate our movement.

Credit is due to the Mexico and Guatemala Conference for a correct attitude towards the expansion of the influence of the WFTU in Latin America, and we can state that their example is valid not only for the Agricultural and Forestry and Land and Air Transport workers : the example holds good for all workers, just as the preparation and success of the May Day celebrations in Chile and Guatemala, for example, should give our Mexican and Cuban comrades food for thought.

Everywhere, in all countries, we must boldly create new conditions for increasing the practical and concrete demonstrations of that working-class internationalism of which the WFTU is and continues to be the living image.

We must advance our unity policy in the trade unions everywhere.

Starting with the most simple demands of workers and peasants and progressing towards more general activities in favour of peace, the trade union organisations, allied with all manual and intellectual workers, must increase the WFTU's influence by an ever larger display and use of initiative.

In this way we shall defeat the drive to restrict the WFTU's activities.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

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IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN STANDS FOR PEACE

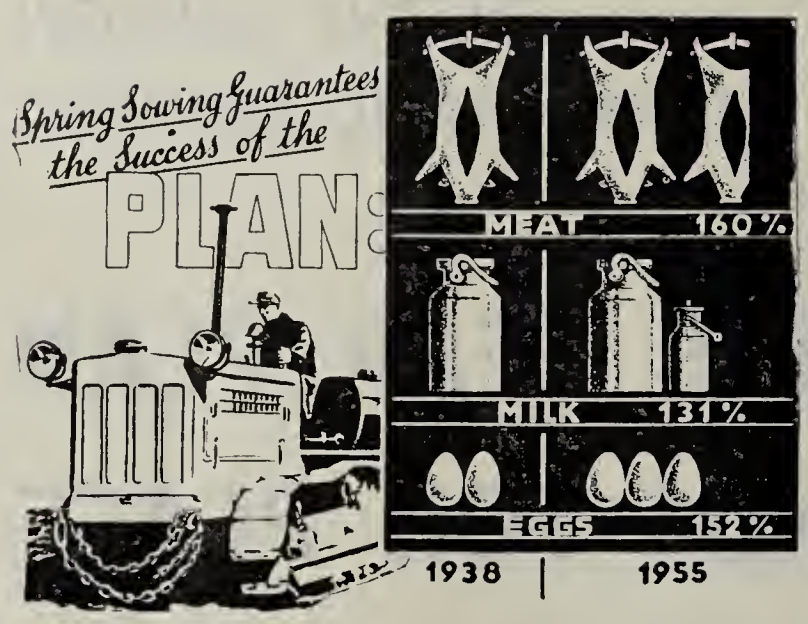
by **GUNTHER ERXLEBEN**

"FORWARD to prosperity by fighting for peace and unity, by fulfilling the Five-Year Plan" —this was the main slogan of the 3rd Congress of the F.D.G.B. It was not only the key-note determining the orientation of the Congress but also the entire trade union work of the F.D.G.B. and its affiliated trade unions.

The fight for peace is one of the main tasks of the Free German Trade Unions, and all other tasks are integral parts of this main one. The basic condition for its achievement is the formation of a unified, democratic and independent Germany. It can only be effected by a determined fight against the imperialist war planners of Wall Street and the City and their German stooges of the type of Adenauer and the West German right-wing trade union "leaders" who dance to the tune of the anti-working class A.F.L. leaders.

Opposition is growing to the increasingly obvious remilitarisation and rearmament of Western Germany, directed against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and against the progressive development of the German Democratic Government with scarcely any efforts on the part of the sponsors of this move to conceal their aims. There is growing readiness among all sections of the West German population to join, under the leadership of the working class, the great movement of the German Democratic National Front, demanding a united, democratic peace-loving Germany not split into artificial zones. There are growing indications that the movement against the American war, planned and prepared by the war profiteers, is increasing daily.

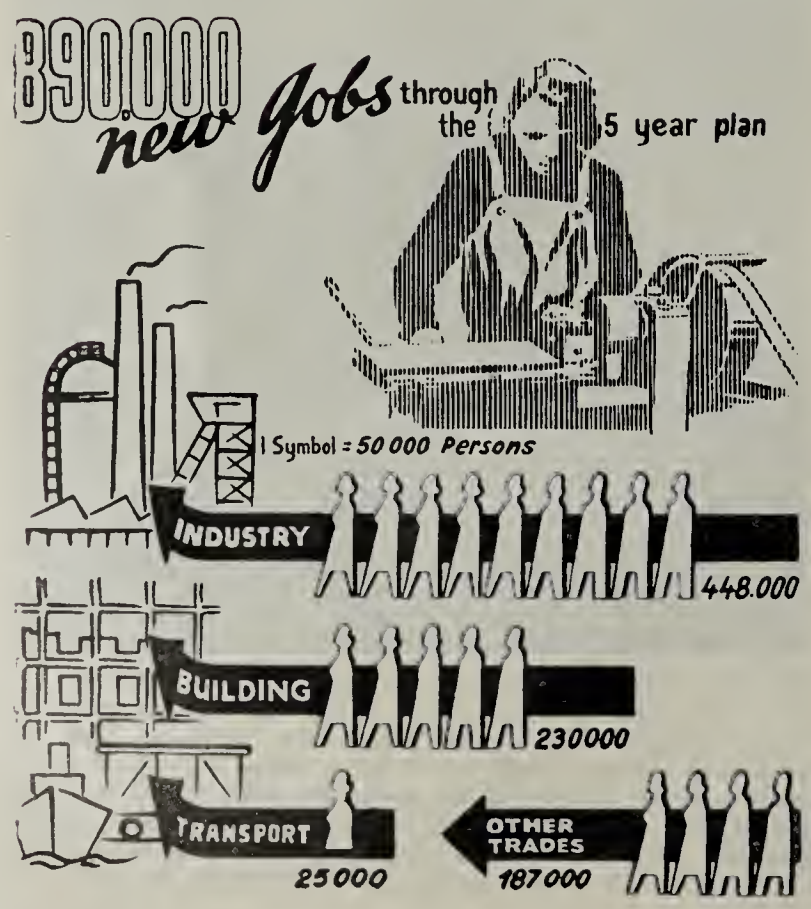
The foundation stone of the biggest metal works in Germany, the Eastern Steel Plant on the Oder-Spree Canal, was laid on January 1st, 1951. With an area of 2½ by 1½ miles, it will have three blast furnaces, each with a daily output of 500 tons. By 1955, there will be ten Martin furnaces (annual output 550,000 tons), a steel foundry, three rolling mills, an electric power station, etc. Our photo shows blast furnace No. 1.



ABOVE: **Spring sowing and the cultivation of every inch of fallow land are the main slogans in the drive to exceed the 1938 level of food production.**

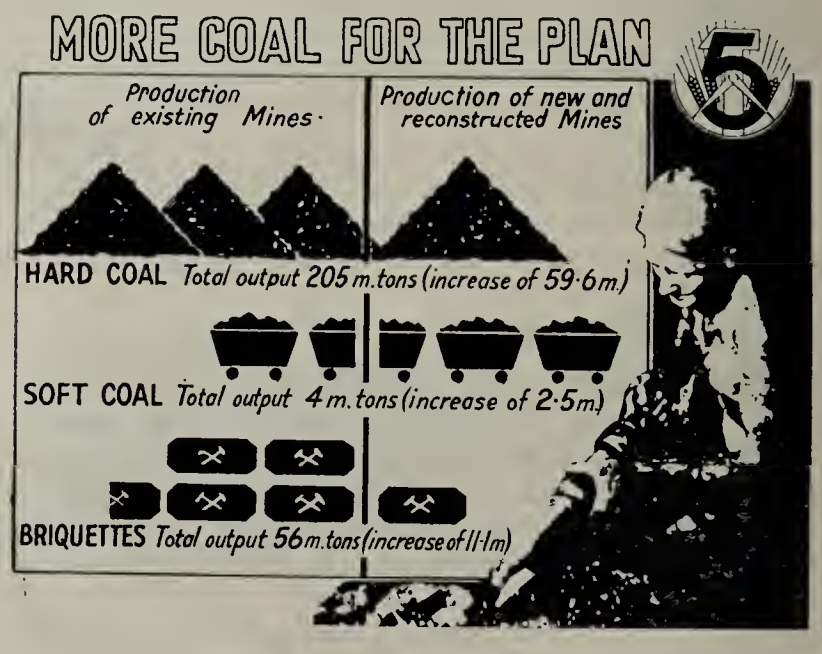
RIGHT: **Coal production is a key element in the Plan, and production of all kinds is being raised.**

BELOW: **With unemployment already banished, the industrial labour force is to be further increased.**



Workers' Initiative in Fulfilling the Plan

IN the struggle for a new Germany great importance must be given to the five-year plan which was put into operation on January 1st of this year throughout the territory of the German Democratic Republic. This five-year plan shows the German people, not only in the German Democratic Republic but in the whole of Germany, the path to a new and better life. It shows that a life of hitherto unknown prosperity is possible for all the German working people, and that in a peace-loving, democratic Germany freed from U.S. imperialism, all problems facing the German people can be solved. As Walter Ulbricht, Vice-Premier of the German Democratic Republic and member of the



F.D.G.B. Federal Committee emphasised in his speech to the 3rd F.D.G.B. Congress, the five-year plan "is the great fighting plan for the formation of a united, peace-loving and progressive Germany, a plan for peace."

It is clear that the fulfilment of the tasks set by the plan is already affecting and will govern the future work of the Free German Trade Unions. The F.D.G.B. and its industrial trade unions are the essential factors in the achievement of this fighting plan for peace.

In accordance with the instructions given by the 3rd F.D.G.B. Congress, the new Federal Committee has drafted a plan for the development of mass initiative in the fulfilment of the five-year plan. After adoption, this plan was ceremoniously handed over to the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, an act which symbolises the spirit of confident collaboration which exists between the F.D.G.B. and the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

On the occasion of the presentation of the plan, the Vice-President of the F.D.G.B., Rudi Kirchner, put forward a number of proposals and suggestions,

This huge building site, largest in the Democratic Republic, replaces a former pine forest. Our photo shows the foundations of coal and ore storage buildings.

and the Government, through the Prime Minister Otto Grotewhohl, and Vice-Premier Heinrich Rau, promised their full support in implementing them.

The suggestions put forward by the F.D.G.B. to the Government propose:

(1) The re-examination of the position, rôle, authority and powers of managers in the nationalised and similar undertakings, and the creation, by suitable Government measures, of the necessary legal conditions for transforming present-day management into management of a new type.

(2) The issuing of a Government order establishing the working norms in nationalised and similar undertakings for the first year of the plan, and permitting the raising of the norms only when technical conditions or the qualifications of the workers have changed. After the announcement of new norms, those workers who invent new methods of production must have the right, in recognition of their achievements, to be paid for a period of six months on the basis of the old norm.

(3) The issuing of a Government order providing for the early fixing of norms for the consumption of raw materials as well as for the share of the workers in the profit achieved from economising materials.

(4) Standardisation by the Government of all existing orders relating to bonuses by creating a single ruling for each branch of industry.

(5) The elimination of all difficulties standing in the way of the publication of technical and trade literature and the provision of opportunities for the working people to obtain the widest trade qualifications possible, as a basis for the fulfilment of the five-year plan.

Role of the Trade Unions

EVERY one of the industrial and other trade unions belonging to the F.D.G.B. have now a much greater responsibility in the solution of the great tasks set the Free German Trade Union Movement than they had in the period before the 3rd F.D.G.B. Congress. During the months following the Congress several central delegate conferences have been held whose task was to concretise the resolutions of the 3rd Congress in the field of activity of particular trade unions. In general, these central delegate conferences have shown that the work in the industrial and other trade unions is progressing, though not always in a uniform manner. Programmes covering the duration of the five-year plan, working programmes for cultural work among the masses, and new constitutions based on the decisions of the 3rd Congress were adopted by the delegate conferences for all industrial and other trade unions.

The fulfilment of the tasks arising out of the five-year plan as a decisive contribution to peace and to the creation of a united and peace-loving

The star team of young workers building the "Youth Road" linking the steel plant to the road network of the Democratic Republic.

Along with the steel plant, which will employ 12,000 workers, grows a new town with accommodation for 25,000 people. The workers' homes go up at top speed.

Germany was the main theme of the conferences and of the resolutions adopted. These conferences revealed a remarkable upward trend in the activist and emulation movements in nationalised firms. They showed that fraternal collaboration between the working class and the intelligentsia in the fulfilment of the plan is becoming more widespread and profound. A decisive contribution to this trend was made by the Movement Against Production Losses which now covers most of the nationalised undertakings.

These conferences further demonstrated the desire to make the German trade unions into schools of democracy and socialism. The ideal of proletarian internationalism was convincingly expressed especially by acts of solidarity with the courageous Korean people fighting for its freedom.

Perhaps the most positive aspect of all these conferences was that they showed that the slogan "to learn from the Soviet Union means to learn to be victorious" is playing an ever more important rôle, especially regarding the achievement of production targets in nationalised firms, and that Soviet experiences are helping the workers, released from the curse of capitalist exploitation, to give proof of their new attitude towards labour by creative work at the factory bench and in the research department.

In this connection special attention should be paid to Soviet experience in rapid turning methods, fast melting and rolling methods in the metal industry, the simultaneous operation of several weaving machines in the textile industry, the rapid baking of tiles, speeding up of building work, and —last but not least—to the experiments of the Soviet engineer Kovaljov to find the most efficient shape for tools.

The Soviet metal workers, Bykov and Rossiski, visited the German Democratic Republic, and their lectures to workers and technicians, as well as their visits to nationalised works, proved to be of valuable assistance in discovering new methods for increasing productivity, as well as for improving the quality and reducing the costs of production.

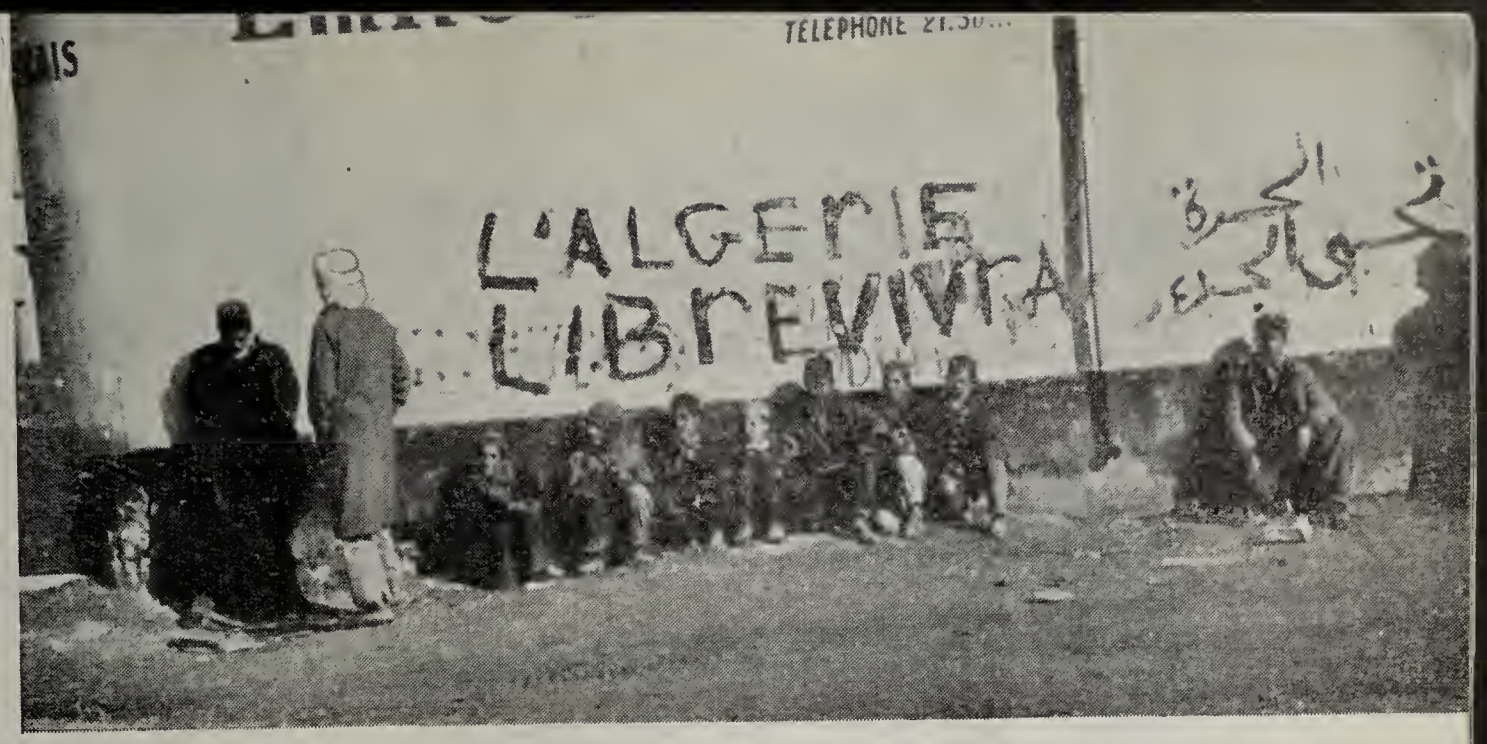
The central delegate conference of the metal workers' union paid tribute to Pavel Bykov by granting him the activist badge of the German Democratic Republic.

The central delegate conferences of industrial and other trade unions affiliated to the F.D.G.B. clearly showed that the Free German Trade Union Movement has a correct conception of its tasks and has resolutely set out to fulfil them with honour. The Free German Trade Union Movement, which is the largest working-clas organisation in Germany, knows that it depends upon it to ensure that Germany takes the path of progress.

By

ANDRE RUIZ

General Secretary of the Algerian Confederated Trade Unions Co-ordination Committee



Algerian Workers Fight Colonial Enslavement

ALGERIA, our beautiful land with its cloudless skies is, like all countries under the colonial yoke, a scene of contrasts where the most insolent wealth rubs shoulders with the most dire poverty.

Algeria was conquered 120 years ago by "fire and sword" but has never accepted the domination of French imperialism. The national resistance movement from 1830 to 1847 inspired by Emir Abdelkader, the great uprising of 1871 which lit a flame of revolt throughout the whole of Kabylia, the Ouled-Sidi-Cheikh insurrection in 1864 and 1881, the Aurès insurrection in 1916—these are some of the events which have marked the stages in its extraordinary history.

To-day, in Algeria, as in all colonial countries, a mighty national and democratic movement is growing under working-class leadership. This movement is bringing the immense majority of Algerians, together with increasingly large numbers of people of European origin, into the fight against colonialism and for the building of a free Algeria in which all its sons will live in prosperity, peace and dignity.

In an attempt to smash this movement, French imperialism is redoubling its attacks, and plotting against the people. On May 8th, 1945, when the peoples of the entire world were celebrating the capitulation of the Hitlerite armies, 40,000 Algerians were assassinated by methods borrowed from the S.S. Repressive expeditions were organised against peaceful villages, as in Sidi-Ali-Bounab in 1949; honest electors defending the right to vote, flouted at every election, were murdered as, for instance, at Deshmya in April 1948.

Hundreds of patriots have been imprisoned, guilty only of loving their homeland and freedom. Throughout the country a regime of police terror, spying and corruption is in operation. This entire situation is under the supreme control of a right-wing socialist Governor General, Naegelen.

Can the Algerians be expected to accept such a rêgime willingly?

Algeria in the Grip of a Handful of Colonial Lords

THE French colonialists seized the best land in the country, expropriating the fellaheen (peasants) or driving them on to barren land.

According to 1936 statistics, the number of peasants either without land or with insufficient land amounted

TOP: **On the walls the avenging slogan of an exploited people: "Algeria shall live in freedom."**

LEFT: **Like all the imperialists, the French colonial lords place their last hopes in police repression.**

to about 1,200,000 of which 730,000 were Khammès (receiving 1/5th of the harvest) and 470,000 were agricultural workers.

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDED PROPERTY

	Number	Per cent	Area	Per cent	Average
European property					
Less than 10 hectares ...	8,877	33.94	42,534	1.81	4.81
from 10 to 50 h.	7,140	27.31	213,321	9.10	29.09
from 50 to 100 h.	4,725	18.06	366,169	15.62	71.05
More than 100 h.	5,411	20.68	1,721,979	73.47	318.50
	26,153		2,344,003		
Algerian property					
Less than 10 hectares	434,537	70.13	1,738,806	20.77	4.00
from 10 to 50 h.	140,000	22.60	2,635,275	31.63	18.8
from 50 to 100 h.	36,962	5.96	2,371,432	28.46	54.2
More than 100 h.	8,055	1.29	1,593,498	19.14	198.3
	619,554		8,339,011		

(1 hectare equals 2.47 acres)

The true picture of the "civilisation" imposed by the French colonialists.

A small number of financiers, including Rothschild and Peyerimhoff, own all the mines of Algeria which bring them in immense profits.

The Ouenza Company (Rothschild—iron ore) made 441 million francs declared profit in 1948 and 557 millions in 1949. In actual fact, real profits were more than 1,000 million francs in 1949 whereas the Company's 2,500 miners and other employees received only 338 million francs in wages.

Algeria has no basic industries. Practically all its raw materials are exported to France or other countries, and its manufacturing industries are in a rudimentary state. Algeria, like all colonial countries, is a source of raw materials and cheap labour.

The country's entire economy is directed towards swelling the colonialists' profits and not towards satisfying the people's needs. For example, the vast majority of Algerians are Muslims and therefore do not drink wine, and yet the cultivation of the vine is the main occupation of the country because it brings in big profits for the colonialists. At the same time Algeria, the former "Roman granary," does not produce sufficient cereals to feed its own inhabitants. To complete the picture, it should be pointed out that in 1949 the vineyards brought in an average of 180,000 francs per hectare, and certain colonial landowners possess as as much as 1,500 hectares.

The Hypocrisy of the "Three French Counties of Algeria"

THE handful of colonialists have created an administrative system appropriate to the preservation of their privileges and domination.

In order more effectively to deceive the million Algerians of European origin also exploited by colonialism, and to conceal their policy of racial division, Algeria is "classed" as being made up of "three French counties."

Control is exercised by a Governor General, surrounded by an administration whose main task is to defend the interests of the big landowners and the mineowners and to oppress the masses.

Although there are municipalities administered by an elected council, there are also "joint" municipalities governed by "administrators" invested with practically unlimited powers. The southern territories live under "the rule of the sword," in other words under the control of a military administration.

But in France, not a single county has a Governor, an administrator or is considered as military territory. It is therefore false to compare Algeria with the counties of France.

The Algerians are not consulted about the administration of the affairs of their own country, even in the so-called Algerian Assembly from which the true repre-

Arab workers sort tobacco work day after day in these dark, airless premises.

sentatives of the people have been removed by a shameless election swindle.

The majority of this Assembly has distinguished itself in the eyes of Algerian workers only by its refusal to apply or by its sabotage of the application of progressive social legislation adopted by the French Parliament.

Although they are technically "French citizens," Algerians do not get the same wages as Frenchmen (and yet the cost of living is as high in Algeria as it is in France), nor the same family allowances, etc.

Algerians, whatever their origin, therefore understand that they are all exploited by capitalists who are interested in the colonial system.

Day after day, the colonialists strive to destroy Algeria's personality, heritage and national culture. One of the most revolting moves has been to make the rich and living Arabic language, spoken by the immense majority of Algerians, considered as a foreign language.

A million and-a-half Algerian children cannot learn to read and write owing to the absence of a sufficient number of schools. And the country's history, as it is taught in the schools, begins with the conquest of Algeria by the French colonialists: it is the history of the enslavement of Algeria. The history of its struggles against invaders is passed over in strict silence.

The Working Class in the Fight for Bread and Freedom

THE French colonial rêgime is seeking to keep some nine million Algerians under its yoke.

Possessed of the unconditional backing of the French working class, the Algerian workers have, by organised and unremitting struggle, shown that it is possible to win important demands. But they also know that a fundamental change in their situation can only be won by the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

The Algerian working class organisations grew out of a few embryo trade unions formed by workers and civil servants who came to Algeria from France.

With the advent of the Popular Front in 1936, larger unions were formed and substantial advances were won by struggle—for example, the recognition of the right for all workers to organise in trade unions, recognition of shop stewards, and collective agreements establishing holidays with pay and the 40-hour week.

The Fascist Vichy rêgime banned the trade unions, but following the defeat of Hitlerism, the trade unions made new progress and real mass organisations were set up.

Their main force is derived from the fact that all workers, irrespective of origin, race, colour, political or philosophical opinions, are organised in the trade unions belonging to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

The leaders of Force Ouvrière (the splitters' Trade Union Centre), who are out-and-out colonialists, have succeeded in causing a certain disturbance in the civil servants' union, but they have been unable to influence the working class. The Algerian Conference of C.G.T. Trade Unions in January 1950, which was attended by 317 delegates representing nearly 150,000 trade unionists, was overwhelming proof of this fact.

This Conference was an important event in the history of the Algerian trade union movement. It showed the decisive place which the working class now occupies in the fight for the national liberation of the country.

The Conference made a critical examination of the activity of the trade unions, bringing out the imperative necessity to strengthen workers' unity and the unions:

—by directing activity towards the defence of the most exploited workers—agricultural workers, miners, dockers, working women, young people and the unemployed;

—by respecting trade union democracy;

—by putting workers who have proved, in the struggle, their devotion to the working class, their intelligence and courage, into the leadership of the trade unions;

—by strengthening our links with the workers.

Particularly Important Movements

HUNDREDS of strikes for immediate demands, bringing hundreds of thousands of workers into action, have ended in victory. We shall only describe the main movements, at the same time endeavouring to draw the most important conclusions.

In December 1947, 100,000 workers fought throughout Algeria for a period of eleven days, alongside three million workers in France, for increased wages and a sliding scale. They won a 1,500 francs bonus and then a 15 per cent. wage increase. The unity of all workers, irrespective of race, was strengthened and young workers' cadres were revealed in the struggle.

In September-October 1948, 10,000 agricultural workers of the counties of Algiers and Oran fought for 21 days and obtained wage increases of up to 31 per cent, proving their great fighting and organising capacities.

Five thousand miners carried on the struggle until victory from November 1948 to January 1949, giving proof of a fighting spirit and class consciousness which places these workers in the vanguard of the Algerian trade union movement.

The dockers have scores of strikes to their credit in their unremitting struggle for their demands and for the respect of their rights. They are the pride of the Algerian working class. For the past two years they have been refusing to load ships bound for Viet Nam because they will not allow themselves to be the accomplices of the French colonial rulers in their war on a

This picture illustrates the shocking working and hygienic conditions in an oil lamp factory.

In Oran, Arab and French workers demonstrate in fraternal unity for peace in Viet Nam.

peace-loving people fighting for its national independence. Together with the entire Algerian people, they are demanding the repatriation of the expeditionary corps, peace in Viet Nam and the resumption of negotiations with President Ho Chi-minh.

In carrying their extremely important decisions on Viet Nam into effect, the workers have had to counter the furious assaults of the colonial administration. After a struggle lasting from 15th February to 2nd March 1950, the dockers of Oran, united as one and supported by all the workers of Oran and by the French seamen, succeeded in forcing the Prefect to capitulate in his endeavours to compel them to load ships for Viet Nam. The police fired on the strikers, workers' blood stained the pavements of Oran, trade union leaders were imprisoned; but on March 2nd, the dockers' demands were satisfied and the militant workers were released.

The dockers of Algiers and Bone have waged and are still waging magnificent struggles on the basis of the same slogans.

Measures of intimidation applied with the approval of the leaders of the Scab International and its organisations will not smash the fighting spirit of the dockers who, by their unity and with the support of the entire Algerian working class, will succeed in defeating the imperialists' agents and in continuing their struggle against war and against the military preparations being made on Algerian soil.

In describing the most important actions mention should be made of that which took place on November 25th 1949 when 120,000 workers answered the call for a 24-hour strike. Important results were obtained: a 3,000 franc bonus and the application of the law on collective agreements.

Finally, mention should be made of a fact of great significance, namely the active participation of Muslim women in the strikes. Women workers of the food industry in Algiers and Bone, women workers and dockers' wives in Oran fought the police with paving stones.

At this point some general conclusions can be drawn from this list of events.

The workers have proved by their own experience:

(1) That colonialism is the main cause of their poverty and of the precarious situation of their country. This observation has contributed to strengthening the unity of those workers who, without distinction as to their origin, give first place in their struggle to the liquidation of colonialism.

(2) That nothing is won without organised struggle.

(3) That the basic condition for success is united action by all workers and that it is necessary to persevere in the efforts to achieve and strengthen this unity.

(4) That in the present conditions of the struggle, if any strike is to be victorious, it must be actively defended against the police and the "scabs." An active strike not only doubles the workers' confidence in their own power, but also the solidarity of other branches and of the population.

(5) That the active solidarity between French and Algerian workers, as was the case in the miners' and dockers' struggles, confirms the imperative necessity for a common fighting front against the common enemy—French imperialism and its puppets.

The trade union movement has grown and taken deep roots among the masses as a result of these struggles. New trade union cadres have come to the fore, particularly among the workers, and are taking over the leadership of the unions.

The 4th Algerian C.G.T. Conference in January, 1950, attended by 317 delegates representing some 150,000 trade unionists.

Algerian miners, during their six-week strike for a wage rise.

But the progress achieved must not allow us to forget certain weaknesses, in particular:

—a discrepancy between our influence and our actual membership;

—the inadequacy of rank-and-file trade union activity, the union's activity sometimes being limited to the work of a few devoted active unionists or the shop stewards alone, without workers' supervision;

—negligence with regard to the collection of dues, thus creating financial difficulties for the movement and preventing it from carrying out all its tasks in the workers' interests;

—the weakness of our agricultural workers' organisations, in spite of the confidence which land-workers place in the C.G.T.;

—under-estimation of the importance of organising young workers and women who are the most exploited and militant section of wage-earners.

Fresh efforts must therefore be made to ensure that the Algerian trade union movement is equal to its responsibilities and capable of waging the very hard and decisive battles of to-morrow.

The Workers' Economic Situation

THE workers' purchasing power has fallen by 50 per cent. by comparison with the pre-war level. Prices have risen by about 25 times, while wages are at the co-efficient of 12.5, taking the latest increases into account.

It is sufficient to compare a few 1951 and 1938 prices, taken from official statistics.

	1951	1938
	(in francs)	
Bread	45	2.30
Semolina, basic foodstuff of the Muslim population	97	3.00
Beef	400	11.15
Mutton	300	12.50
Fresh milk	50	2.20
One egg	14	0.40
Oil	300	4.50
One pair of shoes	3,000	120
Shirt	1,000	35

Industrial and commercial workers have succeeded in winning a minimum wage for labourers, guaranteed by law, of 60 francs per hour in the 1st wage zone[1] and 57 francs in the second zone, and have obtained increases of up to 15 francs per hour for other sections.

This is a great victory for the working class in spite of the inadequacy of the rate obtained; the trade unions were demanding 90 francs per hour, corresponding to a guaranteed monthly wage of 15,570 francs for 173 hours' work (40-hour week).

The campaign is going on for wage increases and the signing of collective agreements satisfying all the workers' demands, particularly: the free exercise of trade union rights at the place of work, the payment of statutory holidays, three weeks' paid holidays, the question of hiring and dismissals, trade classification, etc.

The seamen, tramway workers, and tobacco workers have already submitted their collective agreement and have begun discussions with the employers; they are preparing for the struggle which will decide the success of the discussions.

[1] In Algeria, as in France, the country has been divided into "zones"—different wage rates and Social Security allowances are paid from zone to zone.

Social Security

FOR five years now the workers have been fighting for the application to Algeria of the Social Security legislation in force in France.

The so-called Algerian Assembly, mainly composed of representatives of the big colonial landowners and the employers, was forced by the workers' pressure to adopt a Bill extending the benefits of social insurance to industrial, commercial and public service workers and to Algerian civil servants. Agricultural workers are not entitled to these benefits.

Half of the social insurance contributions are made by the workers and half by the employers, both paying 3.25% of the insured workers' wages.

The winning of such a law, however inadequate, is a victory for workers in a colonial country, since the workers in the so-called "advanced" United States, do not yet possess similar benefits.

But the colonial administration is increasing the difficulties in the way of applying the law. After a period of nine months, the social security funds still contain more than 1,000 million francs, but the workers have received only 102 millions in the form of different benefits. And yet thousands of applications are kept pending. The workers speed up the payment of the money due to them by sending delegations to the Administrators of the Social Insurance Funds.

The trade unions are continuing the fight for the application to Algeria of the much more advantageous French Social Insurance legislation.

Unemployment is reaching increasingly disturbing proportions in Algeria. There are already more than 400,000 Algerians, driven from their country by the poverty engendered by colonialism ,trying to earn their own and their family's bread in France, where they work mainly as labourers, compelled to do the heaviest, worst-paid and most disagreeable jobs.

According to official figures, there are more than 300,000 unemployed without unemployment benefits or any other resources, nor ony prospects of finding work. They are prey to the deepest poverty, hunger and disease. Men, women and children can be seen in the towns fighting with dogs over the contents of the refuse bins.

Most of them are landless agricultural workers. The newly-created manufacturing industries are incapable of absorbing them. They form the army of starving unemployed, from which the imperialists take their cannon-fodder for their war of colonial reconquest in Viet Nam, where tens of thousands of Algerians are dying for a cause which is not their own. More than 22,000 have already lost their lives for the profits of the Bank of Indo-China and to preserve a strategic base for the imperialists against People's China.

Committees of unemployed have already been set up and, in spite of the difficulties, a campaign has been launched and will undoubtedly achieve positive results. The unions are demanding the development of public utility works and the payment of unemployment benefits of 150 francs per day, plus 50 francs for each dependent.

The Great Poverty of Agricultural Workers

FOUR hundred and fifty thousand workers live in conditions approaching those of serfs during the Middle Ages.

Huts made of bricks manufactured from mud and straw, and covered with thatch, or nomads' tents serve as their homes.

Working conditions are fixed by the colonialist landowner, who is an absolute master. Working hours are unlimited. The worker labours from early morning to late at night for a wage amounting at the most to 250 francs a day, and without the benefit of family allowances. And he must consider himself lucky if he works more than fifteen days a month, the average being only five to six days.

Women and children, cynically exploited, receive no more than 75 francs a day.

In theory, the agricultural worker possesses the right to join trade union organisations. In practice, he is the victim of repression if he attempts to use this right. But this repression has not succeeded in preventing agricultural workers from waging important battles. In 1946, for example, and in 1949, 10,000 agricultural workers fought for 21 days for the revision of their wages and won increases of up to 31%.

In March, an Algerian Conference of Agricultural Workers brought representatives of land-workers together to discuss methods of action for obtaining:

—increased wages, the fixing of a minimum guaranteed wage and the limitation of working hours;
—family allowances;
—the respect of trade union liberties, particularly the recognition of farm delegates, an essential demand at the present time.

The Algerian Workers and the Fight for Peace

THE best contribution of the Algerians to the general fight against the warmongers is their fight to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

The imperialists' débâcle in Asia, which is mainly due to the magnificent victories won by the Chinese People's armies and the successes of the heroic Korean and Viet-Namese peoples, has forced the warmongers to change their strategic plans.

They are putting their last hopes in Africa. Enslaved Africa is an inexhaustible source of raw materials and cannon-fodder. General Eisenhower himself has specifically designated North Africa as the "second Korean front" which the imperialists want to keep in their bloodstained grasp. (This explains why General Juin, Assistant Commander-in-Chief of the Western Armies, is at the same time French Resident General in Morocco.)

All this clearly shows that the struggle of the North African peoples for their freedom and independence is

A great demonstration against price increases outside the Oran Town Hall.

the most effective contribution that they can make to the defence of peace.

At the time of the second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, a joint statement was signed by all democratic and progressive parties and organisations in Algeria, representing the great majority of the Algerian people. This declaration contains the following passage:

"Never again will our sons fight against any people for the benefit of their oppressors, the French colonists and all those who support them."

The action of the Algerian dockers is a living testimony of this will for peace. Since June, 1949, they have refused to handle arms bound for Viet Nam or coming to North Africa. They are our pride and honour.

The important rôle played by the trade unions in collecting 350,000 signatures calling for the banning of atomic weapons and in the campaign for the freeing of political prisoners, has greatly helped to clarify these problems for the masses.

* * *

THROUGH its organised fight for immediate demands and for freedom, the Algerian working class has placed itself in the vanguard of the Algerian national movement.

It brings it a democratic basis and is in itself the driving force of the organised anti-imperialist front which to-morrow will carry with it the masses of the people into the struggle for the liberation of Algeria. Closely linked in the ranks of the C.G.T. with the French working class and fighting alongside all the workers of the world, it will be invincible.

No Resurrection !

AN APPEAL

TO WEST GERMAN WORKERS

THE European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany has issued the following appeal in connection with the popular poll in Western Germany:

"Neither the occupying Powers nor the Adenauer Government, which is dependent upon them, can decide the question of Germany's remilitarisation which is being carried out by them contrary to the German people's will for peace. It is necessary to ask the opinion of the German people in this matter.

"That is why the working people of Europe, on behalf of peace and democracy, support the German people, who demand a popular poll on remilitarisation, says the resolution adopted by the delegates of millions of working people at the European Workers' Conference Against the Remilitarisation of Germany.

"Ignoring their own Constitution, the Adenauer Government of the Bonn Federal Republic want to prevent the carrying out of the poll which the labouring people demand. Thus the Adenauer Government wants to deprive the population of Western Germany of the right to decide their own fate. The German people, however, defend this right and, in spite of everything, are carrying out the poll.

"German men and women workers!

"You are not alone in conducting a poll against the remilitarisation of Germany!

"The working people of Europe, whose confidence you have, are with you in fraternal solidarity and militant co-operation. Now it is your turn to justify this confidence.

"Take the lead in the struggle against remilitarisation, take the lead in the poll!

"Working people of Western Germany!

"By banning the poll the Adenauer Government wants to suppress your striving for peace. Under American leadership the programme of German imperialism is again being carried out. The European Workers' Committee Against Remilitarisation urges you:

"Redouble your efforts to carry out the poll on remilitarisation and the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951!

"Carry out the poll in the trade unions and at enterprises!

"Fight together against the consequences of remilitarisation, against the lowering of living standards, for high cost of living bonuses and higher wages! Hinder the manufacture and transportation of war materials!

"Trade union members of Europe! Show your solidarity with the German working people! Fight together with them to carry out the poll! Demand of your organisations implementation of the decisions of the European Workers' Conference Against the Remilitarisation of Germany! Against the war preparations in Europe! Direct all the efforts of your organisation towards the preservation of peace and the lives of your families!

"The General Confederation of Labour and the Federation of Free German Trade Unions, having concluded a militant agreement, showed an example of genuine trade union solidarity. Demand of your trade unions the conclusion of an international militant trade union agreement against the imperialist war preparations and for the improvement of the working people's living conditions.

"Intensify the collection of signatures to the Appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact by the five great Powers!

"Long live the unity of action of the working class in the struggle for the preservation of peace!"

The European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany.

Chairman: Boudin

Secretary: Kurt Hanisch

The P

U.S. sailors come ashore at Naples, where they behave as though in conquered territory.

NAPLES is the great metropolis of southern Italy. There are always many American ships at anchor in this great port. The crews of these ships roam around every quarter of the town; and like their counterparts during the unhappy period from 1943-1944, they make a practice of disrespecting the most elementary requirements of the sovereignty of the country to which they have come, including respect both for the inhabitants and for their homes. Very probably the officers of the American Navy survey Naples through their field-glasses as though it were a conquered country — something like another Panama.

This capital of southern Italy, whose attractive yet tragic beauty has always charmed the bourgeoisie, is now considered by the Americans in the same manner as that great military base.

But one's indignation is even more aroused as one goes along the Via Marina, in the neighbourhood of the port. There, near the port installations and in a zone devastated by bombing, old, lofty buildings loom up, enormous and massive like fortresses. Long ago, they were used as *graniti* or grain warehouses; 15 or 20 years

Incredible Sights at Port Nola

THESE "defenders of western civilisation" wander intoxicated along the Via Roma, staggering along the sidewalks, under the ironical gaze of the *scugnizzi* (little street vagabonds) and the entire population. These sailors are also engaged in smuggling cigarettes, watches and fountain pens. They openly jeer at the poverty of the Neapolitans and they and their commanders seem to think that the Italian people should by now be convinced that there is no way out of their hardships.

Beautiful Naples has fallen on hard times! What poverty! One could almost believe that the poverty of the whole world is concentrated in this city.

It would be impossible to describe everything to be seen here. The sufferings, hardships, and degradation imposed on this people are inconceivable and merit a generous display of human solidarity by honest people throughout the world.

Immediately on leaving the railway station one is dumbfounded by the spectacle of this city with its inexpressible air of sadness and suffering. At Port Nola, women, old people and children, stretched out on the ground, are to be seen in every street. One must go close to them to realise that they are really living, human creatures, for at a distance of twenty yards or so, their bodies look like shapeless things, entangled in indescribable rags.

The inhabitants of tenement houses and Piazza

ple of Naples No Longer Sing

by **ANTONIA ERNAZZA**

Many bombed-out families are still living in caves or the dank cells of the graniti.

ago, they were used as barracks. At present, the Neapolitan *graniti* serve as lodgings for thousands of bombed-out victims of the last war. These poor people are housed here like the inmates of a medieval prison, and are constantly haunted by the fear of becoming infected with tuberculosis.

Living in the *graniti* is like living in a railroad tunnel: the walls sweat with big drops of water, there is constant darkness, and dirty water stagnates on the ground. On every side are close-packed rooms which resemble prison cells, and which have now been transformed into lodgings; in each of these cells, the flame of one candle serves as a dim light for an entire family — a family which often consists of as many as 15 persons. All the *graniti* are alike; their galleries extend to the fourth floor, but the darkness which prevails there gives one the impression of being down in the bowels of the earth.

mployed sun themselves on the steps of the olscito.

Sabotaging Reconstruction

THE Neapolitan working people, led by the united trade union organisations, have through their fight saved the greater part of their industries from destruction. In the years immediately following the liberation, the symptoms of a revival and expansion of general economic activities made an appearance.

But the policy of subjecting the Italian economy to American imperialism, the general election of April 18, 1948, when unprecedented methods of violence, corruption and fraud were used, the inclusion of Italy in the Marshall Plan, the participation of the reactionary Italian government in the diverse "western" organisations, and finally the North Atlantic Pact, all very soon brought reconstruction to a halt.

What have been the consequences of this policy for Naples? Just this: the liquidation of enterprises considered harmful to the interests of the most powerful sections of Italian capitalism, and mass dismissals. These dismissals are still going on in the Neapolitan Engineering Industry factory where out of a total of 6,000 workers, only 935 are at work; in the Ansaldo de Pozzuoli establishment the labour force has fallen from 4,000 to 1,500; in the Navalmeccanica works the personnel has been reduced from 9,000 to 5,000; and the same process is going on in many other enterprises.

In the hemp industry, the situation is serious. Many factories have closed down; in others the workers are on short time. The real grounds for this crisis must be sought in the operation of the Marshall Plan (cotton competi-

The dark passages of the graniti, where water drips perpetually, connect the "flats" where hundreds of bombed-out families have been forced to seek refuge. The doors on the left open into "rooms" housing nearly 400 persons.

tion) and in the liquidation of enterprises in other allied industries under the pressure of the trusts.

The trade policy of the De Gasperi government has plunged the food industry (an export industry now working at only 40 per cent. of full capacity) into a very grave crisis.

The closing down of factories, the dismissals and the consequences of this destructive fury are also having their effects on two important sections — small craftsmen and tradesmen. A large number of shopkeepers, craftsmen, tailors, footwear dealers, etc., are today more than ever falling victim to the general decline in the population's living standards.

Unemployment

IN Naples alone, there are 90,000 industrial unemployed, and 80,000 in other branches. This unemployment takes on a more serious character if we take into account the extremely significant fact of the number of young people under 21 years of age who are still looking for their first jobs. In fact, these young people number 58,000, and for the whole of Italy they number 400,000 or about 0.9 per cent. of the total Italian population. These figures are rapidly increasing, since every year in Naples thousands of young people reach working age and start looking in vain for a job. It is estimated that only 31 persons out of every 100 are at present working.

This great army of unemployed intensifies the acuteness of all the problems of the city of Naples and of the whole province.

Then, too, the number of bankruptcies is on the increase. All conditions for normal economic life have disappeared. This has all come about because a handful of miserable monopolists and their agents are in power and are pushing Naples and all of Italy towards disaster. It is obvious, in the present state of affairs, that handicrafts, commerce and all the normal activities of Neapolitan economic life will revive only when the essential occupations, i.e., industry, municipal services and public works are re-established.

The Struggle of the Working Class

THE resistance and struggle of the working masses and the democratic movement against the grave situation prevailing today in Naples, and against the sabotage of its economic life by the monopolists and the government which represents them, are growing in strength. In factories which are faced with the danger of being closed down, the workers are fighting heroically; the personnel occupies them for months and continues production under most difficult conditions and without wages.

To give only a few examples, the recent struggles of the Ansaldo, Bufalo, Gaslini and Rueping workers should be mentioned. These fights aroused the enthusiastic admiration of all the workers both throughout Italy and the whole world, and met with the greatest solidarity from all sections of society.

Last March 21 and April 26, 600,000 metal workers went on strike to support and protect the industries of southern Italy, and, therefore, of the whole of Italy. "Committees for the Defence of Naples" were set up with the participation of all trade union organisations, Members of Parliament and Senators from all parties, intellectuals, tradesmen, peasants, small and middle producers, etc. These committees are an expression of the determination of thousands and thousands of people in Naples who are fighting to free themselves from poverty and unemployment, in order to guarantee themselves and their families a future in which there will be work, progress and peace.

The trade union organisations of the C.G.I.L., as well as other democratic and progressive organisations, are in the vanguard of this heroic struggle. They, the working class and the peasants have before them the task of enlarging the fight to save industry, to rehabilitate backward southern Italy, and to destroy the impediments imposed by the monopolists.

In order to achieve this goal, the nationalisation of the S.M.E. electricity trust and in conjunction with it, agrarian reform, must be considered. In short, and in the last analysis, it is necessary to intensify the fight for the carrying out of the Plan of Work* of the C.G.I.L. for progress, peace and the freedom of the Italian people.

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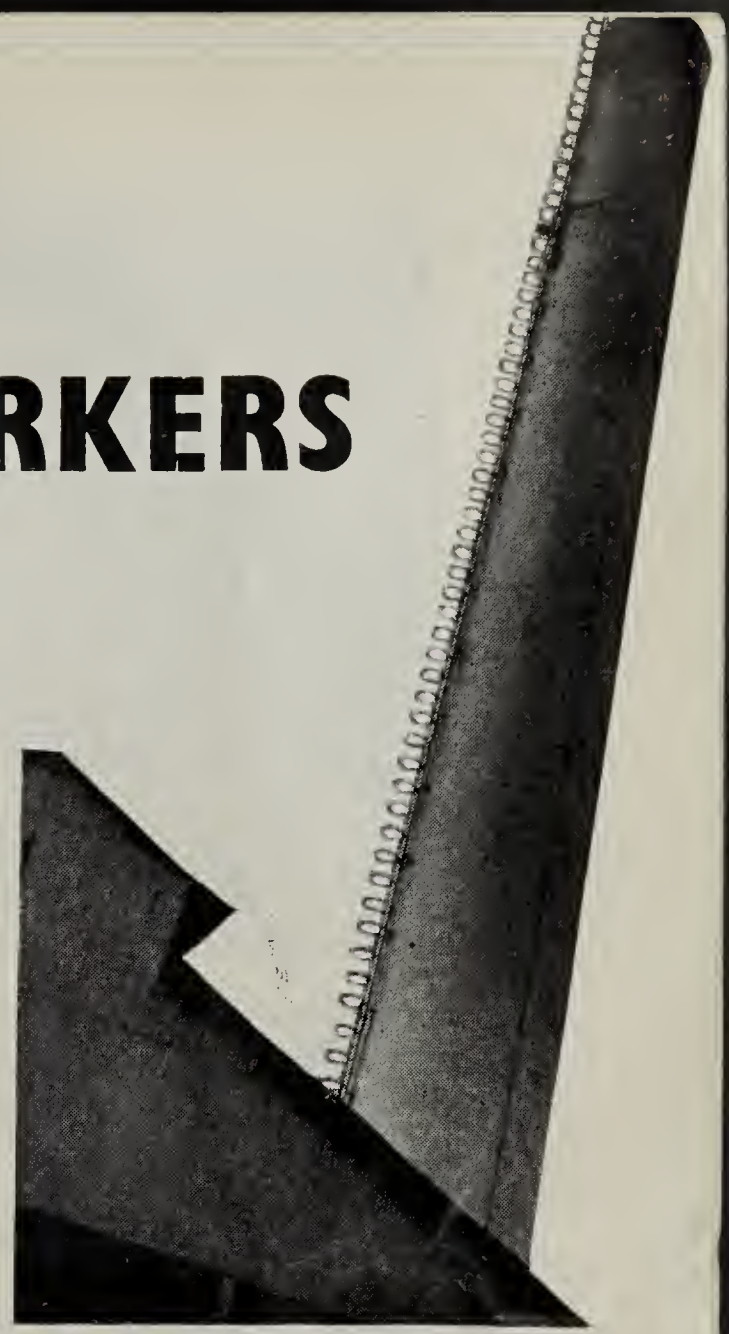
*See Antonio Tato, "United Action in Italy for Clear-Cut Aims," in World Trade Union Movement No. 13, 1950.

This sugar refinery worker, drenched in perspiration, loads 325 lb. sacks of sugar in the blazing sun.

CUBAN SUGAR WORKERS

FIGHT FOR BREAD AND PEACE



By

URSINIO ROJAS

General Secretary of the
National Sugar Industry
Workers Federation

TO have a clear idea of the struggles waged by Cuban sugar industry workers, it is necessary to have some idea of the significance of this industry for the economy and entire livelihood of the Cuban nation.

The sugar indsutry is made up of 161 sugar *ingenios* (producing units composed of plantations, factories, refineries and drying plants). Most of these units now belong to American companies whose investments in the industry today amount to more than 600 million dollars.

The back-breaking job of harvesting the sugar cane (zafra) is done with a machete.

This industry covers 227,804 *caballerias* of land (one *caballeria* equals 33.33 acres), in other words, 40% of Cuba's arable lands, which amount to one quarter of the country's entire area.

The industry, which is the main source of national income, employs nearly 500,000 workers, 30% of whom are industrial workers and 70% agricultural workers.

Every year, during the season of the *Zafra* (harvesting the sugar-cane) and the grinding or milling of sugar, the industry works night and day over a period of 3 or 4 months. In the ensuing 8 or 9 months' period during which the sugar-cane is under cultivation it remains in a semi-paralysed state. During at least half of the latter period, the workers are unemployed.

Up to 1933, industrial workers earned 0.80 to 0.90 dollars per day and agricultural workers 0.30 to 0.50 dollars, for from 12 to 14 hours' work.

In that year, by striking for their demands, the workers succeeded in winning the introduction of a new wage scale ranging from 1 dollar per day for sugar industry workers to 0.80 dollars for agricultural workers, and the 8-hour day. But in spite of these gains, the workers and their families were still victims of hunger and many hardships.

Slave System Imposed by the Monopolies

THE intermittent character of sugar production, the consequences of the periodic crises which this industry undergoes and which often brings about a decline in production and in prices, the fact that this industry is to a great extent controlled by foreign capital (mainly North American) which pockets most of the profits; and the weight and influence exerted by this industry on the country's economy and policy—the combination of all these factors has meant that the workers employed in the sugar industry have always been subject to the most savage exploitation.

Until recently, there were no other laws or rights in the *ingenios* (mills and refineries) and "colonies" (sugar-cane plantations), than those enforced by the employers.

Every firm had and still has its own police force. Any worker who protested was imprisoned, beaten up and forced to leave his *batey* (home on the plantation). All the managers and technicians were North Americans and treated the Cuban workers like dogs. The workers' wages were paid in the form of *fichas* (company money) or coupons and they were forced to buy everything they needed in the company stores. They lived in cabins or huts made of straw, more suitable for animals than human beings, without medical care and in terrible conditions.

In spite of the improvements won by the workers' struggle, these slave-like conditions still exist today in certain centres and colonies.

Workers' Struggles and Victories

DURING the years 1934-1935, the sugar workers waged big fights for their demands which were violently suppressed by the government.

After this period, the workers began to rebuild their unions and to organise fresh battles, and between 1940 and 1947, they won important gains as regards both their democratic liberties and their economic demands.

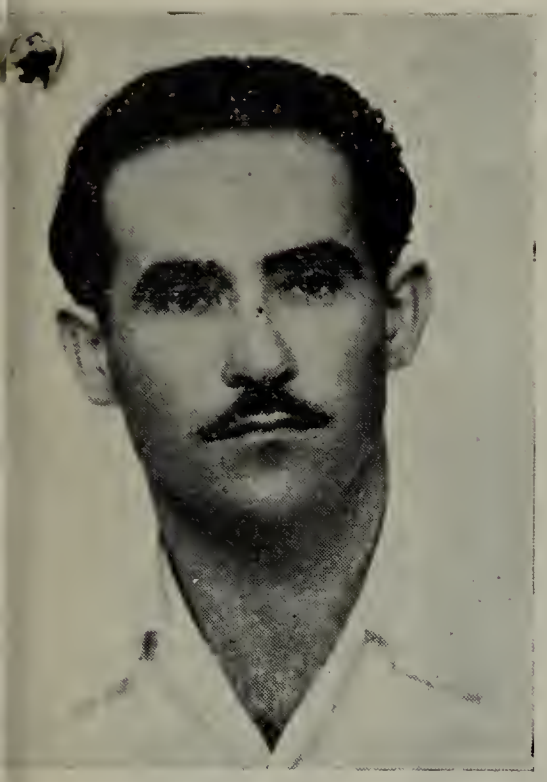
The industrial workers' average wage was increased from 0.96 dollars for every completed sack of sugar to 3.94 dollars, representing an increase of 310%.

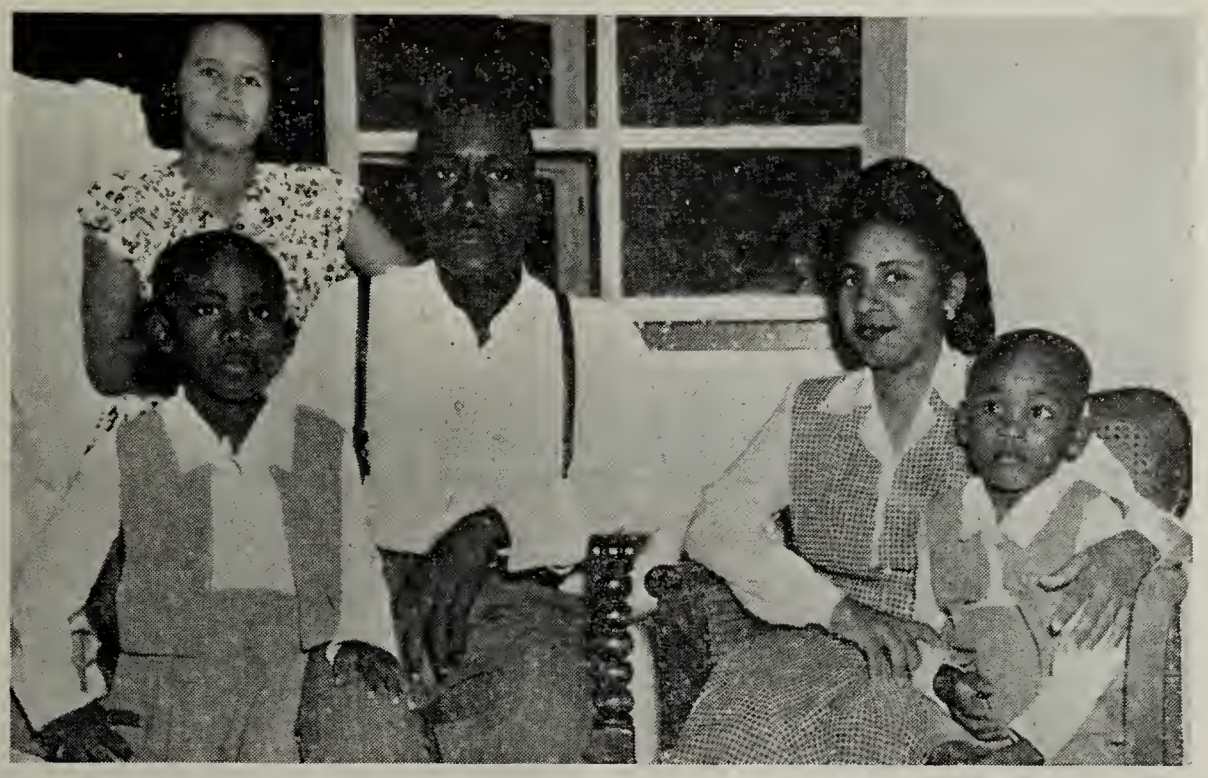
The wages of agricultural workers were increased from 0.78 dollars to 2.97 dollars for harvesting and handling 100 *arrobas* of sugar cane (one arroba = 25 pounds), amounting to an increase of 20%.

During those 7 years, sugar industry workers obtained a total of 631,600,000 dollars from the employers in wage increases. Other important gains were also achieved, such as—the right to one month's paid holidays for every 11 months work, this same ratio being taken in calculating holidays proportional to the number of months worked; the right to promotion according to the length of service; the 44-hour week paid on the basis of 48 hours during the slack period; retirement pensions proportional to years of service; protective measures against accidents at work; protection against dismissal; the right to sick benefits equivalent to 9 days' wages during the year; free housing, light and water; collective agreements; weekly payment of wages in money and no longer in kind; medical aid and other varying demands.

Among these gains, particular importance must be given to the fact that in the 1946-47 harvest sales contract, a clause called a guarantee clause was inserted under which, for the first time in the history of Cuba, United States purchasers must increase the price they pay for sugar in the same proportion as

At the refinery the carretilleros unceasingly transport the heavy sacks of sugar that go to swell the profits of U.S. monopolies.





Many leaders of the sugar workers' union have fallen before brutal police repression or the hired assassins of the monopolies. (Left): Amancio Rodriguez, General Secretary of the Central Francisco Union, murdered by thugs of the government sponsored C.T.K. union centre. (Right): Jesus Menendez, General Secretary of the Sugar Workers' Federation, with his family. He was shot at close range by an officer during a meeting. His wife (on his left) went out of her mind on hearing of this terrible crime, and committed suicide shortly afterwards.

prices of goods bought from the U.S.A. by Cuba increase. Half of this increase went to the workers' wages. This again was won through intervention by the workers' representatives in the negotiations over the sale of sugar.

Violent Attacks on Workers' Unity

ALL these important victories won by sugar workers have been possible solely through *the united action* of all the workers employed in the industry. Organised in their unions, which belonged to the Sugar Industry Workers' Federation, led by Jésus Menendez, they had the invaluable backing of the Cuban working class united under the banner of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba. During this period, the Confederation, led by Lazaro Pena, began to form a national front of the entire Cuban people to back the workers' demands against foreign employers.

During this period of great workers' victories, the foreign imperialist companies intensified their effort to divide the workers, but without success. Since workers' unity is one of the biggest obstacles to im-

Jesus Menendez in discussion with the police when, in the service of the U.S. imperialists, they surrounded the offices of the Sugar Workers' Federation and finally occupied the building.

perialism's plans for domination and war, the North-American monopolies, in agreement with the Cuban Government, decided to use the police and terrorist gangs to attack the workers' trade union organisations, remove their leaders and, by decree, impose the agents of the Government and the employers in their place.*

But the workers refused to stand for these methods, so the employers and Government then resorted to crime and murder; some ten trade union leaders were murdered, including Jésus Menendez, Amancio Rodriguez, Felipe Navarrò and José Oviedo Chacon. All these men were beloved leaders of the sugar workers.

The Workers' Living Standards Fall

AS was to be expected, parallel with the wave of terror, the persecution and murders of workers, the employers intensified their savage attacks on the gains and rights of the working class.

Although the level of production and prices was kept fairly steady, the sugar workers' incomes fell heavily and their rights and gains were trampled underfoot.

This deterioration in the workers' economic situation is in large part due to the introduction of mechanisation by the monopolies, such as machines to do the work of mowing, cultivating and transportion of the sugar cane. They are therefore sacking thousands of agricultural workers and at the same time applying a system of intensive speed-up in the sugar factories.

These intensive methods of production have increased the daily output average by 40%, with the result that workers in the manufacturing sector of the industry have received 84 million dollars less in wages over the past four years.

In spite of the difficulties facing the workers due to the disruption of the trade unions, disorganisation and the police terror by which the employers are seeking to quell the workers, big battles are now developing throughout the country.

This year, when the harvesting of the sugar-cane began and then later, when the harvesting was half completed, strikes broke out in almost all plantations. By these strikes the workers won important successes; workers of all views united during the strikes and, in many cases, satisfaction of their demands was obtained by direct negotiations with the employers, without accepting Government intervention.

The workers' hatred and disgust for the pro-imperialist, stooge trade union leaders is daily growing stronger and expressing itself in different ways, and their opposition to the imperialists' policy and to their willing tool, the Cuban Government, is also growing.

At the moment, the workers are waging an active struggle for a 20% wage increase in the sugar industry. This is the outcome of, on the one hand, the rise in the price of sugar on the world market, bringing in additional profits to the big sugar companies from the last harvest—more than 120 million dollars—and on the other, the exorbitant rise in the cost of living (80% of current consumer goods in Cuba are imported from the United States and prices have

* See Lazaro Pena, Cuban Workers' Struggle against Imperialism in World Trade Union Movement, No. 10, 1950.

A typical agricultural worker's hut on the Cuban sugar plantations. This hut belongs to the Americana estate and is meant to house a whole family.

The interior of a typical sugar worker's "home." The hovel has a bare earth floor and is divided into kitchen and bedroom by a make-shift curtain.

risen as a result of the unrestricted operations of speculators).

In addition, the U.S. monopolists who control and exploit the sugar industry are trying to change the present system of loading by 325 lb sacks to one of bulk loading with the aid of mechanical installations. In this way they hope to cut down the number of sugar workers, railwaymen and dockers employed and to plunge thousands of families into unemployment and starvation. The fight against the bulk loading and shipment of sugar is therefore one of the slogans for the sugar workers' campaign against the imperialists' plans.

As for the stooge trade union leaders appointed and imposed by Government decree, they have unconditionally placed themselves in the service of the imperialists. They have betrayed and sold out the worker's struggle for a 20% wage increase, their demand for payment for surplus production and their opposition to bulk loading of sugar. These police leaders have reached agreement with the employers to repudiate the workers' demands in exchange for a Government decree imposing a compulsory 1% levy on the wages of all sugar workers, both industrial and agricultural. These levies, which amount to 3 million dollars a year, are to be paid to the governmental trade union leaders.

Infuriated by this illegal and unconstitutional measure taken by the Government to finance its trade union gangsters, the sugar workers have made a forceful protest by developing mass action through a united front of all workers in the factories and sugar plantations. Their protests have become so powerful and so widespread that the Government has been unable to apply the decree and the employers have not dared to put a levy on the workers' wages.

Various methods of struggle have been used by the workers in mobilising the protest movement, ranging from elementary actions such as the signing of petitions to the organisation of rallies, great meetings and strikes of a broad united front character. So strong were the workers' protests that eight officials of the Government's so-called "Sugar Workers' Federation" were expelled from that organisation by its main leaders because, under mass pressure, they had opposed the compulsory trade union levy.

In spite of the brutal measures of repression employed by the Government, such as use of the police to prevent the workers from meeting, to attack trade union premises and to break up mass meetings by firing on the crowd, in spite of the reign of terror and the murders, the sugar industry workers are today waging a great battle. To the demands outlined above the workers are linking their fight for democratic rights and the campaign against the sending of Cuban soldiers to Korea as cannon fodder in the service of the U.S. aggressors.

The campaign for peace too is being vigorously developed, particularly since it is proving to be one of the best methods of fighting for the interests of the workers and of our people in the struggle for independence and national sovereignty, and for the liberation of our country from the foreign imperialist yoke.

Shocking Proof

Of Fascist Repression in the Argentine

THE Argentine " Movement for Democracy in the Trade Unions " has sent us the following letter. The text, which is reproduced below, was sent by Comrade Vicente Marischi—courageous leader of this progressive trade union group and front line fighter in the Argentine Labour Movement for Peace—to Comrade Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., and arrived shortly after the workers' energetic campaign and protests had rescued the author from the jails and torture of Dictator Peron's " special " police.

" Dear Comrade,

" After 34 days imprisonment *incommunicado* in the dungeons of the Argentine Federal Police's " Special Branch " for the repression of democracy, I wish, by this letter, to express my gratitude for all the representations you have made to the Government of my country to obtain my release.

" Once again, proof has been given of the great value and practical effectiveness of the campaign carried on by workers' organisations in the different countries of America to obtain my release, and of the great role played by international working-class solidarity, under the leadership of our great W.F.T.U., its main artisan, which has contributed since its foundation to the education of the working masses in this spirit.

" The traitors to the homeland, the warmongers and the exploiters of the people are giving vent to their deep hatred of militant workers who fight for working-class unity, for peace, freedom and the welfare of the working masses. This is the reason for the measures to which these people resort and which are so many signs of both their weakness and their desperate fury.

" So that our brothers may have fuller information, I shall give you some details about my imprisonment. On the 24th of February last, while travelling on a tramcar in the federal capital, I was arrested by agents of the " Special Branch "; this in spite of my energetic protests and although there was no legal justification for my arrest. At the headquarters of the Special Branch I was brought before the police chiefs, Cipriano Lombilla, José Gonzáles and Amoresano, who violently manhandled me, demanding information on the documents in my brief-case relating to the Second World Peace Congress and the Bucharest meeting of the WFTU Executive Bureau.

" Faced with my declarations that the WFTU was fighting for workers' unity and peace, and did not issue orders to provoke strikes—as they wanted to compel me to declare—and when I threw in their faces the fact that, in contrast, they were in favour of war, the policemen tied me naked to a bed and passed electric currents through the most sensitive parts of my body for a period of 50 minutes. Getting no results with such methods, they gave me an injection of pentothal (a drug used to put people into a

Brother Vicente Marischi (arrow) among trade union delegates returning from the Warsaw Peace Congress and on their way to the Bucharest meeting of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau. In front of Marischi are the W.F.T.U. General Secretary and Josette Saillant; on his left is Anton Apro, General Secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions.

sleepy or unconscious state so as to get them to make statements), but without obtaining any better results.

" During most of the period of my imprisonment, from February 24th to March 29th, I was given no food, water or clothing; I was handcuffed and forced to perform my bodily functions inside the cell. I was completely isolated, without any contact with my family or my friends, who were vainly trying to find out where I had been imprisoned. Everywhere they made enquiries, it was systematically denied that I had ever been arrested.

" After 15 days *incommunicado,* I succeeded in sending a letter to my wife to explain my situation. She immediately informed the judge Saadi Masue, who until then had been unable to intervene owing to insufficient evidence. On March 12th at midday, I was taken from the Special Branch prison at the very moment when the judge was making a search of the premises for me. Again, on Wednesday 21st March, I was whisked off at 7 o'clock in the evening when Judge Ortiz was making a fresh search. I was brought back to prison after an automobile ride lasting more than an hour, guarded by several police officers. When the police had been assured by telephone that the judge had left, they brought me back to my cell, which was later demolished in order to obliterate all traces of my detention in this so-called " special cell."

" Infuriated by the repeated searches which followed the letter I had succeeded in getting to my wife in spite of their strict vigilance, the chiefs of the Special Branch again began the electric torture.

" On Sunday March 25th, at midnight, handcuffed and blindfolded, I was taken from the headquarters of the Argentine Gestapo and stretched out on the floor in the back of an automobile so that I could not be seen. After a journey which lasted nearly an hour, I was thrown into a filthy cell at a police station in the province of Buenos Aires. On the 27th at dawn, the journey began again and I was put into another rural police station in the same province, where I was left without food, my hands bound together, and without being moved until Thursday 29th March at dawn. Blindfolded and covered in a blanket I was then once again thrown into the back of an automobile. After a fairly long journey, the handcuffs and bandage was taken off and I was abandoned on a road in the heart of the countryside. After walking for some time, I finally found out that I was in the canton of San Justo, a district of the province of Buenos Aires.

" Brothers, these are the methods used by the police, those of a government which claims to be ' that of the Argentine workers.'

" I thank you once again for all the representations made by the WFTU leadership and I reaffirm my decision to work in my country with still greater determination and enthusiasm for working-class unity, peace and freedom, in other words, for the programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Fraternal greetings,

Vincente Marischi.

Buenos Aires, 20th April 1951."

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.A.

Wages and Productivity

In the official organ of the British Electrical Workers' Union, the following comment has appeared on wages and productivity problems in the U.S.A.

"Research carried out by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shows that in 1949 an average American family of four required an income of 3,000 dollars a year to maintain reasonable living standards. This income, it was stated, would not provide a car or a refrigerator. It woud permit the head of the family only one suit every year and an overcoat every six years. For his wife it woud allow two rayon dresses a year, one woollen dress every five years and a heavy coat every four years.

"Figures recently released by the Washington Bureau of the Census show that the average individual earned income in America was 2,599 dollars a year, *or 401 dollars a year less than the income stated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as necessary to maintain reasonable living standards.* But averages are not very reliable guides to the actual state of affairs.

"The Washington Bureau of Census figures reveal that 39 per cent of gainfully employed Americans earned less than 2,000 dollars in 1949, while over 16 per cent had incomes of over 5,000 dollars a year.

"Whether these figures will destroy the myth of American prosperity, we rather doubt. It has been too long fostered for it to disappear overnight. What the figures do prove, however, is that the high productivity rate in the United States does not benefit the American workers. It is drawn off in fabulously high profits, as it must be under capitalism, whatever the intentions of the industrial policy makers.

"If American practice is anything to go by, high productivity does not mean, as is so often asserted, high wages. These are determined not by the amount produced, but by the bargaining strength of the unions.

Electron, May 1951.

GREAT BRITAIN

Raw Material Shortage

World shortage of raw materials is beginning to make itself felt in the American owned Singer's factory at Kilbowie, Clydebank, which employs 13,000 men and women and produces the well-know sewing machine.

At the same time, the management is telling the workers that sewing machines can be produced more cheaply in other countries and that, as 84 per cent of Singer's products are exported, they must be sold in competition with those countries.

Shop stewards professed a feeling of uneasiness over the shortage of raw materials. One said he could envisage 'serious trouble.'

The management's 'education' of its workers in economics—capitalist fashion—consists of a poster in every department illustrating the sewing machines produced by cheap labour in other countries. The posters showed how bad things were in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Japan.

Union officials and men are angry about these posters, which they say is one more way of boosting profits by inducing men to work harder.

Mr. Charles Nixon, assembly department works convener, said: "All right, there is cheap labour in such countries. *If the World Federation of Trade Unions had been left alone a situation like this would not exist.* But what about Japan? Who controls its economy? America. And every worker knows this is a Yankee firm.

One of the convenors commented: "It is the old capitalist game of playing one worker against the other. Who is responsible for the raw materials shortage? Is it not America which is stock piling? Singers' workers should beware of this and other tactics."

A worker in the section where the machines are lacquered said of the posters: "I'm sure the workers in other lands are fighting for better conditions and we should not allow the wool to be pulled over our eyes."

Daily Worker, 17.5.51.

UNITED STATES

Danger Signals from the North

On April 10th, the day before President Truman recalled General MacArthur, Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, told a Toronto audience that Canadian-American relations presented 'one of the most difficult and delicate problems of foreign policy that have yet faced Canada.' He also warned Canadians that 'the days of relatively easy and automatic political relations with our neighbours are over' and advised the United States that difficulties would be easier to adjust if it 'realised . . . that we are not willing to be merely the echo of somebody else's voice.'

This is a new kind of talk to come from Ottawa. Up to the beginning of 1951 it was official Canadian policy to shrug off the diplomatic malapropisms issuing from Washington. Harried Canadian diplomats would sometimes admit privately that the great puzzle was to guess what the Americans might do next, but they questioned the wisdom of putting this bewilderment into print. Then suddenly, Canada moved into a new course.

The change first became apparent during the United Nations debate on the resolution branding Communist China an aggressor. Canada considered the resolution untimely and unwise, and said so. Subsequently it voted for the resolution, but this did not mean that it had climbed back on Uncle Sam's bandwagon. The new Canadian policy springs from a determination to bring home to the United States that the North Atlantic alliance is a partnership and not a grouping of lesser powers around a great power . . .

After MacArthur made his veiled threat of an attack on the Chinese mainland, but before his letter to Representative Martin caused the final explosion, Mr. Pearson said some sharp things about political generals. 'The unity of the free world is endangered,' he told a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, 'by United Nations' commanders who make controversial statements which go far beyond their military responsibilities and create confusion, disquiet, and even discord.'

Soon the Canadian Press reported new disquiet in Ottawa. This time the offender was John Foster Dulles, who had outlined the terms of a proposed Japanese peace treaty without taking the trouble to discuss it with his country's Pacific allies. The proposed treaty may be, as *Time* suggests, 'a great act of United States statesmanship,' but it would be difficult to persuade Ottawa that any semblance of statesmanship marked Mr. Dulles' technique. One of Canada's most important business leaders

recently described the process which makes such incidents possible, in these words: 'What everybody else does is Uncle Sam's business. What *he* does seems to be nobody's business but his own.'

The Nation, 5.5.51.

CANADA

Rejoice with Spanish Workers

Tucked away on an inside page of a big daily newspaper on May 12th was news of a great working class victory. Datelined from Pamplona, Spain, the item reported: 'Pamplona's 30,000 workers went back to their jobs today, ending a four-day general strike against the cost of living. Representatives of the strikers said the Government accepted their demands for bigger food rations at lower prices, no reprisals for the strike and release of workers arrested for strike activities . . .'

Workers all over the world will rejoice with the Spanish workers over this victory. It symbolises the unquenchable struggle for the working class against oppression and exploitation despite all difficulties and temporary setbacks.

To organise and win a strike in a democratic capitalist state is difficult enough. To organise a genuine strike and win it in a Fascist capitalist state is a thousand times more difficult.

It is precisely this fact that makes the victory of Pamplona's workers so outstanding and of such tremendous significance to the working class movement everywhere.

Fascism is the whip rule of the capitalist class over the working class. It makes no pretence of cloaking exploitation and persecution with democratic phrases and forms. It rules with the whip, the gun, the fascist gang terror. Protests against intolerable economic conditions are met with police and military violence.

But all the terror and violence of fascism cannot stem the growing determination of the Spanish workers to win a better life. Now that a section of the working class have tested their strength and tasted victory the struggle will inevitably grow and expand to its ultimate . . . the downfall of Franco fascism and the winning of a people's democratic government.

GEORGE HARRIS
in *UE Candian News,* 18.5.51

SPAIN

Barcelona Leads the Way

Since the beginning of the day (March 12) the strike is 100 per cent in the textile, metal and building industries. The workers' demonstrations have reached the centre of the city. The demonstrators invite the commercial employees to stop work. The latter in general follow the invitation. They remain before the doors of their places of work and as soon as the factory workers arrive, their voices join in with: "Up with the strike!", "Down with Franco." Since daybreak, the taxis have deserted the streets. Everywhere, the bar and cafe waiters abandon their work.

Yes, the general strike is on in Barcelona. It unites more than 300,000 workers and it has spread to the most important industrial centres of the province. Since the beginning of the afternoon, the strike is 100 per cent. in Mataro, and is also spreading to tens of thousands of men and women workers at Badalona, Tarrasa, Sabadell, Gaya, Hospitale, Cornella, Prat del Loobregat. Altogether, the number of strikers in Barcelona surpasses half a million.

All these facts have thrown the Franco authorities into a panic so that two battalions of infantry are patrolling the streets. But before long, the soldiers demonstrate their solidarity with the strikers and the alarmed high military commanders order the immediate return of these battalions to their barracks.

Tens of thousands of demonstrators in solid masses advance along the Ramblas. A hoarse cry which symbolises the death sentence for tyranny, re-echoes throughout the city: "Death to Franco!"

The first posters appear. "We want bread," states one. "The Yankees out of Spain," reads another, which proves that these great days have also been fighting days for peace.

The indignation and furore of the population breaks loose when a fourteen year old boy is struck by the fire of a policeman and falls dead before the police headquarters. The onslaught of the masses lasts several minutes and cannot be held back. The cry of "Death to the murderers' regime" rises up from twenty thousand throats and vibrates throughout Barcelona. The demonstrators fight courageously, throwing stones at the policemen. Overturned automobiles and trams are used as barricades by the population. Several policemen are hit by stones which showered on them from all sides. New police reinforcements attack. The demonstrators retreat slowly towards the Antonio Lopez Square, continuing to fight for quite a while.

Thousands of inhabitants of Barcelona demonstrate on the Gran Via, before the Ritz Hotel, meeting place for the big black-market dealers. On this day there are several "Yankee" potentates present, waiting like flocks of vultures soaring above their prey, which is the new colony offered to them by Franco, in order to get their claws on it.

One of the posters carried by the demonstrators reads as follows: "Out with the Yankees from Spain! Peace! We will not go to war for the American bankers!"

Tens of thousands of persons take part in another demonstration, determined to carry their protest and fight to one of the dens of the Franco government—the headquarters of the Falangist trade unions which is situated on the Gran Via Layetana. When the demonstrators reach this street, a strong contingent of policemen armed with automatic rifles advances to meet them. The demonstrators hesitate for a moment before the rifles of the bandits, and then thousands of voices begin to chant the solemn song of the oppressed, "the International."

Through their importance, these heroic days in Barcelona have opened a new phase in the struggles for the liberation of our people, and have ended in an indisputable people's victory. In Madrid and throughout the whole of Spain, its repercussion is tremendous. Its effect on politics will also be very great.

MUNDO OBRERO
Madrid Clandestine Edition
April 1951.

GERMANY

"Remember, Comrade!"

Remember 1932. In that year, 44.7 per cent. of German industrial workers were totally unemployed. Most of the others were working short time. The German proletariat, in an economically weakened state, was divided into several camps. Its fighting strength was enfeebled. Encouraged by the impassive and hostile attitude on the part of the social-democratic leaders towards the workers, Hindenburg, who became President of the Reich on June 1st 1932 with the aid of the Social-Democratic Party, made Franz von Papen, confidence man of reaction, Chancellor...

A heavy price was then paid for not having expropriated the arms trusts, banking magnates and the big landowners in 1918.

In spite of the menace of fascism, the top-level leaders of the Social-Democratic Party rejected the Communist Party's invitation to form a single anti-fascist front although no conditions had been put forward for carrying on the common struggle against fascism . . .

The German monopoly capitalists gave Hitler huge sums of money to finance his Party. Hitler seized power and immediately began rearming on a large scale although battleships had already been built with the approval of the right-wing social democrats.

Even now, many comrades still believe the legend that Hitler abolished unemployment. But by 1935-36, scarcely half of the unemployed had got back into the factories. What were these factories producing? Above all what the monopolists had been

hoping for—war materials. Deaf to the warning of the most advanced elements of the working class, most workers helped to produce war material. It was only later that they realised that they had dug their own graves. Six million unemployed in 1932 became six million dead.

The old game has started once more, but not in the German Democratic Republic nor in the democratic sector of Berlin. In these areas, the lessons of the past have been learnt: the entire reactionary clique, the arms trusts and heavy industry magnates have had their economic power taken away and have been driven out.

But in Western Germany, the mistakes of 1918 have been repeated and these gentlemen have been left alone. Today, the arms and heavy industry kings are once more top-dogs in Western Germany and the western sector of Berlin.

In order to pocket gigantic profits once again, such politicians as Adenauer and Schumacher are preparing another war in collaboration with the American imperialists.

They have again made fabulous profits during these few post-war years, while the people are stricken with poverty. But this is not enough for these gentlemen. They would like to see the return of Hitlerite prosperity and this is why the factories are being reconverted to arms production.

The cost of these armaments and this remilitarisation is already crushing the working class in the form of daily price increases and a fall in real wages. It is also expressed in the progressive abolition of democratic rights. Just as in 1932, all kinds of bans are being placed on the most progressive sections of the workers. And just as previously, these repressive and severe measures will be extended to cover first social democrats and then all workers.

The banning of the popular referendum, in violation of the law and the people's rights, clearly shows where the path which the American imperialists are forcing on Western Germany and west Berlin is leading: towards another war, towards unequalled misery.

Comrades, do you agree to take this path once again?

Tribune
Bi-weekly newspaper of the
FDGB, Berlin. 18-21 May1951)

ITALY

The Campaign for the "Big Five Peace Pact" in Italy

An interesting debate has just been proposed by the Youth for Peace Committee to all candidates on the lists presented for the Padua municipal elections. In a letter to the candidates, the Committee proposed a debate on these three questions:

1. Are you for or against the existence of a foreign command for our troops and the sending of foreign troops to Italy?

2. What steps do you consider expedient to save the independence of our country and the honour of our citizens?

3. Do you or do you not believe that in order to surmount the present international tension, the Governments of the USA, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain and France should meet to conclude a peace pact?

The peace committee of the Taranto province has decided to send a letter to all election candidates asking them to support the Berlin Appeal which calls for a peace pact between the great powers so that peace will be preserved.

At Porte de Ferro, in the Foligno province, where the entire population supports the miners' fight for economic independence and peace, the whole district has signed the Berlin Appeal.

The collection of signatures for the Berlin Appeal is being organised throughout the Lecce province. The Committees of the most populated sections of the town have begun the work of contacting all inhabitants of all political and religious tendencies in order to obtain their approval of the Berlin Appeal. In this way, hundreds of signatures have already been collected.

The district committee has launched an appeal calling on the Salento population to join the defenders of peace in the great campaign aimed at warding off the danger of a new war.

The same regional Committee sent these three questions to the celebrated Father Lombardi, at the time of his stay in Lecce:

1. What do you think of the presence of American warships in our ports?

2. Does it contribute to the dignity of our country to permit the military manoeuvres of our army to be directed by a foreign general?

3. The defenders of peace believe that a meeting between the leaders of the five great powers would be able to settle peacefully the most outstanding international controversies. What do you think about this?

At Naples, Pastor Ricci of the Evangelical Church, has collected very many signatures to the Berlin Appeal in his parish, and transmitted them to the regional Committee for Peace.

The athletes and leaders of the Neapolitan UISP have signed the Berlin Appeal "so that sport will not die out," in this manner following the example of many Italian sports teams.

Avanti, 17.5.51

INDIA

Sold: 15 Rupees a Family

Ten families of landless agricultural labourers in the Darbhanga districtof Bihar were sold for a sum of Rs.150 last year.

This revelation was made in Parliament on April 17 by Sri Chandika Ram while speaking on the Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill.

Rps. 15 per family! Dirt cheap. Which means that each family is worth a mere 60 bottles of Coca Cola —minus bottles, of course . . .

To proceed with our M.P.:

"This, Sir, is your welfare state," he said, "in which even in the year of grace, 1950, such ghastly things are possible."

Frankly speaking, I had never imagined that there could be such ignoramuses sitting in our free India's Parliament. For what is there so ghastly about it?

It is a plain honest business transaction—selling dear, buying cheap...

Crossroads 4.6.51

PAKISTAN

Asian Economies

While the speech of the Pakistan Prime Minister at the inauguration of the Seventh Session of the ECAFE abounds in patent facts regarding the unfortunate economic condition of the countries of Asia and the Far East, it is unfortunately lacking in a deep and correlated analysis of these facts. It is therefore not surprising that he failed to arrive at correct conclusions and to suggest effective remedies. He expressed grief at the appalling poverty and ignorance of the Asian peoples and concern at the rising populations and declining production in the ECAFE countries . . . But one looks in vain in the speech for a study of the causes that have given rise to these facts . . .

The peoples of Asia are living in sub-human conditions not because they have been condemned by destiny to drudgery and misery, but because their present economic condition is conducive to the interests of the Western Powers that still rule them or control their economies. They are poor because their vast material resources have not been and are not yet being allowed to be used for their own benefit, but are feeding the growing industries of the West at cheap cost and helping to maintain imperial strategic interests .They have not progressed industrially because their Western overlords are not prepared to lose their monopoly of industrial production. Agricultural production has not risen because the imperialist rulers have found it in their interest to maintain feudal re-

lations in agriculture and also because large scale agricultural production is not possible without large scale industrialisation and mechanisation. This has not prospered because it has been fettered by the commercial interests of the metropolitan countries of the West . . . That is the reason why all proposals and schemes for the economic development of the Asian countries emanating from Western sources or under Western influence have had much to say on agricultural development, but little on industrialisation or the need for a basic change in social relationships obtaining in industry as well as in agriculture . . .

. . . it is really amazing how our Minister for Economic Affairs could ignore the obvious facts that neither Britain nor America have so far been willing to help in the industrialisation of our country, that Britain had been manipulating the release of our sterling balances and their dollar convertibility to suit her own economic interests, and that she had hitherto managed to maintain preferential tariffs for her exports to this country.

Pakistan Times 2.3.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

May 13

INDIA.—The three-day All-India Peace Convention closes in Bombay with a decision to launch a campaign for 11,000,000 signatures to the Five-Power Pact. Presided over by Dr. M. Atal, the Indian delegate to the Berlin meeting of the World Peace Council last February, the meeting included many Indian celebrities. The popular Prithviraj Kapoor is one of the film stars who will collect signatures.

Nehru introduces a Bill into the Indian Parliament to modify the constitution on ten points. The first amendment would limit Press freedom. This move seems to be a direct reaction against recent State legal orders for the release of trade unionists, peasants, Communists and others, as their imprisonment was not in accord with the Constitution.

U.S.S.R.—Thirtieth anniversary of the signing by Lenin of the decree on rest-homes. This decree stipulates that rest-homes are set up "in order to give workers and employees the opportunity of rebuilding their force and energy during annual holidays which they receive, under the most favourable and healthy conditions."

Trade unions alone, without counting health organisations and Ministries, own one thousand two hundred rest-centres. This year more than four million persons will spend their holidays in seaside resorts and sanitoria.

WESTERN GERMANY.—A conference of young miners consisting of 700 delegates from the Ruhr, Lower Saxony, Bavaria, the Saar, although banned by the Government of Lower Saxony, is held near Osnabruck (Teutoburger Wald). A permanent committee was set up which unanimously adopted a resolution of action against remilitarization, against the recruitment of volunteers for any military formation, and for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

GUATEMALA.—The Conference of Latin-American land and air transport workers, called jointly by the Confederation of Latin-American Workers and the Trade Unions Internationals of Land and Air Transport Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), ends. The Conference was opened on May 10 by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., in the presence of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the C.T.A.L., and was attended by delegates from the transport unions of different Latin-American countries.

ITALY.—The employees of the Montecatini chemical combine go out on a 24-hour strike in the province of Milan in protest against super-exploitation of workers.

The personnel of the Rabotti metallurgical plant in Turin suceed in stopping the closing of the plant which had been decided upon by the management. In addition, they obtain the re-instatement of 32 discharged employees.

HUNGARY.—The Hungarian Peace Council announces that 5,448,000 persons have so far signed the appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

May 14

KOREA.—A group of 22 women from 17 countries, representing various organisations, are on their way to Korea to investigate conditions on the spot. They will see for themselves what the war is doing to Korea and what are the possibilities for a peaceful settlement.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The President of the National Union of Hosiery Workers severely criticises the report of the hosiery industry's Anglo-American Productivity Team. He informed the delegates representing the union's 40,000 members that their Secretary, who was a member of the Team, did not accept the implication of "slackness" by British workers continued in the Report of the Team.

UNITED NATIONS.—The United Nations Additional Measures Committee votes to ask all countries to impose an embargo on the shipping of all "war materials" to the People's Republics of China and Korea. This illegal resolution was submitted by the United States and the voting once again reflects the control exercised by the U.S. Government in the United Nations.

UNITED STATES.—The Economic Co-operation Administration (Marshall Plan) admits in a report that the Western European arms race has disrupted Europe's recovery and that the re-armament programme threatens to undo all the gains that had been made in economic recovery since the war.

FRANCE.—Congress of the French Confederation of Christian Workers meets, and decides not to affiliate to the Scab International (I.C.F.T.U.). The Congress rejects the principle of united action with the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) on the general and inter-trade union level, but is not against unity for specific aims in any particular industry.

An international conference for the peaceful solution of the German problem is held in Paris. This Franco-German conference, at which delegates from many parties and of many tendencies protested against the re-armament of Germany, demanded an unarmed Germany, and declared: "A peace treaty with a demilitarised and unified Germany is one of the elements of the conclusion of a general peace pact."

IRAN.—The Commission for the Oil industry, meeting for the first time, unanimously decides that the 1933 oil convention imposed on the Iranian people, being void, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company cannot invoke any of the articles calling for arbitration.

The United States warns Iran of the dangers of precipate nationalisation, thus coming to the aid of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

ITALY.—Miners throughout Milan province take part in a general strike protesting against the reprisals taken against workers at the Montecatini chemical combine. There was also a one-hour strike in all other industries.

May 15

INDIA.—Indian Food Minister announces that China has offered India 1,000,000 tons of grain to fight the famine. No political conditions have been made and India has accepted.

BRAZIL.—Six thousand railwaymen of the State of Rio Grande do Sul strike for wage increases.

FINLAND.—At the trade union elections, Right-wing Socialist candidates received 107,000 votes and candidates supporting trade union unity 88,000 votes, a big advance for the latter. This change of the situation is all the more significant in that the Right-wing leadership excluded the Timberworkers' organisation as well as that of the Transport workers, from the National Centre; in addition, they refused to allow workers in the hydro-electric stations to take part in the vote. Despite these manœuvres by the Right-wing elements, the unity advocates have won leadership in several trade unions as, for example, in the textile union, where the united list received 84 votes, while the Right-wing Socialists only got 27.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Amalgamated Engineering Union, with 800,000 members, leads the discussion for merging a number of engineering unions. Six other unions concerned include the Blacksmiths, Brass Finishers and Metal Mechanics, Metal Dressers, and Foundry Workers. If successful, the proposed merger will bring together a million workers into one organisation.

May 16

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. C. Geddes, General Secretary of the 150,000-strong Union of Post Office Workers, informs the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal of the anger and discontent over pay levels among postal workers. Workers are claiming a ten shilling per week increase, also a minimum of £5 per week for men, with the maximum rates payable not later than at 24 years of age.

ITALY.—At Rome and Turin, tramway and 'bus workers are demanding an increase in wages and the introduction of a sliding scale. Led by the trade unions, all transport stops for two hours.

FRANCE.—In Paris and the Provinces, Civil Servants of all trade union tendencies hold mass demonstrations for their demands.

The Administrative Committee of the C.G.T. protests against the French Government's refusal to grant visas to foreign fraternal delegates to the Congress of the C.G.T.

SPAIN.—Franco confesses the difficulties of his régime at a Congress of Falangist Youth, saying: "We are ceaselessly attacked by our enemies as if we were in a state of siege."

BOLIVIA.—A military junta presided over by General Hugo Ballivan seizes power. This coup d'état was supported by the President of the Republic, Mamerto Urrialagoitia, in order to prevent the winning candidate in the Presidential elections , Paz Estonsoro, from taking over. His programme included the liberation of Bolivia from the imperialist yoke and the nationalisation of the tin mines. The military dictator, General Ballivian, declares that he intends to have the treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the Washington agreement respected.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Secretariat of the F.D.G.B. (Free German Trade Union Federation) publishes a declaration on the Bonn Government's signature of the Schuman Plan. "The Schuman Plan is the keystone of the economic preparations for war in Europe. It entails the creation of a gigantic war arsenal under American control as well as the exploitation and oppression of the workers of Europe and Western Germany by Western monopolists. The German workers' duty is to struggle against the American imperialist war preparations in Europe, and at the same time against the Schuman Plan."

May 17

GREAT BRITAIN.—Two thousand workers constructing the Sellafield atomic energy station go on strike against the victimisation of a shop steward alleging that the contracting firm is trying to break up union organisation.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Announcement of higher wages for mens' and boys' utility suits, baby prams, and 'bus fares is made. The London County Council, supported by most of the city's 28 borough councils, is to lodge a protest against the proposed 'bus fare increases.

POLAND.—Opening of the campaign for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers. The signature drive will be carried out by nearly 100,000 local and factory Peace Committees. In honour of the plebiscite, workers and peasants throughout the country have undertaken to reach new levels of production.

U.S.S.R.—A communiqué from the Ministry of Finance announces that the loan for the development of the country's economy, launched on May 3 for a total of 30 billion roubles, has been over-subscribed by more than four billion roubles. The full success of the new loan is a striking indication of the fact that the interests of the Soviet workers are completely linked to those of the Socialist State.

A meeting of trade union cadres of Moscow with workers' delegations from Britain, Bulgaria, Italy, France and the Netherlands takes place in the Stalin Automobile factory Palace of Culture. The foreign delegates, who spoke of their impressions of the U.S.S.R., were enthusiastically welcomed.

In the course of the meeting, V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, spoke and thanked the delegates for their warm greetings to the Soviet people. He told of the untiring struggle of the Soviet people for peace, and expressed the hope that, on returning to their countries, the delegates would win success in the fight for peace and friendship between the peoples.

ICELAND.—The Trade Union of General Workers of Iceland passes a resolution condemning the occupation of their country by American troops.

UNITED NATIONS.—The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly votes for an embargo on the supply of all strategic materials to China. The United Kingdom votes in favour of the embargo, despite the fact that she has diplomatically recognised the People's Government in Peking. There are many hostile reactions in Asia, as many countries are to a considerable extent dependent on trade with China. The U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies refuse to take part in the vote as illegal.

ITALY.—The National Textile Union, not having received a reply from the employers to their demand for a salary increase, strike for from two to four hours in unity with other trade unions in the textile establishments at Pavia, Genoa, Alexandria, Novara, Biella, and Pordenone.

SINGAPORE.—Arbitration report on wages for rubber workers recommends that wages be on a sliding scale, not in relation to the cost of living, but in relation to the cost of rubber—not a large item in a worker's budget. Present wages for tappers would rise to an average of $3.50 (Malayan) a day, or 8s. 2d. sterling, but with an embargo on rubber to China, wages would drop, probably to a rate lower than they are now. Rubber, which was selling at 5s. 7d. sterling per pound three months ago, now fetches 3s. 5d. So workers who did not share in the outside profits of the last five years would be arbitrated into a share of the slump. The announcement coincides with the publication in London of the Dunlop Rubber Company's annual accounts (they have extensive plantations in Malaya) showing a profit of more than £17,000,000 over and above the £5,500,000 allowed for depreciation and reserve.

CHINA.—The "People's Daily" condemns the U.S. draft peace treaty with Japan as it permits Japan to rearm (in contravention of the Potsdam Declaration), gives the U.S. control of Japanese forces through the United Nations and does not return Taiwan and the Pescadores to China (in contravention of the Cairo Declaration). Furthermore, the U.S. is trying to oust China as a signatory to the treaty. There is also a clause which will free Japan from reparation payments, thus cheating China of her right to demand compensation for the damage caused by several years of aggressive war.

May 18

GREAT BRITAIN.—The report of the official Government inquiry on docks strikes explodes the myth of "Red Plots" being responsible for dock strikes, as continually stated by Mr. Arthur Deakin (Transport and General Workers' Union) and Mr. George Isaacs (ex-Minister of Labour). The committee (which contained no working dockers) investigated the five disputes that occurred in the Port of London between 1947 and 1950.

The main concern of the report is the whitewashing of the leaders of the Transport and General Workers and the employers. The one positive section deals with amenities in the London Docks, which it describes as "totally inadequate" and "so often primitive and degrading." Its real purposes, however, are the elimination of trade union democracy and action. The former aim is revealed in the recommendation that unions should introduce a system under which their officials could make decisions which would be binding on their members without reference to elected committees or the whole membership. The other is clearly indicated by the recommendation that militant trade unionists who defend the interests of the dockers and carry out their collective decisions should be sacked from the industry.

ITALY.—Seventy-five thousand secondary school teachers meet the intransigeance of the employers with a 48-hour strike. In Turin the staffs of the primary schools participated in the movement.

NEW ZEALAND.—Opposition leader Walter Nash discloses that no members of the Parliamentary Labour Party are allowed by the Government to broadcast on the dock lock-out. The Prime Minister has also refused three times to convene Parliament and is trying to prevent Labour Members from addressing public meetings. This is because the Government wishes to convince the public that the lockout is a strike provoked by agitators and is using Reichstag fire methods as a short cut to clamping down on trade unionists. Despite instructions from their Union leaders in Britain, British seamen in New Zealand maintain their refusal to act as strike-breakers against New Zealand workers.

AUSTRALIA.—The Australian Council of Trade Unions instruct affiliated unions to keep out of the New Zealand workers' fight back against employer-Government attack, but the seamen's, ship painters', dockers', ironworkers' and painters' unions all refuse to work "black" ships from New Zealand. Union members vote weekly levies in support of their New Zealand brothers totalling several thousand pounds a week.

UNITED STATES.—The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards send a cable of protest to President Quirino of the Philippines against the arrest, incarceration and incommunicado status of Amado Hernandez, President of the Philippine Congress of Labour Organisations. Their cable protests against this union-breaking programme, which is "against democracy and human decency." Cables were also sent to Hernandez and his wife offering any assistance the union is able to render them, and M.C.S. members are urged to send rank and file delegations to Philippine Consuls in ports throughout the world.

Senate and House Committees agree to outlaw economic aid to countries which permit exports of arms or strategic materials to the U.S.S.R., China, North Korea or other People's Democracies. Approval by the full Congress is regarded as certain, and is another link in the chain of American moves to control the trade of countries receiving "aid."

The Wage Stabilization Board approves a wage increase of nine cents an hour for 220,000 meat packing workers. This is a break in the 10% ceiling imposed by the Wage Stabilisation Board, which is being forced to revise its ideas due to vigorous opposition by trade unionists.

UNITED NATIONS.—The General Assembly votes for an arms embargo against the Chinese People's Republic. Sir Benegal Rau, of India, expressed fears that the embargo would create another "psychological hurdle" in the path of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

May 19

HUNGARY.—The Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions protests to the Greek Government and the U.N. Human Rights Commission against the intention of the Greek Government to again bring to trial ten Greek trade union leaders. These leaders were saved from death in 1948 as a result of widespread protests from the trade union movement.

May 20

ITALY.—Ten thousand peasants take part in the "National Day of Peasants and Peace," organised in Bari by the "Committee for the Renaissance of Southern Italy." This day followed on similar demonstrations which had taken place previously in all the provinces of Northern and Central Italy. Broad unity was achieved between the different sections of exploited peasants behind the slogans of "Justice and Peace," "Deeds not Words." A programme of struggle is adopted for Southern Italy demanding the distribution of insufficiently exploited lands.

NEW ZEALAND.—After 14 weeks of regulation-enforced blackout on the workers' case, the Government is forced to allow Jock Barnes, dockers' national president, to address a 4,500 strong meeting in Auckland, which strongly condemns the Government and cheers Barnes' declaration that the workers will win their long fight against union-busting.

Auckland 'bus drivers come out on strike following the employers' refusal to grant wage claims and their manifest intent to worsen present conditions.

May 21

FRANCE.—Responding to the appeal of the C.G.T. and the C.F.T.C. (Christian Trade Unions) the 40,000 workers and employers of the Renault auto factory strike for 2 hours in support of their demand for a bonus of 15,000 francs from the profits of the company.

ICELAND.—The general strike, in which 80 per cent. of all organised workers took part, ends victoriously with the Government being forced to grant wage increases to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

IRAN.—The Iranian Foreign Minister accuses the United States of "interference" in the internal affairs of the country by opposing the oil nationalisation law. Any delay in oil nationalisation, he says, "will provoke the anger of the people."

May 22

SPAIN.—Despite a great display of armed forces by the Franco Government, the population of Madrid demonstrate against the Falangist régime and the high cost of living by boycotting trams, the underground, cafes, theatres, cinemas and newspaper stalls. Workers of several factories in Plasencia, Elgoibar and Eibar in the province of Guipuzcoa stop work in solidarity with the Madrid movement.

FRANCE.—The 41st infantry regiment of Rennes is dissolved to make place for United States troops.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. F. Kelland, President of the Amalgamated Union of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, trounces British and United States warmongering in his address to the annual conference of the union. He states: "I refuse to believe that those countries, East and West, which were ravaged by the last war, are not solely concerned with the rehabilitation of their own hearths. . . . We ought not to anticipate all is lost and a third world war inevitable." He adds that "the British people should strive might and main to secure a lasting peace settlement."

BULGARIA.—It is announced that 5,450,000 signatures have so far been collected to the appeal for a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers.

POLAND.—The number of signatures collected to the World Peace Council appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact is announced as being 17,688,998.

ITALY.—A general strike of one hour is held in all industries and public services to protest against the attacks on freedom of speech carried out by the police who threw tear-gas bombs at a workers' election meeting and arrested many people.

ITALY.—The Government orders the closing down of the "Reggiane" works in Reggio Emillo. This action throws 4,000 workers out on to the street, who for eight months have been running the factory despite attempts to close it down.

May 23

ITALY.—Seven thousand Palermo miners declare a general strike in protest against the delaying tactics of the mine owners who, with the support of the Government, are refusing to apply a regional agreement won by the miners last March after a bitter struggle.

FRANCE.—The Nancy Court of Appeal acquits five of the foundry workers from Micheville who were sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment by the Briey court for having exercised their right to strike. Among the acquitted men are the Secretary of the local Trades Council and the Secretary of the union.

May 24

UNITED STATES.—President Truman requests another addition to his war budget. This time it is $8,500,000,000 for military and economic aid to foreign countries willing to submit their foreign and commercial policies to U.S. dictates.

FRANCE.—The Paris Court of Appeal acquits 24 gas and electricity workers prosecuted for having refused to respond to conscription orders issued by the Government during the strike of March last. These orders were considered by the trade unions as being illegal.

May 25

AUSTRALIA.—Following the solditarity actions of Australian unions with their New Zealand brothers, Premier Menzies has police raid the Sydney and Melbourne offices of the Dockers' and Seamen's unions. All seamen and dockers immediately stop work in both ports in protest.

NEW ZEALAND.—Railway workers are at last granted part of the wage increases for which they struck last Christmas, but union branches express dissatisfaction at the small increase granted and reaffirm their solidarity with the dockers. Following a secret ballot, the 2,600-strong Railway Tradesmen's Association disaffiliates from the Federation of Labour.

AUSTRALIA.—The Menzies Government sets troops to work on the Melbourne docks and announces the prosecution of "certain" trade union leaders under the Crimes Act for their ban on "black" cargoes from New Zealand.

May 29

NEW ZEALAND.—The Labour Minister announces the dockers' struggle is 80% over when rejecting a Labour Party demand for a compulsory conference to seek a settlement, but defeats his own claim by stating that "new" dockers' unions have 2,500 members; the normal waterfront labour force totals 8,000.

The Government Film Censor bans without explanation the Soviet film "For World Peace."

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BUILDING A CLEAR-SIGHTED

MASS STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

DURING my recent trip to Latin America, an extremely interesting question was put to me by a trade union delegate as we came out of a meeting at which I had explained the W.F.T.U's peace policy and activities. He asked me why the W.F.T.U., in all its appeals, resolutions and publications, gave so much space to the political problem of peace.

The very simplicity of this question may cause surprise. But it should not do so. The very fact that the question was asked, even once, should lead us to consider it. We should feel no surprise : the question calls for a clear and convincing answer, and shows that we must fulfil all our responsibilities publicly to the workers.

The W.F.T.U., and all our trade union organisations, must know how to use, with all the necessary effect, the wealth of arguments and facts at our disposal so as to strengthen further those who support us, to convince those we call on to join us, and to counter and weaken those whom we have unmasked and denounced as enemies of peace, opponents of unity of the workers and the peoples, and plotters against human and social progress.

We must give continuous attention to the arguments we put before the workers in support of our public statements or writings. We must give adequate explanations and bring forward the most useful and eloquent facts to help the workers to counter successfully the lies and slanders which are the daily ammunition of the war planners in the capitalist and colonial countries.

In addressing workers who are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U.—whether they are unorganised or members of unions not belonging to the W.F.T.U.—we must use the terms best suited to rally round us those who are hesitant, or assist those who are uncertain in their opposition.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE W.F.T.U. and all our trade union organisations must give the task of convincing such groups among the mass of workers the importance it deserves. This method of convincing others, when followed up regularly and determinedly, always results in a strengthening of our position. We must avoid blunt affirma-

tions, isolated from any demonstrative proof : we must realise that mere affirmation leaves workers confused, uncertain, or even, in the worst of cases, indifferent.

We must everywhere and always make our optimism felt, demonstrate our confidence in our just cause, show its origins and motives, and explain the basis of the enthusiasm which reigns in our international labour movement and imparts to those who feel it, even at the most difficult times, the spirit of conquerors.

In the trade unions of all capitalist and colonial countries there are workers who will be pleased with the help we can give them in this way. We will further strengthen their support for the policy and programme of the W.F.T.U., because we will have established a better and more immediate link *between all the questions that face workers living and fighting each day in the unhealthy climate of capitalism or colonialism, and the answers which, together with them, we must give to these questions.*

Trade unions are non-party organisations of manual and intellectual workers; they are mass organisations, for the masses of the working men and women. Their members hold varied opinions, and have different ways of thought and expression which are influenced by their varied political or religious backgrounds.

It is our duty to explain clearly why "the W.F.T.U. gives so much space to the political problem of peace." It is our responsibility to give an irrefutable and clear demonstration of the fact that there is no economic or professional solution to the problem of peace, just as there can be no real defence of peace when a trade union confines itself to a nationalist position.

To take an example : the Mexican Confederation of Labour (C.T.M.), which is numerically the largest trade union centre in Mexico, where splits continue to dominate internal trade union activities, wanted to give a purely *nationalist* content to the *international* day of the workers, May Day.

This same trade union centre, as a result of the anti-imperialist position of its members, as of all Mexican workers, has just announced its withdrawal from the Brussels Scab International. This is no negligible fact.

It is the job of our Mexican brothers, and of the W.F.T.U., to explain to the workers of Mexico how impossible it is to utilise May Day, which belongs to all the world's workers, for nationalist purposes.

For members of the C.T.M., now they have withdrawn from the Scab International, the defence lines of peace do not run in opposition to the W.F.T.U. : those defence lines are breached, and cannot serve the workers in their fight against the dangers of war. For the workers of all countries, political and religious opinions, the defence lines of peace run from fraternal co-operation with the W.F.T.U. to firm condemnation of the activities and imperialist role of the Scab International in Brussels.

☆ ☆ ☆

IS THERE, for a national or international workers' organisation, any task or role more important and more glorious than the great mission of fighting for peace between the peoples so that there will be lasting friendship and solidarity between the workers of all trades and all countries in the world? There cannot be.

The importance the political problem of peace takes in our trade union activities is a measure of the great dangers at present threatening peace; and the place the consistent defence of peace takes in our daily work is in proportion to the worsening of living and working conditions which is imposed on millions of workers in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries by the war policy of the American big businessmen.

In his interview with a *Pravda* correspondent on February 16, 1951, Comrade Stalin replied to the following important question, which he put himself when asked if he thought another world war was inevitable:

> "What will be the end of this struggle of the aggressive and peace-loving forces? Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and will defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new World War. That is why the wide campaign for the maintenance of peace as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of paramount importance."

Millions of workers throughout the world are determined not to let themselves be led astray by those men who want to lead them into another world war so as to reap super-profits and carry on their plunder of the national wealth of other countries. These men are known to the peoples of Latin America, as they are to the peoples of Africa, Asia, Europe and the Pacific, and the peoples must get to know them even better. They are the North American imperialists, their allies and lackeys.

It is quite true that the employment of lies and slanders has become an indispensable means of propaganda for the instigators of war. The so-called "campaign of truth" organised in the world by the North American thieves' kitchen has attained an unheard-of degree of deception. It is indeed true that this propaganda seeks to penetrate the ranks of the working class and that in order to realise this objective the State Department needs the services of "its" so-called Trade Union International. It is no less true that the workers are successfully unmasking the campaign of the Brussels Scab International. But it remains certain that our organisations, with the W.F.T.U. at their head, must not in any way slacken their efforts to counter this propaganda. We must prepare for the leaders of the Scab International rebuffs even greater than those which they know at present. Acting on instructions, they concentrate their efforts on vulgar campaigns against the W.F.T.U. and the Soviet Trade Unions which give them nightmares. For us, to have the Soviet Trade Unions in the W.F.T.U. is a source of confidence and also an irreplaceable source of strength. The presence of 30 million Trade Unionists from the U.S.S.R. in the heart of the W.F.T.U. is the assurance that our World Trade Union Organisation has the complete capacity to be an effective defender of peace as much as of the vital interests of the workers of the world.

Numerous Trade Union Congresses in every branch of industry and of the professions have just been held in the U.S.S.R. They have marked an important upsurge in the Soviet Trade Unions and brought to light the considerable role of these Trade Unions in the peaceful development of Socialist society, in the growth of the well-being of the Soviet peoples. They have thrown into relief the gains acquired by the people of the towns and countryside in the whole of the Soviet

Union thanks to the success of the peaceful economy of *their* Government. These recent Congresses in the U.S.S.R. have confirmed the important place held by the Trade Unions in the organisation of economic and social life in the Soviet Union. Every honest person can see that.

Now hear the words of George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the A.F.L. and leader of the Brussels Scab International. He writes :

> "Throughout all of World War II, trade union participation in policy-making and planning was welcomed by the Government rather than shunned. That is not the case today. It has been made abundantly clear to those of us who represent labour in Washington, that *labour is not wanted in the operation of the defence programme except for purposes of window-dressing.* (Our italics. L.S.). The business men now in charge of that programme are proceeding under the assumption that they have a monopoly of brains and know-how and should, therefore, enjoy a monopoly of power. *They are exercising that monopoly deliberately in accordance with the basic business objective — greater profits.*" (Our italics. L.S.).

Continuing, Mr. Meany adds :

> "Our defence programme must be based on an international approach. In formulating policy or in providing machinery for its execution, we must never lose sight of America's position of international leadership."

Such is indeed the programme which the Brussels International has assigned itself. Such is indeed the controlling position which the American monopolists occupy in it. Such indeed are the *basic* objectives of American big business which utilises its monopoly of control and organisation to attain them, that is to say : *their profits.*

It is on this course that Deakin, Carey and Kuypers wanted to set the W.F.T.U. in 1948. It is because the majority of W.F.T.U. categorically refused to take this path that they abandoned our organisation in January 1949.

In 1951 we still have no desire to facilitate the domination of the world by the American monopolies. It is for the W.F.T.U. a task of honour to struggle to prevent them attaining their *basic objective* : profits drawn from the sweat and blood of millions and millions of human beings.

We take a great pride in having succeeded in preventing the W.F.T.U. *being utilised by Washington for purposes of window-dressing* as Carey desired in 1947.

The Brussels Scab International plays this shameful role now. We have already explained how its masters make use of it. It is not a matter of indifference that Mr. George Meaney has confirmed the correctness of our judgement.

The American workers, like their brothers in all lands, must understand why their Trade Unions are employed now by Washington solely for the purposes of window-dressing—a role which the Unions have had imposed on them by their unworthy leaders.

If during the 2nd World War, as Mr. Meaney says, the participation of the trade unions was sought in all spheres, it is because this war had become an anti-fascist war and for many peoples a war of national liberation.

The preparation for war with which are associated the leaders of the A.F.L.,

the C.I.O. and the Scab International, entails very grave restrictions on the national sovereignty of numerous countries, even when it is not the complete loss of their independence. This same preparation ends up in the limitation or the suppression of the democratic rights of peoples, in the development of a process of fascisation of the countries included in the war preparations.

It is because the American monopolists are preparing a war of a fascist character, that the situation is no longer what it was during the 2nd World War, which ended in the military defeat of fascism.

One must be blind or an accomplice not to know or not to want to explain to the workers in this way the difference between the situation of yesterday and that of today.

The W.F.T.U. and the workers of the world are neither blind, nor accomplices, and give, in consequence, a great place in their daily activities to the supreme problem of the defence of peace.

They will develop the world campaign of the peoples for a peace pact between the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., People's China, Great Britain and France.

They will know, in the face of the campaign of lies and slander and attempts at deception, how to organise a clear-sighted union of the peoples determined to oppose with all their physical and intellectual strength a new world war.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

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The Soviet People Win Another Magnificent Victory

by N. NIKOLAIEV

THE State Planning Commission and the Central Office of Statistics of the U.S.S.R. recently issued a communiqué on the results obtained in the completion of the Fourth Soviet Five-year plan covering the years 1946-50. This document tells the story of how another magnificent victory has been won by the Soviet people.

The aim of the first post-war five-year plan was to reconstruct the areas devastated by the war, and to reach and greatly exceed the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural production. The Soviet workers greeted the plan as a programme corresponding to their immediate vital interests. Socialist emulation was developed throughout the country to complete the five-year plan ahead of schedule and this has been successfully achieved. The post-war five-year plan was completed ahead of schedule—in 4 years and 3 months.

SUCCESSES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

THE Plan set the target of a 48 per cent. increase in industrial production by 1950 over the level of 1940, which was the last pre-war year. The target was reached with an ample margin, for in fact, industrial production was 73 per cent. higher in 1950 than in 1940.

Remarkable successes were obtained in the development of the key sectors of socialist industry — metallurgy, coal mining, oil production, power and engineering.

Overall metal industry production for 1950 was 45 per cent. higher than the pre-war level, although the Plan target was for a 35 per cent. increase. Coal

The magnificent sanatorium No. 3 belonging to the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions at Kisslovodsk, in the Northern Caucasus.

Tippler trucks for the hydro-electric power station project at Karkhovka reach their final stages on the assembly lines at the Dnieperpetrovsk automobile factory.

production was 57 per cent higher, oil 22 per cent, and power 87 per cent. Production in the engineering industry was 2 to 3 times higher in 1950 than it was before the war.

There has been a considerable increase in the output of essential goods by the food and light industries, as well as by heavy industries over the past five years.

In 1950, 2.4 times more cotton goods were manufactured than in 1940, 2.9 times more woollen goods, 3.2 times more leather footwear, 7 times more rubber footwear, and 5.2 times more stockings and socks.

As far as foodstuffs are concerned, the 1950 level of production for butter was 57 per cent higher than before the war, 20 per cent for meat products, 48 per cent for preserves, 17 per cent for sugar, 23 per cent for confectionery, etc.

Big successes were also obtained in agricultural development. The area under crops was increased by 20 per cent for cereals and by 59 per cent for industrial crops. The total 1950 harvest of cereals was 5.52 million tons more than the 1940 harvest.

Output per acre and the increase in the number of cattle in the Kolkhoz also exceeded the targets set by the Plan.

MODERN EQUIPMENT, THE LEVER OF SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

AS a result of the immense labours of the past five years in the construction and reconstruction of factories and in the general economic restoration of the country, the productive capacity of the whole of industry was 58 per cent higher in 1950 than in 1940. Power used by Soviet industry increased by 1½ times during the same period.

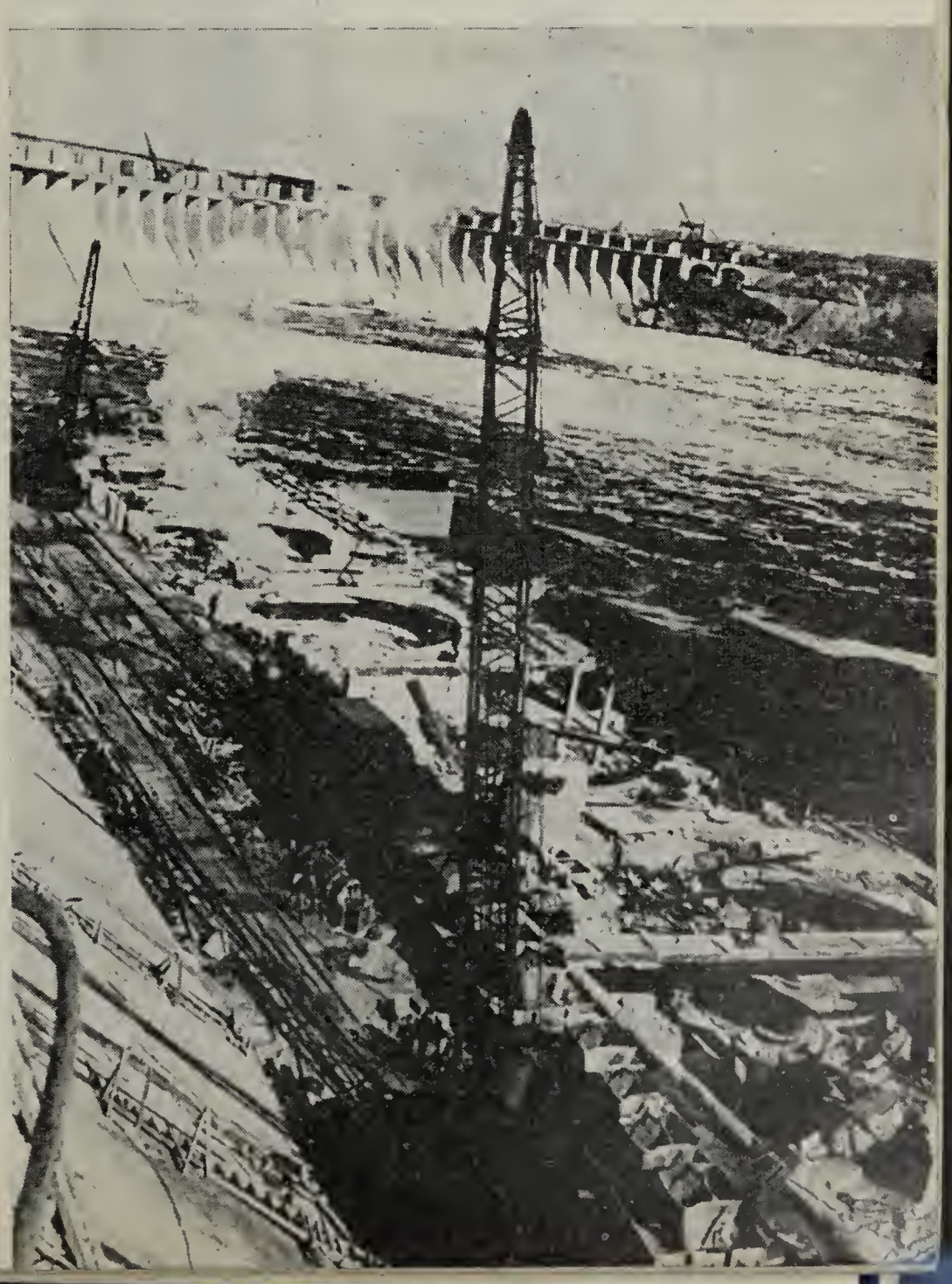
Industry was reconstructed and equipped on the basis of the most modern technique. Soviet factories now produce an infinite variety of machinery, and high precision machine tools and mechanical equipment invented by Soviet workers and engineers, including high-output machinery.

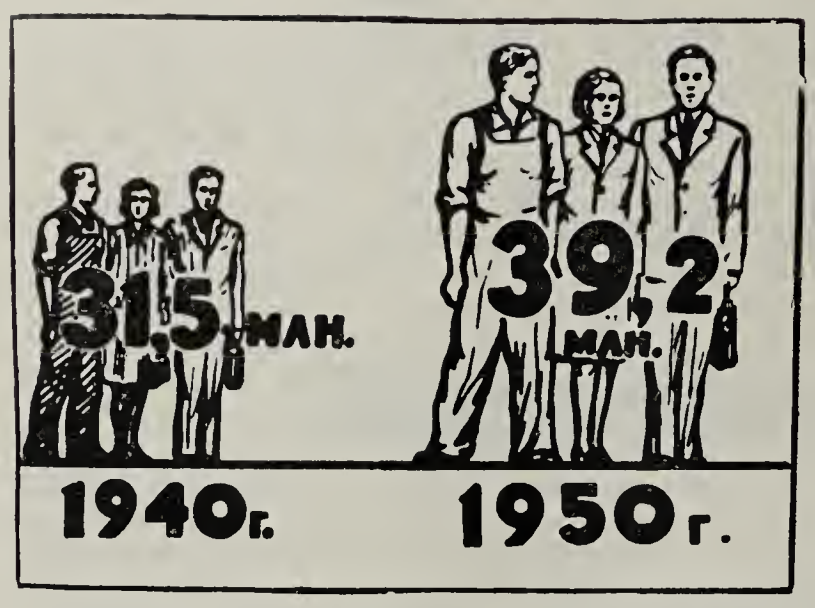
The metal industry of southern U.S.S.R., which was completely destroyed during the war and later reconstructed on the basis of modern technique, has now become still more powerful and produces more metal today than before the war.

The reconstructed Donbas mines, where modern Soviet technique is also applied, now produce more coal than before the war and have beaten the target set by the five-year plan. In the Soviet mining industry, the entire extraction process, right from coal-cutting to its transportation to the surface and loading into railway trucks has been mechanised.

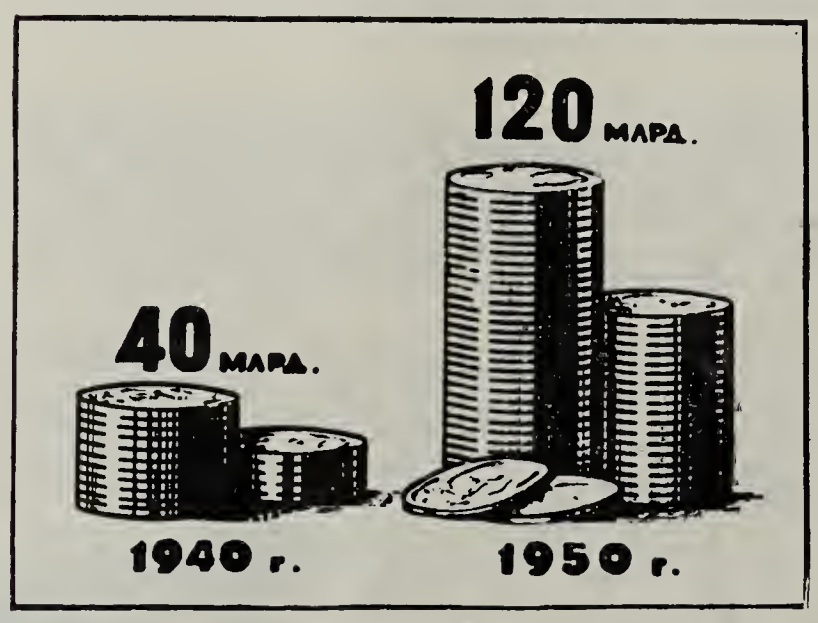
During the five years, more than 6,000 industrial enterprises have been built or reconstructed and put into operation—not including small firms. Both old and new enterprises possess modern equipment which is continually being improved in order to make human labour easier. The quality of the equipment, the high technical and professional level of managers and the spirit of creative initiative of the workers, engineers and technicians have made possible a big increase in labour productivity.

In 1946, the eyes of the entire Soviet people were turned towards the reconstruction work on the Dnieper dam. This gigantic task has now been completed and all efforts are mobilised on the huge Communist projects on the Volga, Don, Dnieper and Amu-Daria rivers. Our photograph shows the Dnieper dam in 1946.





The number of workers rose by 7.7 millions between 1940 and 1950.



State expenditure on cultural needs rose by 80,000 million roubles between 1940 and 1950.

Exceeding the Plan target, labour productivity in 1950 was 37 per cent higher than before the war.

THE INCREASE IN NATIONAL INCOME IN THE U.S.S.R.

THE completion and surpassing of the five-year plan targets have meant a steady increase in Soviet national income.

The plan provided for a 38 per cent increase in the national income by 1950 over the pre-war level.

In fact the increase, expressed in comparative prices, was 64 per cent.

In contrast with capitalist countries, where more than half of the national income is pocketed by the capitalists, the entire Soviet national income belongs to the workers. It is distributed in such a way as to ensure a continuous rise in the workers' and peasants' living standards and to develop socialist production in the towns and countryside.

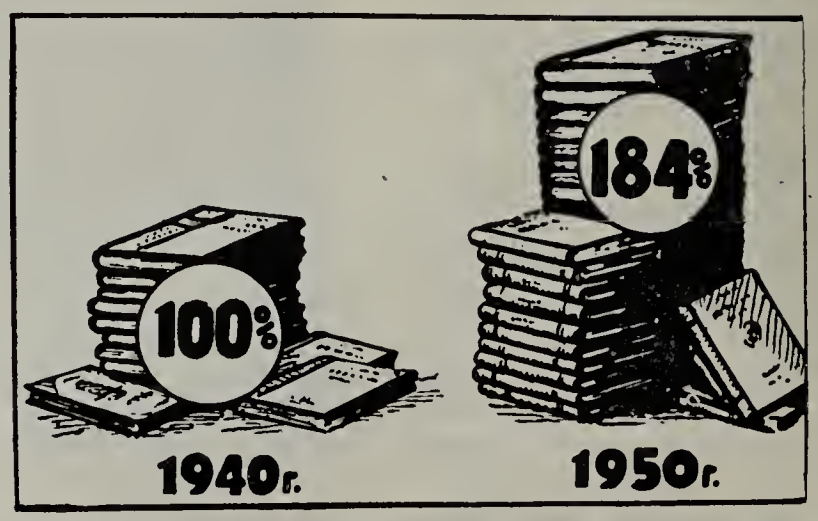
In 1950, three-quarters of the national income went to satisfy the personal needs of the workers. The remainder was allocated by the State to the kolkhoz and co-operative organisations for use in expanding socialist production and to meet other general needs of the State and the community.

The increase in national income was accompanied by a budget surplus. Most of the expenditure, which has been steadily growing, was devoted to the national economy and to social and cultural improvement. Thanks to the increase in national income, it has been possible to exceed considerably the plan of investment in the national economy and, at the same time, to bring about an extraordinary rise in the Soviet people's living standards. The overall total of workers' and peasants' incomes was 62 per cent more in 1950 than in 1940.

The increase in the national income and production had already made it possible in December 1947 to operate a monetary reform and to abolish rationing of all foodstuffs and industrial goods. Three price reductions on current consumer goods took place between 1947 and 1950 and the conditions for a further reduction were created. (This reduction took place on 1st March 1951).

To get an idea of the direct influence of the increase in the national income on the welfare of the population in the U.S.S.R., it is sufficient to examine

During the period of the Five-Year Plan, the number of primary, secondary and technical school pupils rose by 8,000,000.



The number of books printed in 1950 was 84% higher than in 1940.

Scores of 'planes leave Moscow every day loaded with freight for the workshops of Communism on the Volga, Don and Amu-Daria.

The use of electric power in agriculture is growing rapidly. This electric tractor used by the Korsoun-Chevchenko Machine and Tractor Station (Ukraine) has a potential of 34.7 h.p.

the rise in the consumption of foodstuffs and industrial goods by the population.

In 1950, State shops and co-operatives sold 38 per cent more meat and meat products than in 1940, 51 per cent more fish, 59 per cent more butter, 67 per cent more oil and other fats, 33 per cent more sugar, 47 per cent more cloth, and 3.3 times more watches, 6 times more radios, 2.9 times more bicycles, nearly 3 times more sewing machines, 16 times more motor-cycles, etc.

STEADY RISE IN MATERIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE

THE scourge of unemployment is unknown in the Soviet Union. When the war came to an end, all the men and women mobilised in the armed forces came back to jobs corresponding to their qualifications in their own trades. The number of manual and intellectual workers rose by 7.7 millions compared with 1940, considerably exceeding the forecast of the plan.

As a result of the measures taken by the Soviet State, the people's material and cultural welfare has developed to an extraordinary extent.

The number of students in primary, secondary and technical schools and in other secondary educational institutions has risen by 8 millions over the five-year period, reaching the figure of 37 millions in 1950. Higher education institutions had an attendance of 1,247,000 students in 1950 compared with 812,000 in 1940.

The network of cultural and educational centres has been restored and now exceeds the pre-war level. In 1950, there were 15 per cent more people's clubs and libraries in towns and rural areas than in 1940. 84 per cent more books were printed and there were 1½ times more film projectors in use.

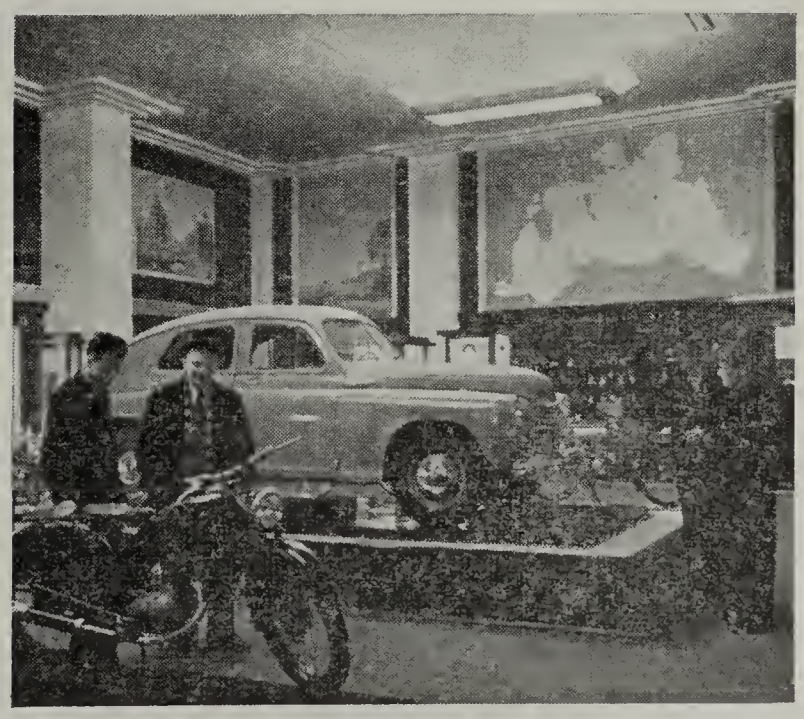
Great successes were obtained in developing and improving medical services. The total number of hospital beds increased by 25 per cent and the number of doctors by 75 per cent. Sanatoria destroyed during the war have now been rebuilt.

House building has taken on spectacular proportions. Construction and reconstruction in towns and housing estates have increased total living space by an area of more than 100 million square metres. In addition, 2,700,000 homes were repaired or built in rural areas.

State expenditure on the workers' cultural and material needs amounted to 120,000 million roubles[1] in 1950, a three-fold increase over the 1940 figure. This money was expended in the form of allocations to social insurance and Social Security, places in sanatoria, rest homes and children's homes, allowances to unsupported mothers and mothers of large families, free medical aid, free vocational training and improvement of qualifications, study grants and many other amenities.

All manual and intellectual workers have had annual holidays with pay of at least 14 days, and the workers employed in certain trades have had longer holidays.

1 One dollar equals four roubles.



The Ministry of the Automobile and Tractor Industry has opened new sales rooms in Leningrad, where dozens of cars and motor cycles are sold daily.

WHY THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN WAS A SUCCESS

THE capitalist class has been eliminated in the Soviet Union together with its economic basis; for all the means of production have become socialist property, which means the property of the entire people. The exploitation of man by man has been abolished.

The Soviet people works for its socialist society, in other words, for itself. Socialist economy is being developed on the basis of a single State Plan, which makes possible the most rational utilisation of the country's resources.

The fulfilment ahead of schedule of the second five-year plan in 1937 completed the building of a socialist society in the U.S.S.R. Once this stage was passed, the Soviet people began the progressive transformation of socialist society into a communist society. In this process, the third five-year plan, interrupted by the aggression of fascist Germany, marked the beginning of the Soviet people's fight to achieve its fundamental economic task, the attainment and passing of the main capitalist countries in production per inhabitant. In fact, this is the principal condition necessary to achieve sufficient abundance to realise the principle of communism—the distribution of consumer goods not on the basis of work performed, but according to the needs of each individual.

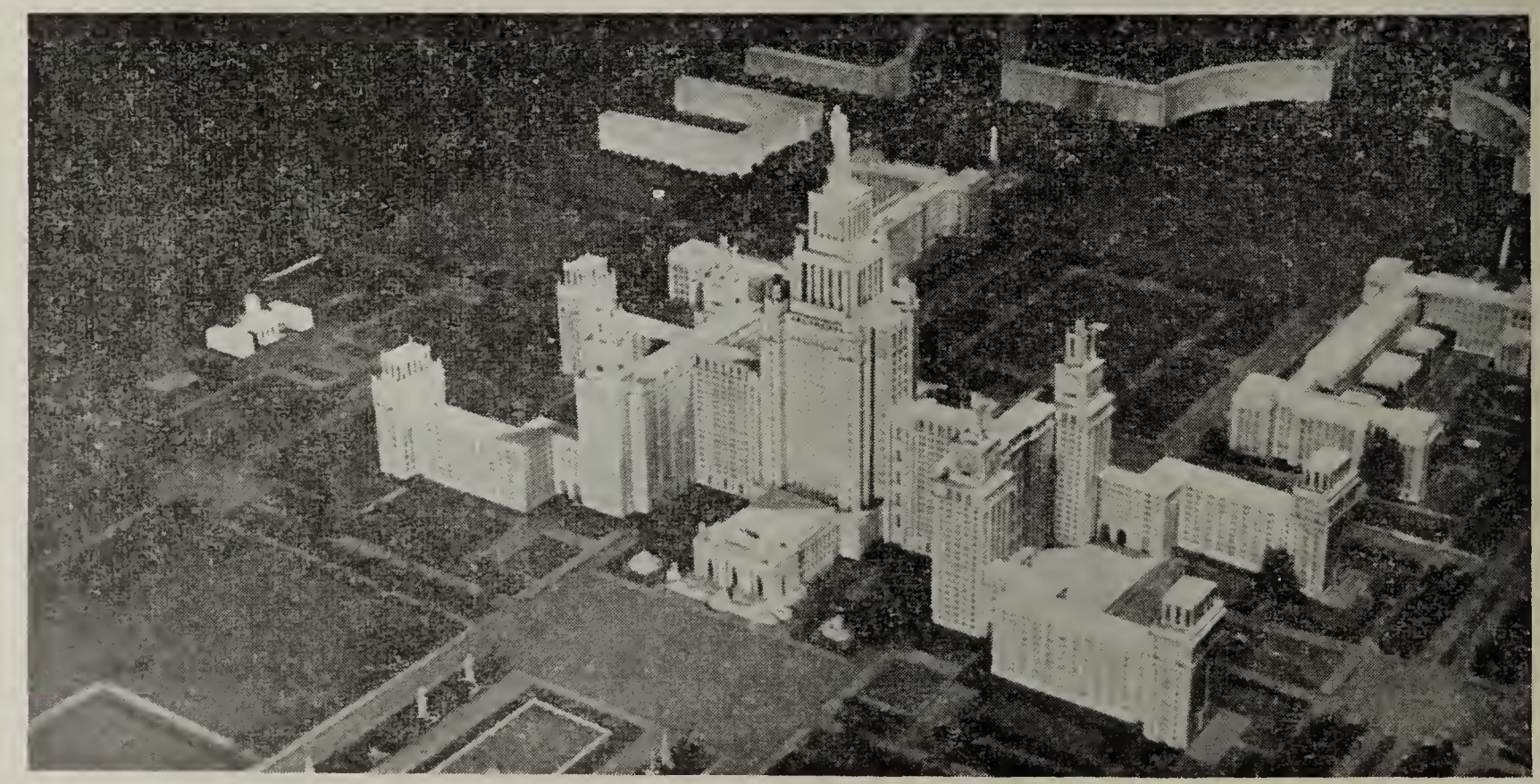
The Soviet people, determined to speed up the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., has redoubled its efforts during the post-war five-year plan. Socialist emulation, aimed at completing the Plan ahead of schedule, has developed everywhere in the country, in every town and in the rural areas.

In the enthusiasm of socialist emulation, led by the Soviet trade unions, millions of workers proved their capacity as inventors and Stakhanovites. More than 600,000 inventions and proposals for rationalisation were made during 1950 alone. Thousands of workers were awarded Stalin Prizes during the period of the five-year plan for the remarkable improvements they introduced into the production process.

It was the labour heroism of millions of ordinary Soviet citizens seeking to speed the building of a communist society in the U.S.S.R., which made possible the completion of the fourth Soviet five-year plan ahead of schedule.

The great successes already won are inspiring Soviet men and women to fresh exploits in their creative and peaceful labour. They are ready for new battles on the labour front similar to those they are already waging on the Volga, the Don, the Amu-Daria, and in every Soviet enterprise—everywhere communism is under construction.

Our picture shows a scale model of the new Moscow University which was begun in 1949. Building work will be completed this year.



NATIONALISATION

Made the Tool of

CAPITALISM

The French Experience

By LEON LAVALLEE

OVER the past fifteen years, France has undergone two big waves of nationalisation—in 1936-37 and 1945-46. These politico-economic measures were preceded by **two huge popular movements,** in which the working class and its Trade Unions played a leading rôle and which brought about profound changes in the general direction of the nation's political life. In 1936 this led to the Popular Front Governments, and in 1945-46, to the Governments born from the Resistance movement.

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THE SCOPE OF NATIONALISATION

IT will be remembered that pre-war nationalisation measures related to the manufacture of certain armaments, to the railways and the Bank of France. In every case, these measures were only partial—they did not cover the research sections of aviation plants; the State took over only 51 per cent. of the shares in the National Railway Company (S.N.C.F.); and there was practically no change in the situation of the Bank of France.

The nationalisation measures which followed the second world war affected more important sectors of production, mainly the following:

—The Renault National Automobile Company (1945),
—The National Aeroplane Motor Designing and Construction Company (S.N.E.C.M.A.) (1945),
—The aviation lines grouped under the name of "Air France" (1945),
—The coal mines (1945),
—Seven banks (1945),
—Electricity and Gas Company of France (1946),
—Eight Insurance Companies (1946),
—Creation of the National Office of Aeronautical Studies and Research (O.N.E.R.A.) (1946).
—In addition, a small number of firms were taken over and shares taken out in a number of others.

This set of measures applied only to a small section of industry (about 10 per cent.) and was not homogeneous either in relation to the national economy as a whole nor even to the internal functioning of the various branches of activity—and this situation was aggravated by differing legal provisions in the terms of nationalisation. The reasons for this state of affairs resulted from the political conditions existing when the nationalisation programme was instituted and implemented. The programme which the National Council of the Resistance (C.N.R.) drew up during the underground movement, made provisions for the nationalisation of certain key industries and the confiscation of the property of traitors. The application of this section of the programme corresponded to the relation of political forces at the time.

Faced with the State's unremitting attacks on the wages and social gains of workers in nationalised undertakings, Paris workers organise big protest demonstrations.

To convince ourselves of this, we shall examine the development of two of the most important nationalisation measures—coal and electricity.

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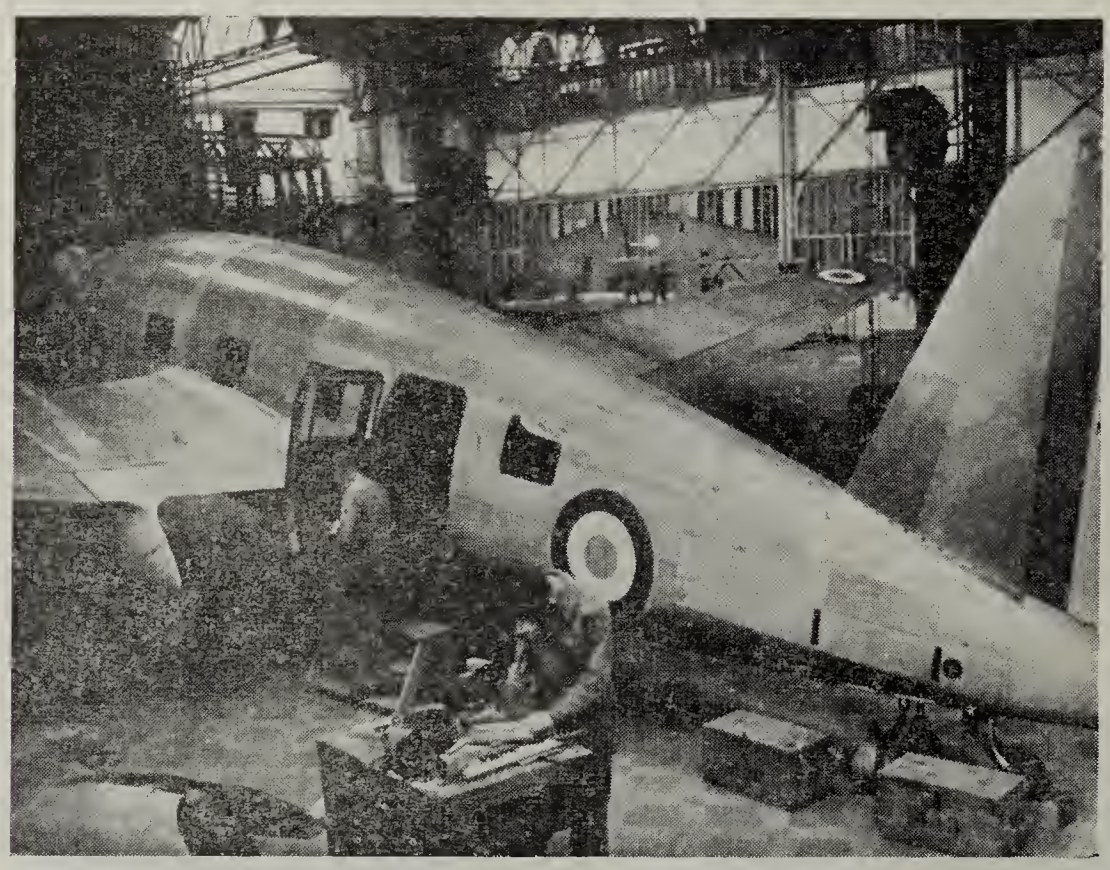
ELECTRICITY, GAS AND COAL

IMMEDIATELY after the Liberation, the National Council of the Resistance, whose President, Louis Saillant, is now General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., adopted concrete and detailed nationalisation schemes mainly due to the contribution made by the General Confederation of Labour, and submitted them to the Government. These schemes provided in particular for the transfer to the nation of all the property of the Electricity, Gas and Coal Mining Companies, and for the administration of this property by administration committees composed of an equal number of representatives of the general interests of the country, of consumers, and of the workers in the industries.



After nationalisation, the workers laboured with enthusiasm on the reconversion of their firms to peace-time production; but the trusts worked to bring nationalisation more into line with their interests—preparation for war. Our picture shows the postal 'plane SO 90, whose manufacture was one of the peaceful activities of the S.N.C.A.S.O.

During the first year after the Liberation, the post of Minister of Industrial Production was held by a faithful servant of the trusts, Robert Lacoste, and it therefore proved impossible to apply this section of the C.N.R.'s programme.

The September, 1945, elections, which threw into relief the strength of the progressive movemnt within the mass of the people, resulted in the departure of Robert Lacoste from the Ministry of Industrial Production, where he was replaced by Marcel Paul, General Secretary of the Lighting and Power Workers' Federation of the C.G.T.

Paul succeeded, although not without difficulty, in getting the Government to submit Bills nationalising the electricity, gas and coal industries.

These two Bills were violently opposed in the Commissions of the Constituent Assembly by the usual defenders of the trusts affected, particularly by such men as the Right-wing Socialist Paul Ramadier, the Christian-Democrat Jean-Marie Louvel, Jacques Furaud, and others.

After the opposition had been overcome, the law nationalising the electricity and gas industries was adopted on 8th April, 1946, and the law nationalising the coal industry on 17th May, 1946.

Immediately following the adoption of the legislation, Marcel Paul issued decrees nationalising the Electricity and Gas Companies; in collaboration with Auguste Lecoeur, President of the North and Pas-de-Calais Regional Miners' Federation, and Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Industrial Production, he subsequently issued decrees nationalising the mining companies.

Immediately after this transfer, all measures to apply the decrees were put into operation: —the nationalised undertakings which, particularly as regards electricity and gas, formed a complicated and irrational mosaic, were re-grouped; electricity and gas undertakings were reorganised on a regional basis and administered by two national boards—Electricité de France and Gaz de France; the mines were grouped into mining areas directed by a central body —Charbonnages de France; the widely differing staff charters of the electricity and gas companies were replaced by a single path of social progress. Joint Committees were set up to deal with all questions affecting the staff, measures were taken to unify salaries and holidays, and also pensions, which henceforth were automatically kept in relation to the wages of men employed in the industry. The administration of the social services of these two industries was handed over to the elected representatives of the staff, who developed them considerably.

The miners' charter was drafted at the same period.

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WHY PRODUCTION HAS FALLEN

IN order to supply French industry with the power needed, a modernisation and re-equipment pro-

gramme was immediately put into operation in these three basic industries.

For in fact, by the time France was liberated, production in the three branches with which we are dealing had fallen to a very low level—about a third of the 1938 output which, it must not be forgotten, was a crisis year.

The situation was similar to that in Great Britain where, according to the explanations of Betty Smith in a recent article in *World Trade Union Movement*[1]—

> " All the nationalised industries needed a great deal of new development, either, like coal and railways, because they had been grossly neglected in the past, or, like electricity supply, because a great expansion was necessary."

The coal trusts had introduced no modernisation measures since 1931: " at the Liberation, the average age of the equipment was over 30 years, whereas with a normal rate of renewal, it should not have been more than 16 years."[2] A vast modernisation programme was drawn up and put into operation aiming at raising annual output to 65 million tons in 1950, at building homes for the miners, developing power stations in mining areas, coke ovens and factories making coal by-products.

The betrayal of French interests had led to a situation in the gas industry similar to that which existed in the mines. This industry was run on the lines of a " craft, was archaic and at its last gasp."[3]

A programme was studied and put into operation covering the construction of big coke ovens whose output was to be very much higher than those already in existence.

The directors of the electricity industry trusts had systematically restricted production; only 12 per cent. of the hydro-electric potential was harnessed when the industry was nationalised; more than half its output was provided by thermal stations (which made bigger profits for the capitalists), although France had to import one quarter of its total coal requirements. A programme mainly based on increasing hydro-electric power production was immediately put into effect, with the aim of raising production to 37,300 million kilowatt hours by 1950.

The new nationalisation measures introduced under mass pressure, the social improvements which the workers gained, the presence, although restricted, of genuine workers' representatives in the various official bodies, the greater freedom won by the workers, technicians and office staff within the factories, all made it possible to raise production. The figures relating to output are eloquent and irrefutable.

1 No. 4, 20th February, 1951.
2 Admissions contained in the December, 1949, report of the General Commissariat on the Modernisation Plan—Government Commission.
3 Idem.

A meeting of workers employed by the Renault Company, a nationalised firm, during one of their strikes against the State-employer which has proved to be as greedy an exploiter as the former owners.

	Monthly Average 1929	Monthly Average 1938	Sept. 1944	April 1947	Monthly Average 1949	Monthly Average 1950
Electricity (in 1,000's of k.w.h.	1.35	1.54	0.63	2.11	2.38	2.80**
Coal (1,000 tons)	4,583	3,960	1,065	4,200	4,420	4,375
Railways (goods carried in thousand million kilometre-tons)	3.48	2.2	0.8*	3.1	3.4	3.0 **

* Annual and not only September average.
** Provisional figures.

The modernisation and equipment programme, entitled the Monnet "Plan" (1946), to which organised workers gave their support—but without any illusions as to the so-called possibilities of planning in a capitalist régime—provided for a 1950 output of 65 million tons of coal, 37,000 million k.w.h. of electric power, and the handling of 240 million tons of freight by the railways as compared with 224 in 1929 and 133 in 1938.

The pace achieved in April 1947 confirmed these forecasts. But then followed official participation by the French Government in the Marshall "Plan," with its immediate consequences—expulsion of Communist Ministers from the Government, elimination of trade union leaders and civil servants concerned with the interests of France from all posts of any responsibility, reduction of social benefits, persecution of the workers, limitation of wages by direct or indirect (inflationary) methods. This modified the whole political climate in France. In the economic sphere there was an immediate decline in production and investments; the Monnet "Plan" targets were lowered, the entire national policy towards energy and power was abandoned, the nationalised aviation industry was dislocated, attacks were made on the nationalised Railway Company, and so on. The irrefutable factual results of Marshallised France's policy are obvious if a comparison is made between the production figures for April 1947, 1949 and 1950.

Strike pickets strengthen their positions during a strike against the State employer to prevent the police from dislodging them.

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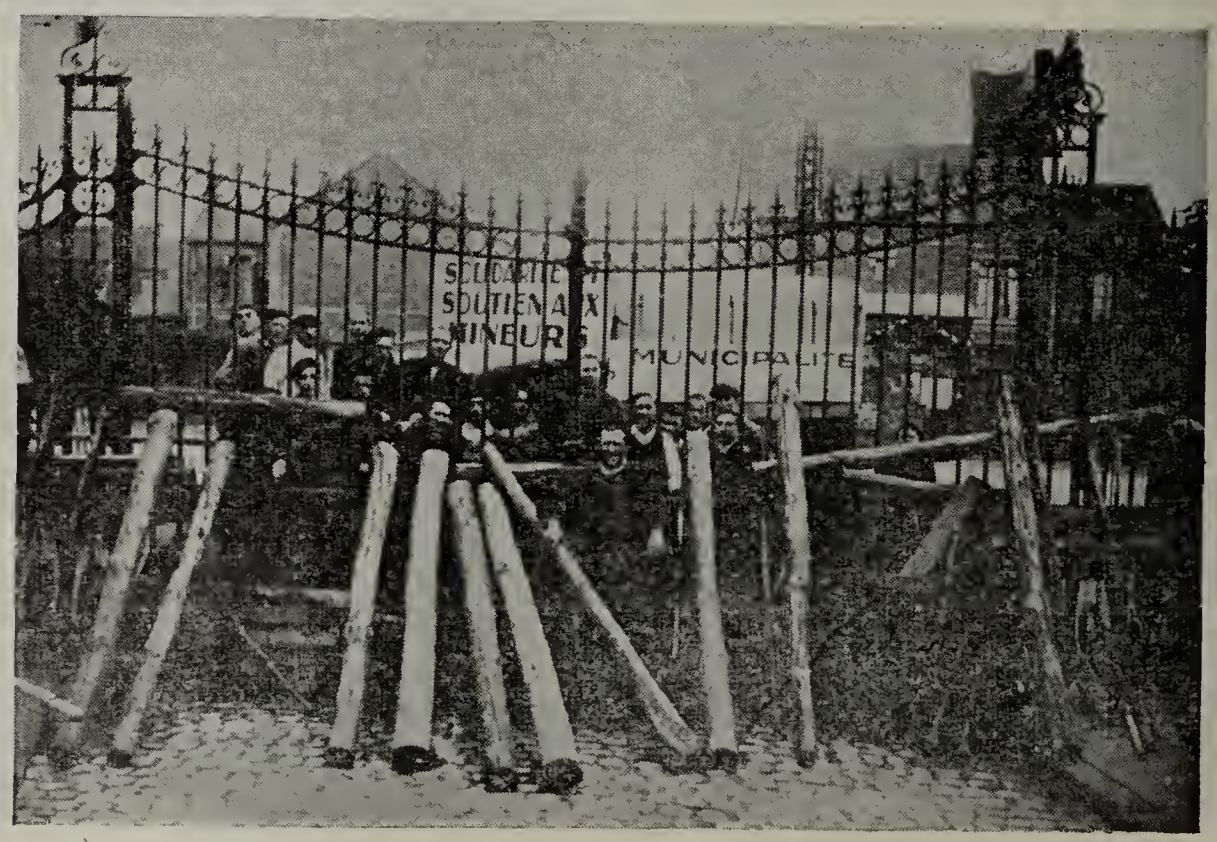
HOW THE TRUSTS HAVE MADE USE OF NATIONALISATION

A SIMILAR development occurred with regard to price policy, and by these means, the French capitalist State succeeded in ensuring that the nationalised industries continued to serve the interests of private capitalists.

For example, let us take the case of the electricity industry. The price of electric current for



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the population to-day amounts to 17 francs 40 per kilowatt-hour. At the opposite pole, electric current is sold to the big industries for 0.40 francs per k.w.h. (Electro-Metallurgical Company of Moutricher), for 0.77 francs (Péchiney trust). Thus the same commodity varies in price between 1 and 40 according to whether it is sold to the mass of the population or to the industrial monopolies.

But the average price index of the big privately-owned industries which benefit from such generosity on the part of their State, amounted in 1950 to 2,800 (1938=100), whereas the index figure for the current they use stands at only 1,200. Assuming that electricity rates were no more than doubled, which would still leave them a long way behind the level of industrial prices, Electricité de France would have an additional income to the order of 45,000 million francs. This gives an idea of the opportunities which exist for new investment in peaceful projects and for the satisfaction of the demands of the 110,000 workers in this industry, without increasing rates for private persons and small producers.

The French capitalist State's generalisation of this price policy is illustrated beyond a shadow of doubt by the share of the State sector in the national income—which fell from 15 per cent. in 1938 to 8 per cent. in 1948. The difference of several thousand million francs goes to the private capitalist sector.

Thus in the economy of France of to-day, the nationalised industries and State monopolies, which are far from having reached the level set in the Plan for Reconstruction, are nothing more than roundabout ways of returning to the heavily predominant capitalist sector of the

Troops mount guard at a pit-head near Saint Etienne during a strike in the Loire coal-mining area.

economy, a large part of the surplus value created by the workers in the so-called "public" sector.

The small share of the State sector in the national economy has a further result, namely, that since the nationalised branches are compelled to obtain their supplies of equipment and raw materials from the private sector, they have to pay high prices.

Taking again the example of the electricity industry, the steel products it uses stand at the index figure of 2,000 (1938 = 100), electro-mechanical equipment at 2,230, building materials at 2,050 (quicklime, chalk) and 1,600 (cement). This provides yet another source of super-profits for private industry, which only pays for the electric power it uses at an index figure of 850 as compared to the 1936 figure of 100, a rate which is still lower than it appears if account is taken of the rise in prices between 1936 and 1938.

At Denain, the strikers come face to face with the troops with whose aid the State-employer seeks to protect the interests of the big finance capitalists.

THE WORKERS' CONDITIONS

THE same development is to be observed as regards the workers' situation.

In 1945, there was a distinct improvement in the living and working conditions of the workers employed in nationalised firms: all-round wage increases, adoption of staff charters conforming broadly to the proposals made by the unions, organisation of social services under the administration of trade union organisations (medical services, holiday camps, canteens, pensions, etc.), strict application of safety measures under supervision by the workers' representatives, and workers' participation in the general management bodies. The entire administration of the social services was handed over to the workers' representatives.

But since 1947, the monopolies and the capitalist State have been making sharp attacks on these working-class gains.

Not a single wage increase has been won without a very severe battle against the Government, and in no case have wages followed the rise in the cost of living.

Social services have been cut either by the reduction of the funds appropriated for them or by illegal measures such as the arbitrary disbanding of the Electricity Industry Social Services Central Committee.

Staff charters have been seriously infringed (for example, by down-grading among the miners); safety measures have been systematically sabotaged and the number of accidents at work has risen considerably.

But nationalised firms are noted principally for the savage repression of the workers.

Every strike launched by gas and electricity workers is immediately followed by the military occupation of the factories and the eviction of the strikers. During the great miners' strike in 1948, repression reached its most savage point with the complete occupation of the entire mining regions by the police, the mobile guard, the army and tanks, the violation of every trade union right, the banning of meetings and demonstrations, the seizure of newspapers. Several miners were killed and hundreds thrown into jail. The miners' just strike unleashed Government attacks comparable to those under the German occupation.

Thus from their own experience the workers have been able to see that the State-employer is harsher than were the private companies.

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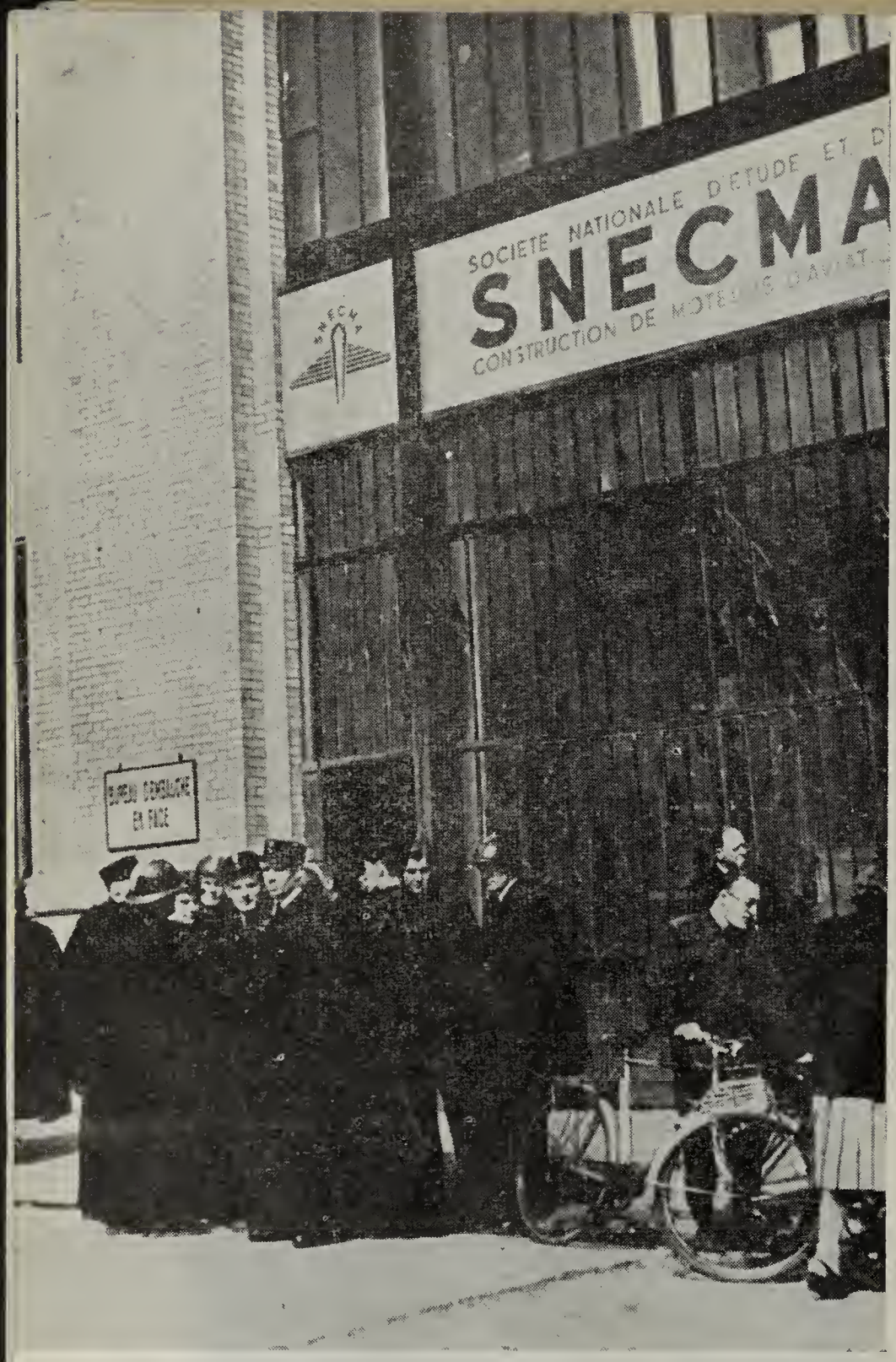
After nationalisation, the S. N. E. C. M.A. was turned over to peacetime production. One of its plants produced tractors, which are in wide demand in foreign markets, but the Marshallised Government decided to close the firm down. Our picture shows the workers' demonstration against this threat.

Despite the many protests organised by the workers, who demonstrated their desire to continue production, the Government maintained its decision to close down the S.N.E.C.M.A. The workers' protest movements were subject to severe repression, and our pictures show them defending themselves against brutal attacks by the police—ordered out by the Government—when they were marching to the offices of the nationalised Company in the heart of Paris.



Police guard the entrance to one of the S.N.E.C.M.A. factories, where the workers have been locked out.

THE EXPERIENCE OF NATIONALISATION

AS long as political conditions allowed the nationalisation measures to be of even partial service to the nation, they played an important rôle in reviving an economy already undermined by the policy of restriction of the capitalist monopolies and by their treacherous service to the Nazi occupants during the second world war. This applied to the period between 1944 and April, 1947. But from the moment when the minimum political conditions no longer existed, when French policy came to be decided by Washington, when the State once more passed entirely into the service of the French and American monopolies, nationalisation was no longer anything other than an element serving the interests of capitalism alone. And as such, it is falling into irremediable bankruptcy.

Nationalisation is a guarantee of economic development and welfare for the workers only in so far as it is carried into effect by a State governed by the workers and peasants.

Nationalisation, like planning, is a technical measure which has no intrinsic value. This is proved by the experience of both French and British workers.

Kenya Workers Struggle Against

OPPRESSION

by SAM WOODS

THE British Colony of Kenya is a police state in which the overwhelming majority of the people live in terrible poverty and are deprived of democratic rights.

The land has been taken away from the Africans. Almost 5 million of them are compelled to live in 52,000 square miles of reserves. But less than 3,000 white settlers own 16,700 square miles of the very best land in the country.

By squeezing the Africans into these reserves and imposing a poll tax to be paid in cash, the imperialists have succeeded in turning a large part of the population into wage labour for white settlers and British monopoly firms.

African workers near Mombasa hewing blocks of coralline limestone for building purposes.

Within the reserves, there is no democratic local government; real power resides in the hands of the District Commissioner. In the so-called "White Highlands," the African workers have practically no democratic rights whatsoever. Freedom of assembly has in fact ceased to exist. Local Headmen, appointed by the Government and District Commissioners, have the power to give or refuse permission for a meeting to be held and can direct where it is to be held.

Organisations of the people are driven underground and daily arrests, fines and imprisonments are taking place for meetings that have not been approved by the headman.

In 1950, in this small colony, the police budget was more than three quarters of a million pounds, and in 1951 will be about £1 million. Mass raids on African localities have been organised; progressive Africans are intimidated by midnight raids by police as, for instance, happened in November 1949, when Kenya Government officers burnt down 34 huts in the Ndeya reserve rendering scores of men, women and children homeless. And this is but one small illustration.

On a national political level, in the Legislative Council, 11 members represent 30,000 Europeans, 5 members 90,000 Indians, 2 members 24,000 Arabs and 4 members 5 million Africans. Moreover these African members are *nominated* by the Governor, not *elected.*

The colour bar and the Pass law pervade all aspects of life.

A large family outside its tiny miserable hut.

APPALLING CONDITIONS OF AFRICAN WORKERS

THERE are 385,000 in employment out of a total African population of five millions. Of workers employed in commerce and industry, over 93 per cent get less than £1 per week; the average is nearer £2.8s. per month. Agricultural workers are in even a worse situation. More than three-quarters of them get less than 21/- per month. Over 40,000 children are employed who get on an average less than half the wage of an adult male. There are no laws against employing children, but those under 10 years who are employed are supposed to be accompanied by an adult.

The rise, even in the official cost of living index, exceeds by 15 points the rise in wages; and as inflation gathers speed, the plight of the African workers becomes daily more desperate.

The imperialists deny education to the overwhelming majority of the African people. Whereas £110 per year is spent on the education of a European child in Kenya, only 10/- is spent on every African child who is at school. But less than 18 per cent of African children receive any education whatsoever. Less than 1 in 5,000 of this 18 per cent get secondary education. Now it is even proposed to cut the period of African primary education from six to four years.

Housing and health conditions are appalling. The Kenya Medical Officer himself has stated that there are 55,000 cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis in Kenya and possibly more than 8,000 deaths a year from this disease. Semi-starvation is everywhere.

Housing is so bad that heavy rains bring down the huts. In the new Nairobi "housing estate," rents for a single room are more than half the average wages received.

STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION

FACED with this appalling poverty, intense exploitation, an almost complete absence of social services, and a denial of the most elementary democratic rights, the workers of Kenya, despite the most fierce repression by the Government, are struggling valiantly to build a united militant Trade Union movement which will fight to raise their standards of living, organise a struggle for democratic rights and end the domination of the British monopolies.

The workers of Kenya have considerable traditions of struggle, especially during the past few years which have witnessed an unprecedented spate of anti-Trade Union legislation and police violence. General strikes took place in the port of Mombasa in 1939, 1944 and 1947. The 1947 strike was in demand for higher wages and lower house rents. The strike was called by the African Workers' Federation and the Railway African Staff Union, and was joined by hotel, shop and domestic workers. Police and troops were used to intimidate the strikers. After the strike, Chege Kibachia, President of the African Workers' Federation, was banished without trial to a village in North Kenya, where he still remains. Despite the repression, the solidarity and militancy of the workers won certain concessions.

In September, 1947, a strike took place at the Uplands Bacon factory.

The cheapest method of transporting bananas is on the head and shoulders of African women.

These daisy-like flowers are the raw material from which is made an insecticide whose production enriches the owner of the field, but not the African woman who pick them.

Again police violence was used against the workers, 22 of them being arrested. Of these, 20 were sentenced to two years' hard labour. During the strike police fired on the workers, killing three of them.

The rapid development of the Trade Union movement that followed in the next few years made the imperialists extremely nervous. Bill after Bill was rushed through the Legislative Council to limit the possibilities of Trade Union organisation and activity. Arrests, sentences, banishment, "frame-ups," and the employment of every form of armed force, was utilised by the imperialists in a vain attempt to crush the spirit workers of Kenya.

In all its activities, the Government was aided by the Right-wing leaders of the British T.U.C. and the "Scab International," who never uttered a word of condemnation of the ruthless measures used against the workers of Kenya.

The Acting Labour Commissioner, Mr. Carpenter, whose function is supposedly to "assist" the workers to organise in defence of their rights and conditions, has played a particularly despicable role, both by supporting the Government's repressive actions and by his attempts to split the workers' ranks and establish tame workers' organisations that would renounce the struggle against the employers.

In 1948 the Government introduced a Trades Union and Trades Disputes Amendment Bill, which gave new possibilities for refusing to register "unsuitable unions," and increased the power of supervision over the finances of the unions by the Government Registrar.

In September, 1948, Makhan Singh, the Secretary of the Labour Trade Union of East Africa, organised a Cost of Living and Wages Conference, the first of its kind ever held in Kenya. Delegates from more than 16 trade unions and associations participated, representing more than 10,000 Africans and Asian workers. Again the imperialists struck at the movement by the immediate arrest of Makhan Singh. A deportation order was made out against him, despite the fact that he is a legal citizen of Kenya, having been resident in Kenya since 1927 apart from a short stay in India. He was later released, but his certificate of permanent residence was refused, after new legislation had been introduced in 1949.

In January, 1949, the Government and Railway Administration workers were banned from taking part in "political activity" or joining "political associations" which, in effect, seriously hampered their participation in trade union activity and organisation. Importing of working class periodicals from Europe and other parts of the world was prohibited. A wage-freezing Bill—called Compulsory Trade Testing and Wage Fixing Scheme—was introduced. This was followed in July, 1949, by three vicious pieces of legislation—a Trade Union Registration Ordinance, aimed at destroying the militant Trade Unions; a "Slave Labour" Bill, introducing forced labour at starvation rates of pay; and a Deportation Ordinance giving new powers to the Government to deport militant Trade Unionists.

In January, 1950, further legislation was introduced, outlawing strikes in "essential services" (water, electricity, health, hospital, sanitary, transport), and giving the Governor power to declare any strike illegal by adding to the list of "essential services." This Bill was accompanied by an Ordinance Amending the Emergency Powers Ordinance, 1948, which gave the Governor sweeping powers to deal with strikes, including complete control over all industry, trade and transport, powers over property and persons, delegation of exceptional powers to persons named by the Governor, complete censorship or suppression of all publications, power to exact money from individuals, powers of arrest, search, detention and deportation, and suppression of public meetings and processions.

All this reactionary legislation has been fought by the Kenya Trade Union movement which recognised that its aim was the virtual destruction of Trade Unionism.

An extremely important stage in the development of the Kenya Trade Union movement was reached on May 1st, 1949, with the formation of the East African Trade Union Congress under the leadership of Makhan Singh. *Because this was a major step forward in the struggle to build working class unity—unity of the different sections of workers and unity of the African and Asian workers—*

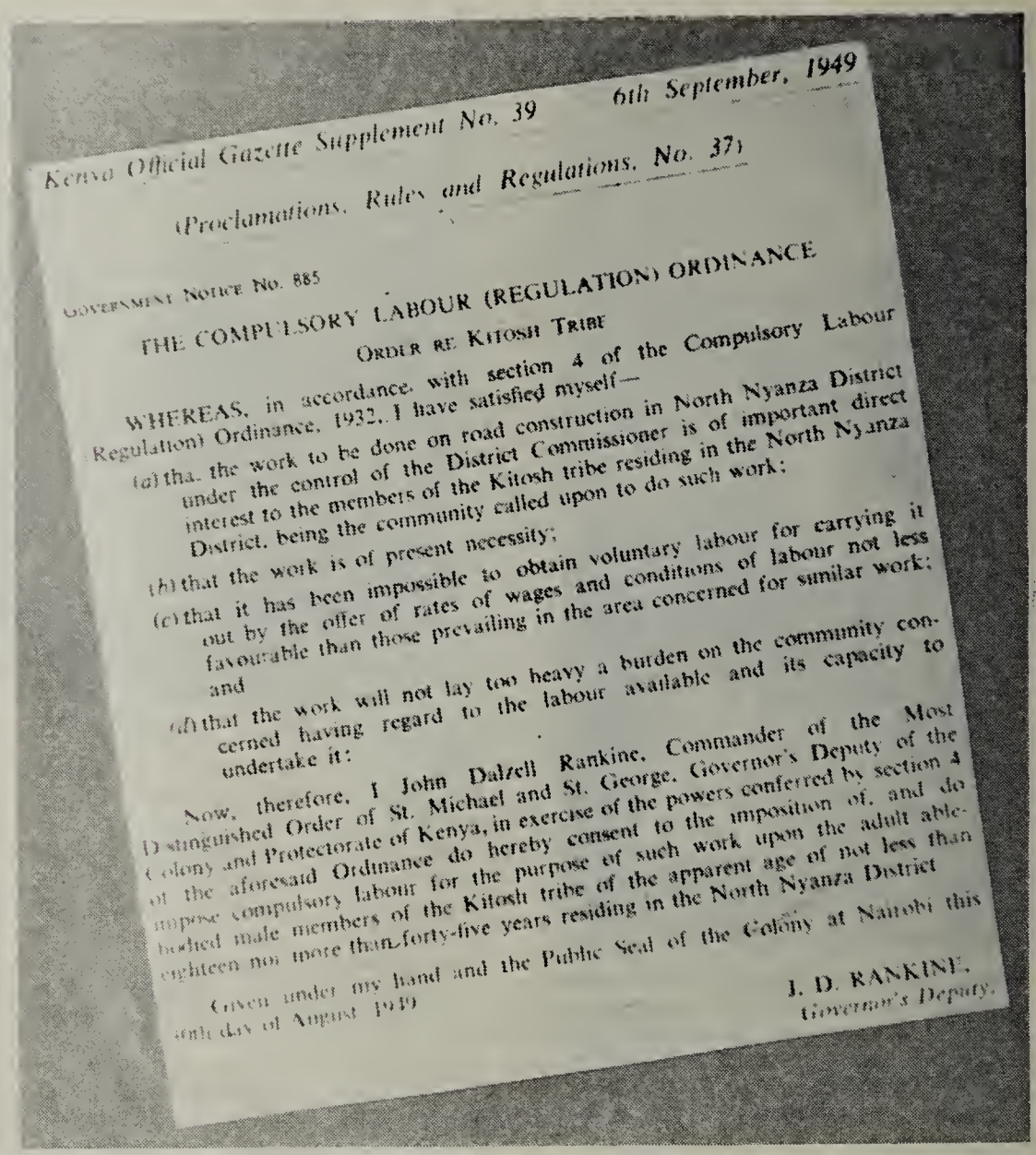
Spinning at home is a specific method of exploiting African labour.

the imperialists have done everything possible to destroy it.

They noted with alarm the rapid growth of the E.A.T.U.C. from 5,000 members at its inception to 10,000 by the end of 1949, and they knew only too well that the strike struggles of 1949, especially the successful 16 day strike of 2,000 transport workers, were a sign of bigger strike struggles to come in 1950.

Throughout 1950, backed by their new flood of anti-Trade Union legislation, the imperialists intensified their drive against Trade Unionism. In February, 1950, the police banned all meetings organised by the East African Workers' Federation. At the same time Daudi Unda, Acting President, and Japhet Banks, General Secretary of the East African Workers' Federation, were arrested and charged with being "rogues and vagabonds." They were later sentenced to 4 and 6 months hard labour respectively. The Mombasa police also raided the office of the Federation and seized all account books and membership lists. In March, 1950, Fred Kubai, President of the E.A.T.U.C., was refused a passport to visit Europe for the purposes of studying Trade Unionism.

On May 15th, 1950, Fred Kubai, and Makhan Singh, President and General Secretary of the E.A.T.U.C., were arrested following a raid on their office by the police. They were accused of being officers of a body which had not been registered and which, under Kenya Trade Union legislation, should therefore have been dissolved. But the E.A.T.U.C., which maintains relations with both the British T.U.C. and the W.F.T.U., was not a Trade Union but an organisation of affiliated Trade Unions which themselves were registered. *It should be noted, for example, that though British Trade Unions are registered, the British T.U.C. itself is not registered—but no one has ever suggested that therefore the T.U.C. is an illegal body and should be dissolved.* Nevertheless judgment was given against the E.A.T.U.C., and the two arrested leaders were fined 110/- each.



Kenya Official Gazette Supplement No. 39 6th September, 1949

(Proclamations, Rules and Regulations, No. 37)

GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. 885

THE COMPULSORY LABOUR (REGULATION) ORDINANCE

ORDER RE KITOSH TRIBE

WHEREAS, in accordance with section 4 of the Compulsory Labour (Regulation) Ordinance, 1932, I have satisfied myself—

(a) that the work to be done on road construction in North Nyanza District under the control of the District Commissioner is of important direct interest to the members of the Kitosh tribe residing in the North Nyanza District, being the community called upon to do such work;

(b) that the work is of present necessity;

(c) that it has been impossible to obtain voluntary labour for carrying it out by the offer of rates of wages and conditions of labour not less favourable than those prevailing in the area concerned for similar work; and

(d) that the work will not lay too heavy a burden on the community concerned having regard to the labour available and its capacity to undertake it:

Now, therefore, I John Dalzell Rankine, Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor's Deputy of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 4 of the aforesaid Ordinance do hereby consent to the imposition of, and do impose compulsory labour for the purpose of such work upon the adult able-bodied male members of the Kitosh tribe of the apparent age of not less than eighteen nor more than forty-five years residing in the North Nyanza District

Given under my hand and the Public Seal of the Colony at Nairobi this 30th day of August 1949

J. D. RANKINE,
Governor's Deputy.

An Ordinance published in the Kenya Official Gazette of 6th September, 1949, imposing forced labour on adult males "of the apparent age of not less than eighteen nor more than forty-five years."

The starvation wages paid to agricultural workers bring in huge profits to the tea plantation owners.

Following this arrest of Fred Kubai and Makhan Singh, a general strike took place in Nairobi. Unprecedented armed force was used against the workers. One would have thought a war had broken out. Not content with baton charges and teargas, the Government employed Auster "spotter" aircraft, R.A.F. planes, Bren-gun carriers, armoured cars and armoured trucks. By the 23rd May, it was reported in the press that at least 300 workers were behind bars. On the same day Chege Kuburu, a leader of the E.A.T.U.C., was sentenced to 11 months hard labour on a charge of declaring a strike in essential services. Further arrests took place on the following days until the workers decided to end the strike and return to work. Following the strike, Mwangi Macheria, a leading

Trade Unionist, was also sentenced to 12 months hard labour for declaring an "illegal strike."

Then the imperialists turned their attention to Makhan Singh and Fred Kubai once again. Kubai was arrested on a charge of "attempted murder," held in custody and refused bail. He has since been acquitted. Makhan Singh was arrested and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment on a charge of perjury. After serving 8 weeks, he was acquitted by the Supreme Court—only to be immediately re-arrested under a Restriction Order prepared by the Governor. Under this Order he was banished to a remote village, Lokitaung, without trial and without right of appeal. Lokitaung is about 250 miles from the nearest town. *Makhan Singh will be detained there for an indefinite period, unable to leave the area without written consent of the Police Commissioner, and even unable to visit shops, stations or telegraph offices, without written permission.*

RIGHT WING LEADERS CONTINUE IMPERIALIST POLICY

ALL these repressive acts and laws aimed at smashing the Trade Union movement have been accompanied by Government action to divide the workers' ranks. In September, 1950, a new Bill was introduced, providing for the "establishment of Wages Councils." The function of these was made clear by the Acting Labour Commissioner, Mr. Carpenter, who stated that it was the intention of the Bill to provide "alternative machinery" to the trade unions. He added that this department was encouraging the setting up of staff associations within individual concerns in place of trade unions, and that it was hoped to amend the Trade Union Ordinance in order to include recognition of such associations. In view of all the preceding repressive actions by the Government against the Trade Unions, the disruptive object of this new legislation and of the "staff associations" is clear.

The workers of Kenya are well aware of the disruptive role of the British right-wing Trade Union leaders who since 1945 have continued to support the imperialist policy of oppression carried out by the Labour Government. The British Trade Union leaders boast that they have sent a Trade Union official to advise and help the development of Trade Union organisation. In fact, however, the role of this "adviser" has been to discourage Trade Unionism and to attempt to turn what Trade Unions exist into agents of the employers and the Government. Today only 2 per cent of the workers of Kenya are organised into Trade Unions, but this they have achieved in the face of bitter opposition.

Big efforts are, of course, being made by the Scab International with the aid of the right-wing leaders of the British T.U.C. to win the support of the Kenya workers. But the real character of the "I.C.F.T.U." is well understood, as witness this exposure by the Kenya *Daily Chronicle* of November 24, 1950.

> "The character of the I.C.F.T.U. is doubtful from the start; its domination by the A.F.L. has only deepened the doubts, and it is no guarantee to the workers to know that Mr. Irving Brown of the A.F.L. is going to Turkey to establish "free" trade unions there."

The East Africa Trade Union Congress fully appreciates the connection between its struggle for living standards and the struggle for national independence. In the course of 1950 they associated themselves with the Kenya Africa Union and the East African Indian National Congress, two mass organisations which defend the interests of the African and Indian population. A huge meeting of over 20,000 African and Asian workers in March, 1950, passed a resolution declaring that the complete independence and sovereignty of the East African territories was the real solution to their problems. Thus, despite the most savage oppression, the workers and peasants of Kenya are forging unity in the struggle for national independence, democracy and improved living standards. In this they have common ground with the working class and people of Britain whose interests also lie in struggling against Anglo-American imperialism.

When the workers rise up against the régime of exploitation and terror enforced on them, the colonial bosses resort to the highest form of reason of which they are capable—brute armed force.

Readers' Forum

FASCISM COMES TO THE UNITED STATES

"WORLD Trade Union Movement" No. 13 (1950) published an article by Joseph Addison entitled "Fascism Comes to the United States." This article gave rise to discussion—in particular, the Editor received the following letter, which we are printing in view of its great importance.[1]

Police brutality against a striker outside a Hollywood motion picture studio.

"Dear Brothers,

"I am writing to you about the last issue of the W.F.T.U. Review, which carried the article by Joseph Addison, entitled 'Fascism Comes to the U.S.A.'

"Now look, friends, we are engaged here in trying to arouse the American workers to the danger of war and Fascism. *But—we don't have Fascism yet, and we are going to do our very best to guarantee that we do not let Fascism come to America.*

"We firmly believe that the American people *can be aroused* to fight back—we *can* still stop the war makers over here, we *can* still defend the Bill of Rights, we *can* stop the deportations, arrests and police brutality.

"But your article is not going to help us mobilise the workers for this fight—it is defeatist and incorrect, and if we accepted the conclusions and the implications of that article, we would have to admit that we are wasting our time trying to build a labour peace movement, to strengthen the trade unions, to defend our economic, political, and civil rights. Certainly you will agree this is not true. We need *help* from the W.F.T.U., Brothers, not conclusions that we have already lost the fight.

"So, how about editing your articles a little more carefully?.

"Fraternally, etc. . . . ."

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THE Editorial Board discussed this letter and decided to invite our readers to give their opinion on the substance of the question which has been raised. I was made responsible for preparing a preliminary survey of the problem. Naturally, this survey is by no means a final judgment of the matter, but merely an introduction

1 We are omitting the name and address of the correspondent and the concluding lines of the letter to avoid possible danger for the writer.

and aid in discussion so that a clear reply to the problem raised may be found through a broad exchange of opinions.

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THE question of Fascism in the United States is of enormous practical and political importance.

This problem has a very direct influence on the vital interests of both the American people and the peoples of all other lands. Many international problems depend on the development and outcome of the trend towards Fascism in the United States—the question of war and peace, the fate of millions upon millions of human lives, the future of many peoples and States, of science, art, the trade union movement, and all the other aspects of social life.

It is therefore essential that one be extremely precise in the choice of terms. This rule was not observed in Brother J. Addison's article, a fact which must be attributed to negligence both on the part of the author and of the Editorial Board of the Review.

The author of the letter is perfectly correct in saying that more care must be taken in editing articles, particularly those dealing with such crucial topics as this.

Indeed, right at the beginning of J. Addison's article, we read that "Fascism is coming to America—some would say **has** come." A few lines further on, the author says that Fascism has "been **legislated into effect** behind the mask of patriotism and the defence of the American way of life." He states that "fascism **has come** to America by a series of steps" and that a series of measures "led to a qualitative change in the character of America—a destruction of the Bill of Rights, the destruction of the traditional liberties and rights of the American people." At the same time, in the middle of the article one reads that "the Internal Security Law is the latest of a long series of steps whereby the American people and the American working class **have been legislated into Fascism**"; and right at the end of the article, Addison speaks of the necessity of fighting "to prevent America **from becoming** a Fascist State."

The basic conclusion at which the author of the article arrives is that "the necessity for militant, united rank-and-file trade union action, joined with every progressive voice raised **to protect American freedom** and restore the Bill of Rights to the Constitution, is urgent. Action is necessary before it is too late."

So the reader is left extremely perplexed. On the one hand, the writer states quite clearly that Fascism is already installed in the United States, that qualitative changes have already taken place there, that liberties have already been abolished, etc., and, on the other hand, he says that Fascism is not yet installed, that there is merely a tendency towards Fascism in the country, that it is still possible to fight against the advent of Fascism and to defend democratic rights and liberties. This latter view is shared by the author of the letter, as the reader has certainly observed.

It is therefore necessary to get a clear attitude on the following questions at least:

1. Can the danger of the installation of Fascism, in one of its many forms, in the United States, represent in principle a threat to the American people and to the whole world, or was Fascism merely peculiar to the evolution of Italy, Germany and a number of other countries, the United States being immune from such a danger?
2. If the United States is not immune from Fascism, should it be considered that it already exists in that country, or should one speak only of a trend towards Fascism, and what are the symptoms of this trend?

2 The delay in publishing this letter and in opening discussion is to a large extent due to the difficulties encountered by the Editorial Board arising from the transfer of the W.F.T.U.'s headquarters.

Los Angeles police using tear gas to break up a picket line around an automobile plant.

3. Is Fascism an inevitable stage in the evolution of the United States or is it possible to prevent it? What are the forces and means of preventing the installation of Fascism in the United States?

Naturally, there are many other questions bound up with this problem, but we hope that they will be formulated and examined in the course of discussion.

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FIRSTLY, does the danger of the advent of Fascism in the United States represent, in principle, a threat to the whole world?

A large number of Americans naïvely believe that the United States is immune from such a danger. They reason that Fascism is a chance phenomenon and that it was by accident that "old Europe" happened to fall victim to it. In support of their thesis, they quote examples to prove that if Brüning, Hindenburg, or Schleicher had not done this or that, Fascism would not have existed in Germany. There are others who are convinced that the old democratic and revolutionary traditions of the United States are in themselves sufficient guarantees against Fascism. In replying to this question, it is necessary first of all to define what Fascism is.

There is a classic definition confirmed by the entire development of events, namely: **Fascism is dictatorship by the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic, and the most imperialist elements of capitalism.**

By performing this disastrous task in Germany, Hitler prepared the ground for war, the aim of which was to establish world domination.

Hitler concealed his preparations for an imperialist war of conquest behind the smoke screen of a fight against Communism, behind the theory of the superiority of the Aryan race and the German way of life, behind his ravings on an imagined threat to the German people's existence, behind the theory of the necessity for **lebensraum**, and so on.

But the essence of Fascism remained—dictatorship over the people by German monopoly capital, a frantic struggle to preserve and increase profits, to find new areas to exploit and to conquer the world.

It is therefore necessary for those who believe that the United States is insured against Fascism to demonstrate either that capitalism does not exist in the United States or that American capitalists belong to a special brand of capitalists hitherto unheard of, who would not, even though feeling themselves to be in danger, use terrorist methods of Fascist domination.

The facts completely negate these suppositions. No one denies that capitalism rules in the United States. On the contrary, its official representatives and the entire bourgeois Press laud it to the skies. The so-called American way of life is the way of life of American capitalist society. It is unlikely, after Hitler's defeat, after the Nuremberg trials and in view of the enormous amount of documentation assembled after the war, that any one could deny that it was precisely the most reactionary, chauvinistic and imperialist elements among the German capitalists who cradled and raised Hitler, put him in power and gave him their support. The kings of the German steel, coal and chemical industries watched over the birth of Fascism; only a section of them were tried in Nuremberg and imprisoned—only to be released later by the American authorities. A large number of these god-parents of Fascism escaped trial and prison, and are once more controlling the destiny of Western Germany. This is an irrefutable fact.

Finally, it is doubtful that there is anyone foolish enough to believe that American monopolists are, by their very nature, better and more humane than those of Germany. After the events in Greece, and particularly since the war in Korea, the whole world has realised that the American monopolists are in no way inferior to the German Fascists in the matter of atrocities, cruelty and capacity to exterminate human life on a large scale; they even exceed them. Thus, the Hitlerite hordes left waste and devastation behind them in their retreat, using relatively primitive means such as petrol and explosives. The American monopolists and their tool, the American military forces in Korea, have made a number of technical improvements in these primitive methods. They also use the method of waste and devastation, leaving a "no man's land," but this time with the use of aeroplanes and napalm bombs; they systematically blow up and burn everything which can be destroyed, they exterminate all human life, including the civilian population, with the aid of their aviation.

Mussolini's Fascist stooges introduced water or castor oil into the nostrils of their victims when they tortured; the American Fascist bandits have used and continue to use such methods as tarring and feathering their enemies, hanging or burning them, as is common in the Southern States.

The Hitlerites burned books, the American Fascists will burn them more efficiently.

The difference is not one of content but one of form and of the methods which are employed. No one doubts to-day that the American monopolists are capable of mass murder, particularly after Truman's official declaration that he is prepared to use the atomic bomb.

Thus it can be seen that the United States is in no way insured, by its structure, against the danger of Fascist dictatorship. This country possesses all the preliminary conditions for Fascism. The possibility of establishing Fascism is rooted in the country's very capitalist system. The elements with which the apparatus of Fascist dictatorship is composed exist in abundance throughout the entire economic and political structure of the United States.

Moreover, the facts show that the danger of the establishment of Fascism in the United States exist not only in theory, but also in practice.

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AT this point, we arrive at the second question; has the United States already become Fascist or should one speak merely of a trend towards Fascism.

In my opinion, it would not be correct to assert at the present time that an open Fascist dictatorship was already completely in power in the United States.

In actual fact, what is happening in the U.S.A. is that there is a fairly rapid drive towards Fascism which, if not halted, can lead to open Fascist dictatorship, with all its consequences.

What is the driving force behind the trend towards Fascism in that country and what methods are used?

The driving force of Fascism in the United States is finance capital. Wall Street is the main centre and source of these Fascist tendencies. These headquarters spread, by a thousand and one channels and by a thousand and one methods, Fascist theory and practice both in the United States and in the other countries enslaved by North-American imperialism. Millions of dollars are spent on this despicable work. Tens of thousands of politicians, statesmen, generals, diplomats, "scientists," jurists, and gangsters of all types are in the service of this financial oligarchy. The entire United States Governmental apparatus is systematically and tenaciously being filled with men favouring war and Fascism, and the United States is in the process of being turned into a militarist, police and terrorist State.

Many honest Americans naïvely think that the trend towards Fascism which Big Business is fostering in the United States is a transitory and more or less accidental phenomenon, and that if some of the more active pro-Fascist politicians were deprived of their influence and removed from power, this would put an end to the Fascist trend in the United States.

May Day parade in New York.

This is a serious and dangerous mistake. The fundamental orientation of the aims of U.S. finance capital is to establish Fascism in the United States and the enslavement and fascisation of the whole world.

Finance capital is aspiring to Fascism because it is losing the capacity to rule the country with the old methods of bourgeois democracy. Naturally, the conditions which would represent a direct threat to finance capital do not yet exist in the United States. Millions of Americans still believe in capitalism. Millions more, although disappointed in capitalism, have not yet found and defined the other paths along which the country may develop. The working class is still divided and, for the most part, is under the influence of agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the labour movement, representatives of big business, bourgeois business men of all types, or trade union bureaucrats belonging body and soul to capitalism.

No large progressive movement has yet come into being among farmers and the so-called middle classes. Thus, for the moment, there is no serious threat to U.S. finance capital on the home front. But there is an incalculable potential in the United States for the creation of a broad and powerful front of struggle against Fascism and war.

This potential sometimes passes unnoticed by certain active progressives, but finance capital has no illusions in the matter and seeks to prevent the appearance and development of such a front.

This explains the truly savage persecution of everything progressive in the United States, persecution which seems at first sight to be out of proportion to the existing danger—the activity of the notorious un-American Activities Committee, the red hunt and the entire anti-red hysteria which is a complement of the war hysteria. Finance capital is mortally afraid of the creation and development of a united fighting front against war and Fascism and seeks by every form of violence and by a frantic campaign of lies and propaganda to prevent this possibility from becoming a reality. One can say with certainty that as the anti-imperialist anti-Fascist movement develops in the country, U.S. finance capital will resort to increasingly savage and brutal methods of violence and police regimentation, in order to crush the struggle of millions of American people against war and Fascism. Thus the very fact of the sharpening of "anti-red" and war hysteria is indirect evidence both of the fear which has seized the bourgeoisie and the colossal latent possibilities of the forces of peace, democracy and progress in the United States.

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THE fact that United States finance capital is engaged in frantic activity and is speeding up its drive towards Fascism must be attributed to a further cause, namely, the rapid and steady progress made by the forces in the camp of peace and democracy throughout the world. This fact needs no proof.

It is equally clear to everyone that the bourgeoisie's hope of undermining the camp of peace and democracy from within has collapsed. United States finance capital does not want—but on the contrary, fears—the peaceful co-existence of, and competition between, the capitalist and socialist systems, because it is aware of its weakness and of the desperate situation in which it would find itself if it had to face such competition.

For Wall Street, war remains the only possibility of achieving its dream of Fascist domination over the world.

Thus the preparation for war and the drive to Fascism are two aspects of the policy of finance capital which, with the aid of world and national wars, is seeking to destroy democracy, put a brake on the general crisis of the capitalist system and establish open Fascist dictatorship.

Such is the aim of finance capital. The more the situation of reaction becomes desperate and the more frantic it becomes, so will the danger of military adventures increase. This is the truth of the situation and it must be faced.

Wall Street's ambitions are not limited to the territory of the United States. They extend to the whole world. It is no accident that the paid pen-pushers of American imperialism write of the "American century," of "global" strategy and diplomacy, of "global" armed forces and a Marshall Plan for the whole world, etc.

For this reason, the struggle of the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world has a direct influence on the fight waged by the forces of peace and democracy in the United States and has immediate effect there. Conversely, every success won in the United States gives and will give rise to direct and favourable repercussions throughout the world.

THE drive to Fascism in the United States is conducted by Wall Street in many ways.

In particular, the immense work of ideological indoctrination which is carried on in every aspect of American propaganda must be noted. All reactionary theories, racial prejudice and the glorification of war are widely propagated in the United States.

Secondly, organisations have been formed, and are backed and consolidated for the purpose of playing the same rôle as the former stormtroopers in Germany and the Blackshirts in Italy.

The American Legion, America First, the Ku-Klux-Klan, and many other organisations set up on orders from Wall Street, are seeking to create Fascist assault troops.

In addition, the Federal authorities and the State Legislatures have enforced and are continuing to introduce various laws to repress the democratic organisations capable of challenging Fascism. An examination of different States in the U.S.A. shows, for example, nearly 200 laws of the Taft-Hartley type. The well-known McCarran "loyalty" Act, the national emergency decrees, the persecution of progressive organisations, the savage hunt for and persecution of active members of the trade union, Communist and progressive movements, the arrest of people collecting signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, are so many measures aiding the drive to Fascism in the United States.

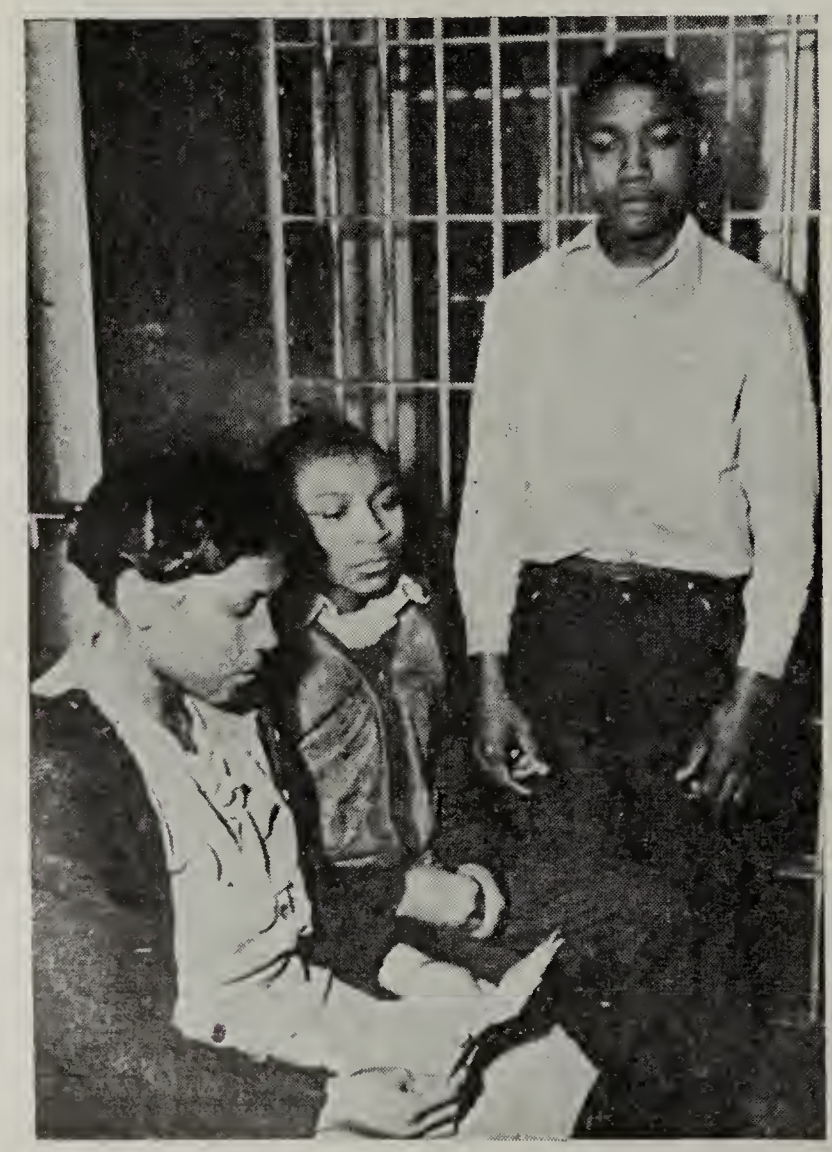
At the same time, and with the aid of the entire U.S. State apparatus, Wall Street fosters, supports, defends and aids with armed force, all decadent Fascist and pro-Fascist organisations, governments and parties throughout the entire world.

The Spanish Fascist dictator Franco, the Korean Fascist Syngman Rhee, the bankrupt Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-Shek, the monarcho-fascist Greeks, are merely the most outstanding examples selected from among the Fascists which United States imperialism backs against the desires of millions of workers.

Every Fascist, captain of industry, gangster, bandit, spy and traitor has only to proclaim his hatred of the camp of peace and democracy in order to receive immediate aid and support from the pro-Fascist official and non-official personalities of the United States.

At the same time, the agents of Wall Street spare neither means nor effort in slandering, dividing, and undermining progressive organisations fighting against war and Fascism. Huge sums of money are spent for this purpose; diplomatic, military and police forces, intelligence services employing Right wing social-democratic leaders who have sold out to imperialism, trade union bureaucrats and the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, such as Carey, Matthew Woll, Dubinsky and others, are all working to the same purpose.

We thus reach the following conclusion: although there is not yet open Fascist dictatorship in the United States, all the forces of American reaction are nevertheless furiously at work to institute Fascist domination in the U.S., and these same forces are using every method of supporting, inspiring, organising and directing reactionary Fascist elements throughout the world.



Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, with her two sons, is serving a life sentence for defending her life and honour against the brutal attack of a white Southern planter. Originally sentenced to death, she was saved by thousands of protests.

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THE third and last question is that of whether or not Fascist dictatorship in the United States is inevitable. Is it possible to halt the drive towards Fascism and direct the evolution of that country along the path of peace, progress and democracy?

The answer to this question depends in the first place on the success or failure of the efforts to create a united front of all the forces of democracy and progress in the United States.

If the American people become aware of the terrible danger threatening their land and the whole world; if all decent, healthy, progressive and peace-loving elements among the people refuse to allow themselves to be fooled by the warmongers, if they unite for the struggle against Fascism and war and defeat these drives—then the people of the United States and the peoples of the world will be freed from the spectre of the horrors of atomic war and Fascism.

Fascism, like war, is not inevitable. In the last analysis, everything depends on the effective, conscious and organised action of citizens and primarily, of the working class of all lands, particularly the American working class.

Finance capital's policy of seeking to institute Fascism and launch war cannot fail to be anything other than a fundamentally anti-peoples policy. By its very essence, this policy runs counter to the aspirations and hopes of the peoples, and to the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind. No propaganda bluff can whitewash it or render it palatable to the peoples.

The policy of war and Fascism inevitably comes into conflict with the vital interests of the masses, because it represents an offensive on the workers' living standards, their democratic organisations, their traditional rights and liberties, national independence and the peoples' very lives.

Nor can finance capital's policy prevent extremely serious conflicts of interests between imperialist powers. It accentuates the contradictions between these powers and the peoples of colonial and dependent countries as well as the contradictions between labour and capital.

Contrary to the imperialists' intentions, the outcome of this policy is that tens of millions of people are brought into political activity; it causes them to consider the questions of war and peace, of democracy and Fascism, of the future of the peoples and nations, because

these questions are intimately bound up with the individual fate of every worker.

Potentially, the forces of peace and democracy in the United States are incalculably great. Without a shadow of a doubt, they are far greater than the forces of reaction and war. But they are divided and dispersed. Millions of Americans do not yet understand the necessity to struggle, do not see or feel the imminent danger. It is precisely this state of mind which finance capital exploits in order to confront the people with a *fait accompli*.

The democratic and fighting traditions of the American people are great and of enormous importance. **But traditions alone are not enough.** The people must be told the serious truth, there must be a tireless exposure of the policy of finance capital and its lackeys, and all the healthy forces among the people must be organised and united, without sectarianism, for the struggle against war and Fascism.

The nucleus around which all peace-loving and democratic forces in the country must be united, can be none other than the working class which, in the United States is a mighty and invincible force. The U.S. working class resembles, in reality, a sleeping giant which has not yet become conscious of its strength, its role in history, or its potentialities.

At present, the trade union organisations, particularly the two main ones—the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations—are under the control of businessmen, "labour lackeys of the capitalist class," industrial bosses, politicians and exploiters of all types.

But these traitors do not always succeed in restraining the working class from taking energetic action.

The powerful actions which have taken place, as for example, the miners' strike, are merely an indication of the potentialities and force at present dormant in the working class.

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Peace is subversive in the United States. New York police attack a defender of peace. A painting by the Soviet artist B. Prorokov.

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The danger of war, which has greatly sharpened, the intensified drive to Fascism, and the economic crisis with all its resultant effects, can bring about an extremely rapid change in the situation in the United States.

The question of the danger of Fascism in the U.S. is not an abstract theory. It is a living reality.

As our reader rightly pointed out in his letter quoted at the beginning, vigorous efforts are at present being made throughout the country, in various forms and among diverse sections of people, to fight back and bar the road to Fascism, so that the people of the U.S. can be spared the hell that the German people—among others—lived through. While we do not give here a detailed survey of these courageous efforts, we by no means underestimate their importance; and we look forward to their being correctly assessed in the course of the discussion in which we invite our readers to participate.

The relation of forces is rapidly changing throughout the world in favour of the camp of peace and democracy.

The workers of the United States are not alone in their struggle. Shoulder to shoulder, in a broad rank-and-file united front, they can prevent war and bar the road to Fascism.

SERGEI ROSTOVSKY

"The Singer for Peace," a painting of Paul Robeson at Peekskill. This is the collective work of three Soviet artists: V. Poliakov, H. Shatz, and T. Radoman.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

Pilgrimage to the Land of Socialism

Workers of foreign countries are greatly interested in the country of the Soviets, in its revolutionary history and the new life which is being built there. Recalling to mind the growing number of foreign delegations which are visiting the U.S.S.R., Joseph Stalin talked about a pilgrimage of foreign workers to our country—the first country in the world in which the working class has conquered power.

Now that the Soviet people has healed the wounds inflicted on it by the war, and is advancing along the road to Communism under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin, hundreds of delegations are visiting the land of socialism.

The Soviet people welcomes the workers of foreign countries and offers them all opportunities to see every side of Soviet life, to go everywhere they wish to go, and to investigate thoroughly all questions in which they are interested. "Show me another State, even the most democratic, which does not fear a fraternal examination by workers' delegations from other countries! You will not be able to find such a State because it does not exist in this world. Only our State, the workers' and peasants' State can permit this." These words, delivered by Joseph Stalin in 1925, have a special significance today.

The peoples' representatives come from all parts of the world to Moscow, spokesman for all those who are fighting for a lasting peace and against the instigators of a new war. More than 30 foreign delegations witnessed the 1951 May Day Celebrations in the U.S.S.R. capital: personalities from political and social life, workers, scholars, artists, women and young people, from Free China, the the heroic Korean People's Democracy, the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic. Delegates of the workers of many capitalist countries such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark and Iceland were welcomed with the same hospitality.

After the May Day celebrations, the foreign guests began to see how the people in the country of the Soviets really lived. Some visited Georgia, others went to the Ukraine, and still others went to Byelo-Russia and Azerbaijan. Almost all visited the heroic city of Stalingrad. They saw the workyards, factories, the kolkhoz, machine and tractor stations, schools and clubs, theatres and Sanatoria, Institutes of Science and kindergartens. They met Soviet citizens of every calling.

The workers' delegations of the capitalist countries come to the U.S.S.R. to learn the truth about the Soviet Union, the truth which bourgeois propaganda conceals and which the warmongers fear more than anything else. It is no accident that reactionary governments seek, by all possible means, to prevent delegations from going to the Soviet Union.

After seeing Soviet achievements, bourgeois slanders against the U.S.S.R. are meaningless.

After their stay in the Soviet Union, the foreign delegations arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the land of the Soviets is a peaceful country and has no aggressive aims against other States, a country whose entire strength is directed towards the defence of peace and friendship between the peoples.

Izvestia, 19.5.51

CUBA

The Iron Curtain

The invitation to send a delegation to the Soviet Union for the May Day celebration was enthusiastically welcomed by the working masses. All sections wanted to send delegates. Workers of all views wanted to go. For example, the Trinidad factory delegation was unanimously and enthusiastically elected, and the people who were chosen represented all trade union and political trends. Aware of the importance of the visit, a spontaneous vote was held in which each worker decided to give half of his daily wages to cover the expenses of the delegation.

This decision surprised the top-level leadership of the C.T.K. who are the agents of U.S. imperialism. All the Mujals, the Suris and Campanaries when informed of this fact turned furiously on the workers and threatened them with the most terrible consequences. They tried to convince their supporters that the decision taken was a wrong one and that it had to be reconsidered. All this was in vain. The workers replied:

"We want to see what is going on over there. We don't want any more tales. We want to know what it is really like there."

"But you are anti-Communists," argued afresh the leaders of the C.T.K.

"That's all the same to us. In the United States," answered the workers, "there is a real iron curtain. There, visas and entry permits are refused to all those who criticise the imperialist government or have connections with Communists. In order to participate in this delegation, we were not asked about our ideological affiliations. We were merely invited as observers in order to acquaint ourselves with the truth."

Vanguardia Cubana,
Havana, 29.4.51

FRANCE

The Marshall Plan and the War

Should peace break out, we are even less prepared for it than for war, which is saying a lot.

There are alarming rumours of peace going about; and I say "alarming" solely, let it be understood, because it is obvious that we are not prepared . . .

If peace should break out, what would happen? The stock market would crash and nobody would be able to buy anything . . .

Now, when the market crashes, we wait in order to buy when the next rise in prices comes along. This could take a very long time and the 1929-1930 crisis would be nothing compared to the crisis which real peace would bring upon us . . .

At the present time, business is prospering because of the rise in prices caused by the production of destructive weapons . . .

I think this clarifies everything!

This quotation is taken from the May 16th issue of the employers' newspaper *Les Echos.*

This is how the men of the trusts,

the lackeys of the U.S. billionaires, think, those who, in a somewhat more brutal fashion declare in *Life* Magazine "*War is preferable to a crisis.*"

* * *

War is preferable to a crisis?

Do you understand that?

The U.S. billionaires and their French allies prefer to see your homes in ashes, your children massacred, and France destroyed rather than have their scandalous profits curtailed.

Mothers and fathers of families, young and old people, what do you think about it?

Because that is the issue.

* * *

Everyone today knows what the Marshall Plan, so loudly supported by Jouhaux and his friends, is really worth.

The U.S. billionaires and their French accomplices used the Marshall Plan as the first stage of an attempt to avoid a crisis and to continue to increase their tremendous profits made from the toil of the peoples. How? By transforming the colonised countries' economy into a *war economy.*

The manufacture of guns brings in big profits, as the devil well knows!

"In the third year of the Marshall plan, some of the greatest increases in output have occured in the industries capable of working on rearmament," stated a report by an American statesman.

* * *

Is it not clear that Jouhaux, the disruptive leaders, and the French Socialist Party, in advocating the Marshall Plan and its consequences —the Atlantic Pact, and the occupation of France in readiness for an anti-Soviet war—have exposed themselves in their true light as "the loyal servants of capitalism" *which carries war within it, as the cloud carries the storm* as Jaures has said.

FERNAND LERICHE in
La Vie Ouvriere, 23.5.51

U.S.A.

Europeans Won't "Buy" A.F.L.-C.I.O. "Ambassadors"

By the time the international activities of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. officials and their agents run their course, the reputation of our official labour family among the people of Europe will be about as low as that of Wall Street.

Union members, who pay the bill, know only that the A.F.L. has an "ambassador" in Europe named Irving Brown, and that the C.I.O.'s envoy, with headquarters in Paris, is Victor Reuther. We seldom get any particulars through the publications of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. press on what these gentlemen are actually doing.

Business Week, March 17, the voice of U.S. employers, which is very appreciative of the activities of Brown, Reuther and their staffs, gives us an unusually frank description of their operations on European waterfronts. *Business Week* is happy that now the left-led unions of dock workers in most European ports "face an organised militant opposition."

And that opposition "owes a heavy debt in money, advice and personnel —to U.S. labour, particularly the A.F.L.," the story continues. A.F.L.'s European representative, Irving Brown, is masterminding the attack. Already he's earned himself the nickname, "Scarface Brown, henchman of the State Department," in the Communist press.

The story adds that "the lion's share of the financial support comes from the A.F.L.'s Free Trade Union Committee," that's the outfit operated by Matthew Woll and the renegade Jay Lovestone. They direct its weeping appeals to A.F.L. members for funds to 'help' the European unions.

Describing the activities of 'Brown's sidekick' in a French port, *Business Week* says "every now and then one of the (Communist) party faithful would wind up in the hospital—or would get an unexpected dunk in the tarry backwash around the piers."

So, brothers and sisters in the A.F.L., come through with your dollars to Woll's committee and help set up gangs of waterfront thugs in Europe's ports, closely patterned after Joe Ryan's gangs in the port of New York.

But *Business Week* admits the A.F.L.-C.I.O. gangsters abroad still must meet the test. We have confidence the workers of French, Italian, North African and other ports will know how to handle them . . .

GEORGE MORRIS in
People's Daily World, 11.5.51

American Imperialism and Jim Crow

"Four billion dollars is a conservative estimate of the annual stake of imperialism in the oppression of the Negro people," Victor Perlo writes in *American Imperialism* (International Publishers), just off the press.

This estimate, he explains, is based on the $1,100 difference between the median Negro wage and the median white wage, multiplied by the number of Negro production workers in agriculture and industry. The resulting figure of almost $4 billion is the superprofit derived by U.S. imperialism from the extra exploitation of the Negro people.

Yet this is a conservative estimate, Perlo says, because it completely omits an important form of superprofits. "The Negro people in the United States, like people in the dependent countries, are charged prices even higher than the normal monopoly prices which prevail in this country . . . . Nor can any statistical measurement encompass the misery of the semi-slave, semi-serf oppression to which literally millions of Negro Americans are subjected.

"Collaboration with Jim Crow in the United States leads to collaboration with imperialist expansion and aggressive war abroad, with all the disastrous consequences to the American people as a whole, and to the workers of the United States in particular. Thus it is not surprising to find those trade union leaders who objectively support the Jim Crow system here openly supporting the entire programme of United States imperialist expansion."

Economic Notes (New York)
May, 1951.

NEW ZEALAND

Truth Will Out! New Zealand Fascism Exposed

The New Zealand Fuhrer, Holland, is reported by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as denying the statement that there are over 4,000 servicemen in jail in New Zealand for refusing to work on the wharves.

These denials are not unusual because the technique of Fascist government requires the denial of truth.

Having failed in his intention to smash the waterside workers by the use of military forces, Fuhrer Holland has now been forced to fall back on the use of scabs recruited from the flotsam and jetsam of the city of Auckland, and, in the best manner of Hitler Germany, stormtroopers convoy these working class traitors to and from the wharves.

Although Holland by such manoeuvres may protect the scabs from the wrath of workers, like other Fascist warmongers he is doomed to failure because even with his regulations, which prohibit freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press, he cannot keep the truth buried for all time. Even Hitler, with a much more formidable and efficient machine, discovered this truism.

John Boland, Special Correspondent for the *Melbourne Argus* in New Zealand, reports that an ex-serviceman interviewed by him in Auckland stated that he had been arrested and then dishonourably discharged from the New Zealand Forces because he refused to work on the waterfront. The ex-serviceman went on to say that at first it had been intended to send him to a Detention Camp, but the camps were overcrowded with other servicemen who had refused to work on the waterfront. So much for Holland's denial.

Maritime Worker
(Sydney, Australia) 12.5.51.

INDONESIA

Workers Come Last

Piece work has a notoriously bad name in some countries, and it can certainly live up to it here. Small

batik* enterprises here around Djakarta are in the habit of paying the sum of one rupiah for waxing out for second, third or fourth colour designs in one length of cloth. It is mostly women and girls who do this work; they take it home and probably sit with it out under a tree, for they have no special facilities. Because the money is important, they work hard and fast. Still, it takes one day to wax one cloth, and the one rupiah they earn will currently buy less than one kilo of rice, or two cups of milk coffee, or less than one foot length of the cheapest cotton fabric. Of course, there are no such things as 'conditions' and the women must fetch and deliver.

The servants of quite well-to-do families, if ever they must change mistresses, arrive at their new jobs with a small bundle, hardly larger than a handbag, and sometimes not so big; that bag contains the sum total of all their wordly possessions.

It is rather significant that Indonesia's Constitution lays it down that citizens shall be entitled to a living "worthy of a human being"; at least that statement is a commentary upon the sub-human standard for many of our citizens in years gone by.

Since the end of the nationalist revolution, there have been particularly urgent pleas—notably from Vice-President Hatta—for hard work in an all-out effort to heighten our economy so that this clause can become a reality. The most recent plea has come from the Minister of Finance . . . Remarking that he was not afraid of being labelled reactionary, Minister Sjafruddin called, not for the working of a seven hour day, but for hard and concentrated work as long as the sun lighted the skies.

Indonesian News Bulletin,
(Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, New Delhi) 30.3.51

INDIA

Trojan Horse

A gift horse, they say, should not be looked in the mouth. That is normally a wise maxim and a practical one too. And yet there are occasions when such a course has its dangers.

Food from America, it is becoming increasingly clear, cannot be had except in exchange for our honour and freedom.

Let us turn our eyes from golden America to those less affluent neighbouring lands nearer home . . . And pangs of hunger must not goad us to make the fatal mistake of importing the Trojan horse disguised as assistance to the starving.

Hindustan Standard, 1.5.51.

SOUTH AFRICA

Malan Government Violates Trade Union Rights

Mr. E. S. Sachs, the General Secretary of the South African Garment Workers' Union, spent a few days in London on his way to Geneva to attend the British Commonwealth conference of trade unions. He was also chosen by ballot by the South African Trades and Labour Council to represent South African workers at the International Labour Conference. But Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the Minister of Labour in Dr. Malan's Government, refused to appoint him and chose another delegate in his place. Mr. Sachs intends to argue his case in Geneva at the I.L.O., in an attempt to persuade the Credentials Committee to refuse admission to Mr. Schoeman's choice.

The Malan Government is opposed to Mr. Sachs' representing the workers because he has a long record of fighting against racial discrimination: Africans, Indians, and white workers are all members of the South African Trades and Labour Council. Mr. Sachs had some trouble with Customs officials at the airport outside Johannesburg, who tried to seize the manuscript of his book, which is called "The Choice Before South Africa." After a consultation with Pretoria he was allowed to take the manuscript with him.

Manchester Guardian, 4.6.51

BRAZIL

The Orgy Continues

As far back as the time of the "Estado Novo," the trade union funds, which were made up of important compulsory deductions from the meagre wages of the workers, have been used to pay for banquets and ministerial debaucheries. In Dutra's time, these orgies were continued with the money of the working class. The most profitable thing on this earth was the office of the president of a trade union. All the governmental trade union leaders immediately obtained de luxe cadillacs and the workers felt ashamed when they entered a trade union local, embarrassed by the contrast between their mended clothing and the splendid furniture which embellished the headquarters of the most important trade unions in Rio de Janeiro.

Before taking over, Getulio Vargas promised to have all that stopped. Although he has done nothing during his first months as president, he has reaffirmed that he will not sanction the continuation of this shameful plunder in which money is extorted from the empty purses of the workers.

This promise had hardly been given when Mr. Danton Coelho, with the authorisation of the President of the Republic, announced that he and a large delegation were leaving for the congress of trade union leaders to be held at Madrid, Milan and Geneva. These congresses will be comedies similar to those held at Quitandinha. This means that there will be a new and heavy drain on trade union subscriptions. Holanda Cavalcanti, Nelson Mota, Cypriano Neves, Laranjeiras and other renegade traitors will once again carouse near the tombs of the heroic Spanish workers, assassinated by Franco while the Brazilian workers die of hunger and Getulio prepares new speeches and new promises.

Impresa Popular,
Rio de Janeiro, 6.5.51

*Method of printing coloured designs on textiles by waxing parts not to be dyed.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

May 24

FRANCE.—At the Renault automobile factory the C.G.T. wins a great victory in the elections for workers' representatives, obtaining 20,698 votes out of a total of 27,678 votes cast (74.8%), this being 2,200 more than last year. The breakaway "Force Ouvriere" group received only 1,284 votes, while the Christian trade unions and the "independent" unions received 2,671 and 3,025 respectively.

The third Conference of trade unions from Overseas Territories opens in Paris under the auspices of the C.G.T. Almost all countries under French control and, in particular French African colonies, are represented by 40 delegates.

U.S.S.R.—Finnish workers' delegation from municipal services, the glass and porcelain industries and the building industry arrive in Moscow on the invitation of the Soviet trade unions.

May 25

ITALY.—A peaceful demonstration of peasants at Reggio Calabria demanding the application of the promises made to them in regard to the distribution of land is attacked by the police. A number of peasants are injured and several arrested.

UNITED STATES.—The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen finally settles their 26-month-old dispute with the railway companies. The agreement calls for wage increases of 33 cents. per hour for yard workers and 18.5 cents. for roadmen. The principle of a 40-hour week for yardmen is also won and a sliding scale linked to the cost of living. The forty-hour week, however, is set aside until January, 1952, on the pretext of the "national emergency." This long dispute had led to railway strikes and to the Government taking over the operation of the railroads.

— The Truman Administration announces further developments in its war programme with the voting of $5,240,000,000 for foreign military aid. The major part of this sum will go to France and Britain, while in Asia the largest sum is set aside for Chiang Kai-shek. Although no funds are currently budgeted for Spain, Yugoslavia, Western Germany or Japan, the plan calls for the buildup of a reserve of weapons which can be assigned to these countries in the future.

IRAN.—Newspapers in Teheran publish the text of a letter sent by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party to the Government demanding the abrogation of all anti-democratic laws, liberty of action for all political parties and trade unions, the recognition of People's China, the adoption of a real peace policy and the expulsion of foreign military "experts."

SYRIA.—38,000 weavers go on strike throughout the country, demanding a wage increase of 35% and the banning of imports of foreign cloth. The strike of shopkeepers which began on 19 May still continues.

AUSTRALIA.—Offices of the Seamen's Union and of the Waterside Workers in Sydney and Melbourne are raided by officials of the Commonwealth Investigation Service. This is the Government's answer to the Union's ban on handling black shipping from New Zealand. When news of the raid was heard on the Sydney waterfront, dockers, tally clerks and seamen left 57 ships in protest and work came to a standstill in the port.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Lord Privy Seal makes a statement admitting that "if war in Korea had not broken out, Mr. Gaitskell would have had £500,000,000 to distribute in his budget this year—the equivalent of a drop of 3s. 6d. in the income tax." This is confirmation from official sources of what the British Government's war policy is costing the British people.

May 26

JAPAN.—The Attorney-General's office in a statement admits that 600 reactionary and extreme nationalist organisations are functioning as controls over the Japanese Government are relaxed. Such organisations as ex-Servicemen's clubs, clubs for promoting Greater-Asianism, volunteer corps for defending Taiwan (Formosa), and religious bodies, are replicas of pre-war military and terrorist organisations. More than 100,000 people named as "undesirable" in 1946 have been taken off black lists and are returning to activity under the U.S. policy of "placate Japan."

UNITED STATES.—The Army Chief of Staff gives figures of U.S. intervention in Asia. $12,500,000 worth of supplies have been shipped to Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan since last November. $54,000,000 worth of supplies have been shipped to Indo-China since June 1949, and a further $2,000,000 worth is ready for shipment. $3,000,000 worth of army supplies have also been sent to the Philippines since June, 1949.

NETHERLANDS.—5,000 workers of the biggest shipbuilding yard in Amsterdam go on strike for a 10% increase in their wages to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

ITALY.—Bakery workers go on strike for 24 hours, demanding an increase in wages and a sliding scale.

CHINA.—Details of an agreement signed with Tibet are published in Peking. The accord provides for regional autonomy within the Chinese People's Republic and the respect of Tibetan customs and life. Ah Pei, leader of the Tibetan delegation, states that Tibet has returned to China's big family, in which there is equality, friendship and mutual help.

CANADA.—Police raid a meeting in Montreal which was being addressed by the Chairman of the Cana-

dian Peace Congress. Pamphlets and other documents are seized.

HUNGARY.—The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth ends its session in Budapest with the adoption of a resolution calling for unity of youth, particularly in capitalist and colonial countries, in the struggle for better living conditions and peace. An appeal is also made to youth organisations to intensify preparations for the Berlin World Youth Festival and to bring into participation the widest sections of both town and rural youth.

POLAND.—After a ten days' campaign the national peace plebiscite ends with 18,053,315 persons having signed the appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact. This exceeds the number of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and means that the overwhelming majority of the adult population has signed the Berlin Appeal.
— The Legislative Assembly of the Polish Republic adopts a Bill on the preparation of a Constitution for the country. A draft Constitution will be drawn up by the Constitution Committee and then submitted to the people. After discussion and consideration of the proposals, suggestions and amendments made, a final Constitution will be drafted and will become the fundamental law of the People's Republic. It is hoped to present the Constitution to the Assembly for ratification before the end of 1951.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—The campaign around the plebiscite on a Five-Power Peace Pact opens in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and political activity.

May 27

FRANCE.—The 28th Congress of the C.G.T. opens in Paris with 2,274 delegates present, representing 3,615,440 workers, of which 267,000 are organised in French overseas territories. Numerous fraternal delegates and political, literary and artistic personalities are present at the opening session, at which Benoit Frachon, General Secretary, makes his report.
The programme adopted by the Congress includes the following points: Immediate increase in wages of 22%; basic minimum wage of 122 francs per hour for a 40-hour week; sliding scale; abolition of all wage differences based on regions, age, sex, nationality or race; respect for wage differentials; the conclusion of collective agreements; unemployment relief at the rate of 70% of the basic minimum wage.
— The 80th anniversary of the Paris Commune is celebrated by a large demonstration at the Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris. Different workers' and democratic organisations took part, led by Benoit Frachon and Alain Le Leap, joint General Secretaries of the C.G.T. Among the demonstrators were 2,000 delegates to the 28th Congress of the C.G.T.

ITALY.—It is announced that in Rome and the surrounding province during the campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact, twelve secondary school children's Peace Committees have been set up, twenty factory committees, eight among university students and twenty-seven youth peace committees.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Bryn Roberts, General Secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, tells the 550 delegates to the Union's annual conference that "we have reached the stage, as a result of infrequent and small wages increases which fail to offset the rise in prices, that our standards are in danger of being brought back to and even below the wretched state of 1938. Price increases are destroying the happiness of young married people, knocking the spirit out of those with young families, and making miserable the lives of the old."
— At the biggest Annual Conference of Trades Councils ever held, delegates representing 33,000,000 organised workers unanimously insist on action to bring down the cost of living. They inform the Government that soaring prices and profits must stop.
The resolution adopted urges the T.U.C. General Council "to exercise even greater persuasion to prevent further price increases in essential commodities and services and to seek restriction of dividends and the issue of bonus shares."

May 28

SOUTH AFRICA.—50,000 people demonstrate in Cape Town against the Malan Government and its policy of depriving coloured people of their democratic rights. Many people are injured by the police. In a speech, a famous war-time Air Force pilot sums up the situation in the following words: "The men who pinned their faith in a Nazi victory are the same men we have in power to-day. They are depriving us of our freedoms, one by one, with a cynical Fascist arrogance that we have not experienced since Hitler and Mussolini met their fate."

GREAT BRITAIN.—11,500 long-distance road haulage drivers strike in protest against the decision of the managers of this nationalised industry to institute a wide system of road patrols to spy on the drivers during their periods of duty. 232 depots throughout England and Wales are involved in the strike.

IRAN.—The Iranian Government informs the Hague International Court that it considers the latter is not competent to deal with the disagreement between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iranian Government.

ITALY.—The "Peasants' National Day for Peace" is held in all Italian provinces. Huge demonstrations and meetings underline the peasants' demand for land and the link between a just land reform and the fight for peace.

MEXICO.—The Confederation of Mexican Workers leaves the Scab International, issuing a statement which reads in part: "The I.C.F.T.U. wants nothing to do with the needs and aspirations of the workers of Latin-American countries. In this organisation liberty of action and of speech is limited. It is the trade union bureaucrats of the U.S.A. and of Europe who lay down the law."

May 29

GREAT BRITAIN.—A terrible mining disaster occurs at Easington Colliery, County Durham, where an explosion devastates the pit while shifts are changing. Eighty-one miners lose their lives.

IRAN.—The largest demonstration since the beginning of the oil crisis takes place in Teheran on the 60th anniversary of the signing of the oil concession. More than 50,000 people demonstrate in the streets against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and against British and United States imperialism.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Seven thousand men, the crews of 2,000 fishing boats, go on strike in protest against an increase in the price of fuel. The authorities of the German Democratic Republic invite the strikers to come to Eastern German territorial waters and to sell their catch in the ports of the Republic.

UNITED STATES.—Defence Secretary George Marshall testifies that inflation has eaten up 20% of the $35,000,000,000 appropriated for military equipment and supplies for the current fiscal year, but no Government spokesman has so far given any indication of the extent to which inflation has eaten up the wages of the workers.

KOREA.—The Korea Commission of the Women's International Democratic Federation, representing 17 countries, holds a Press Conference before leaving Korea. The Commission tells reporters that a group of its members was visiting Wonsan while U.S. warships were bombarding the city. During eight hours, 6,752 bursts were fired; the population lives in dug-outs and slit trenches. In Sonchin and Sariwon, members of the Commission saw bodies of civilians—woman and children—shot by U.S. troops.

May 30

UNITED STATES.—The Attorney-General for New York states that a minimum of 5,000 children in New York city of school age are drug addicts. To such a state has the "American way of life" reduced school children in the largest city in the U.S.

AUSTRALIA.—James Healy, General Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation, is served with a summons under the Crimes Act for four alleged offences. If found guilty he is liable to a fine of £100 on each charge, or twelve months' imprisonment. Healy's "crime" consists in being the General Secretary of a union which has kept faith with the dockers of New Zealand by refusing to touch "black" ships.

BULGARIA.—It is announced in Sofia that 5,571,000 signatures have been collected to the appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

May 31

CYPRUS.—Dr. Lyssarides, President of the Cyprus Peace Committee, is informed by the British colonial authorities that the first National Peace Congress, scheduled for June 3rd, has been banned. More than 1,000 delegates had been elected to attend the Congress, at which representatives from Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey, Greece and Egypt were to be present. Policemen start tearing down peace posters all over the island and threaten coffee shopkeepers with punishment if they fail to remove the posters on show in the cafés.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. E. S. Sachs, General Secretary of the South African Garment Workers Union and National Treasurer of the South African Labour Party, makes a statement to the Press in London in which he says that the recent demonstration against the Malan Government proves that the people of South Africa have lost their fear of the Government. Referring to Malan's "apartheid" policy, Mr. Sachs states: "First the Indians were disfranchised, now the coloured people. To-morrow it may be the Jews, the English, and the tens of thousands of Afrikanders who believe in democracy."

INDIA.—The first shipload of half a million tons of food grain offered to India by the Soviet Union arrives. It is being delivered in Russian ships under an agreement with India.

PAKISTAN.—The four-day Asian Regional Conference of the "Scab International" ends with a resolution being voted to support the reactionary clique and its imperialist masters in South Korea. Owing to fear of workers' reactions in Asia, a resolution in favour of banning all assistance to People's China was dropped and "referred to the next World Congress." The whole tone of the Conference was set by Irving Brown, of the A.F. of L., who made his usual anti-Communist statements but had nothing to say on any practical programme for improving Asian workers' conditions.

June 1

CANADA.—A report of the Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences states that the principal cultural problem for Canada is that of how to resist harmful influences from the U.S., particularly the invasion of American films and periodicals.

UNITED STATES.—The Transport Workers' Union votes to call a general strike of all New York municipal, subway, elevated railway and 'bus employees on July 1, if demands are not met. The Union is demanding a 40-hour week, with no reduction in wages.

AUSTRALIA.—Summonses are served on two officials of the Ships Painters' and Dockers' Union in connection with the ban on handling "black" ships from New Zealand. Dockers walk off the freighter "Binburra" in Melbourne in protest and also refuse to handle the "Doris Clunes." Australian workers are continuing to send funds to their locked-out New Zealand colleagues.

GREAT BRITAIN.—County Councils in the Greater London Area, representing over 7,000,000 people, decide to follow the lead of the London Trades Council and lodge protests against the proposed 20% increase in fares. Over one hundred local Trades Councils, Trade Union Branches, and District Committees record their support of the 650,000 strong London Trades Council in its fight against increased fares.

NEW ZEALAND.—A peaceful 1,500 strong workers procession advertising a mass rally for June 3 is savagely attacked by the police and many workers severely battered and injured.

ITALY.—Six thousand miners of the Montecatini group stage a 24-hour stay-in strike in protest against the rupture of talks by the owners.

FRANCE.—Elections of workers' representatives in the Michelin factory in Clermond Ferrand gave the C.G.T. 5,496 votes against 2,644 for the Christian Trade Unions. The break-away "Force Ouvriere" group considered it more prudent on this occasion not to present any candidates.

U.S.S.R.—Workers everywhere celebrate "Defence of the Children Day." In Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Kiev, Tashkent and other cities social organisations arrange various demonstrations and fêtes for the children in parks, clubs, and in Palaces of Culture.

June 2

GREAT BRITAIN.—John Foster Dulles arrives in London to whip Britain into line on the Japanese Peace Treaty. Britain is to agree to the full rearmament of Japan, to the "special political and economic interests" of Japan in Asia, to the rebuilding of Japanese industry, Navy and Air Force—or else, no raw materials.

— The strike of long-distance lorry drivers ends successfully with the employers agreeing not to proceed with the introduction of road patrols until the men are properly consulted. This successful strike forces both the employers and Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, to accept the negotiations.

INDIA.—Parliament finally passes the bill amending the Constitution and limiting freedom of the Press. An Opposition speaker stresses that the Government should deal with the root cause of discontent in the country instead of abolishing civil liberties.

JAPAN.—Japanese capital, as represented by the Management Association, demands that the Economic Stabilisation Board introduce the 48-hour week and abolish payment for overtime. "Japan must compete on world markets at the sacrifice of her labour standards," the Association says.

U.S.S.R.—Tass Agency announces that the reporting-back to the rank and file by outgoing union officials and the election campaign ends in the trade union movement. During this campaign 67 trade union congresses were held, in addition to 130 republic, territorial and regional trade union conferences. Delegates discussed in detail the activities of trade union organisations, made many valuable suggestions for the improvement of trade union work and elected their executive bodies.

June 3

INDIA.—Twenty-five thousand peasants and workers, watched by thousands more, marched through Delhi in a huge anti-Government demonstration. Slogans shouted were: "Give us clothes, food and houses" and "The freedom India has to-day is the freedom of the hungry and the naked." Note: The grain ration to those that can afford it is nine ounces a day, and cloth is practically unobtainable.

GREAT BRITAIN.—At the centenary celebrations of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, held in Manchester, Jack Tanner, President of the Union, states that engineers will shortly press for a guaranteed week's pay covering the whole of the 44-hour week and a wage increase of not less than £1 per week.

UNITED STATES.—President Truman signs an appropriation bill which contained a proviso banning all financial or economic aid to any nation trading with the U.S.S.R., People's Democracies, People's China and the Korean People's Republic.

Senator McCarran, notorious friend of Franco and enemy of American civil liberties, proposes a new loan to Spain of $100,000,000, to supplement the $62,500,000 loan he sponsored last year.

CYPRUS.—The Secretary of the Larnaca District Trade Unions, G. Christedoulides, is sentenced to two months imprisonment for shouting peace slogans during the recent May Day demonstration. Thirteen other trade unionists are fined 21/- for the same "offence."

NEW ZEALAND.—Despite the presence nearby of swarms of police and truckloads of troops, 20,000 people attend a metting in Auckland, where the police violence of "bloody Friday" (June 1) is condemned and a public enquiry demanded.

June 4

GREAT BRITAIN.—Gavin Martin, General Secretary of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, informs a trade union conference that in the last year total wages and salaries rose by 6 per cent. but trade profits of companies rose by nearly 14 per cent. He concludes: "The working people cannot be expected to accept a fall in their living standards after they have increased production and when profits are at record levels and are still rising."

ALBANIA.—It is announced that this year 166 million leks will be spent on Social Security for the workers, that is, 50 millions more than last year's budget.

AUSTRALIA.—Following an offer made some months ago by the U.S. Chrysler Corporation to provide capital for the expansion of the Australian branch of the Corporation, it is announced that 700,000 £1 Preference shares are to be issued shortly. All the shares are to be held by the American Chrysler Corporation and by the distributors of Chrysler products in Australia: this increases the hold of U.S. finance on Australia and means a firmer United States' grip on Australia's industrial and military potential.

UNITED STATES.—The U.S. Supreme Court upholds the conviction of eleven Communist Party leaders by a 6—2 decision. The two dissenting judges, Hugo Black and William O. Douglas, are of the opinion that the majority decision is an abridgement of the right to free speech, since no overt acts attempting to overthrow the government have been proved during the trial. This decision, which makes beliefs as well as acts illegal, sets the stage for wholesale arrests of Communist Party members on the same false charges.

June 5

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Cape Provincial Council requests Dr. Jansen, Governor General of the Province, to refuse his assent to the Malan Government Bill disfranchising coloured people. The Council is the supreme representative body in Cape Province and is one of the four Provincial Councils making up the Union of South Africa. Thus, with Natal, this makes two Councils which are opposing the Bill.

RUMANIA.—The Trade Unions International of Land and Air Transport Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) sends telegrams to the U.N. Commission on the Rights of Man and to the President of the Argentine protesting against the imprisonment of 500 Argentine railwaymen who were recently arrested for having taken part in the so-called "illegal" strike of 148,000 railway workers. A call is also made to all transport workers to protest to the Argentine Government.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The plebiscite against rearmament and for a peace pact ends after two days of voting. 99.42% of the electors took part, of which 95.98%, or 13,034,47 persons voted against rearmament and for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

BELGIUM.—The Brussels regional congress of office workers (F.G.T.B.) declares in a resolution that it "intends to do everything possible to bring together the various tendencies of the international trade union movement with a view to the realisation of the workers' will for peace."

June 6

U.S.S.R.—A three-day conference on safety at work organised by the A.U.C.C.T.U. ends in Moscow. Among other questions discussed by the conference was the result of scientific research into ventilation. Measures were studied for the continued improvement of ventilation systems in factories. Figures given at the conference show that during the post-war five-year plan more than six billion roubles were spent on ensuring safety in enterprises. During the last year alone, the expenditure for safety at work and on safety apparatus amounted to more than 1.6 billion roubles.

UNITED STATES.—The House Committee on un-American Activities announces that it is changing its field of operations from films to industry in order to harass progressive unions and their leaders who have been expelled from the C.I.O. It may be taken that this is a sign that the un-American Committee is now preparing to throw its weight be-

hind the C.I.O. leadership in its attempts to destroy those unions which refused to bow to their reactionary dictatorship.

WESTERN GERMANY.—3,200 tramway workers and employees strike in Stuttgart for a wage increase despite the opposition of the Right-wing leadership of the union. In support of the united rank-and-file strike committee which is directing the movement, the electrical workers decide to cut off all current from the tramway system, thus preventing any strike-breaking activities.

INDIA.—Eleven more peasants are condemned to death in Hyderabad for their part in the 1946 rising, which took away the land from the Nizam and the landlords. Thousands of police and troops are garrisoning the area in an attempt to maintain the landlords in power by force of arms.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Home Office refuses visas to Serge Gerasimov, Soviet film director, and to Emi Siao, Chinese poet, both of whom were due to attend the conference on "Negotiation or War," which was to open under the auspices of the British Peace Committee in London on June 9th.

FRANCE.—During the night, thugs in the pay of the Gaullist Party (R.P.F.) make three attacks on the headquarters of the Paris Region Trades Council (C.G.T.). Unable to break into the building because of the vigilance of the trade unionists on guard, they break windows and seriously wound two watchmen. A streamer placed across the building informing Paris workers of the Fascist attack is forcibly removed by the police, who had failed to intervene against the Fascist gunmen. Under this pretext the police break down the doors, occupy the building, and arrest all the officials and trade unionists present, wounding several, among them Eugene Henaff, general secretary of the Paris Trades Council, who was taken to the hospital.

A vigorous protest immediately arises throughout workshops and factories in the Paris area, where work stoppages and protest meetings take place. A mass demonstration files past the headquarters of the attacked trade unionists.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JULY 5, 1951 - No. 13

Organised trade unionists must, above all, support the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national and democratic liberty, for the overthrow of the yoke of foreign imperialist oppression and the foreign imperialist monopolies, for the independence and sovereignty of their countries, for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers and peasants and for democratic forms of government.

(Resolution on the Colonial Question adopted by the Second World Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Milan, October 1949)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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WORK WITH THE MASSES

—CENTRAL CONCERN OF THE TRADE UNIONS

THE experience of the working-class movement in all countries irrefutably proves that the workers can successfully defend their vital interests and win satisfaction for their demands solely on condition that they are united and resolved, know what they want and take action in a united front.

But unity does not come by itself. Motions and resolutions alone are far from sufficient. They are only a beginning. Unity is won by stubborn, long and consistent work and through common struggle. It is more particularly the result of correct mass organisational and educational work.

If for example, one examines the experience of the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., China, Italy, or France, the first thing which strikes one is the intelligence, flexibility and variety in the work of organising and educating the masses which the trade union organisations tirelessly carry on.

All important measures taken by the Soviet trade unions are preceded by thorough preparation in the organisational sphere and are accompanied by the necessary educational work among the masses. In the U.S.S.R., collective agreements are mutual obligations between trade union organisations and managements of enterprises, directed at carrying out and surpassing production plans and improving the material and cultural conditions of the workers. Take for example the renewal of collective agreements, which always has the character of a mass campaign. The collective agreements are discussed at all levels in the trade unions of a particular industry, right from the rank-and-file—the shop trade union group—up to the General Assembly of the Trade Union Central Committee. The meetings are prepared beforehand so that every worker knows where the meeting is to be held and what its agenda is to be. He is therefore able to examine in advance the questions which are to be raised and to come to the meeting with his own proposals and suggestions. The discussion of collective agreements in the factories is attended by the ma-

nagement. The campaign surrounding the renewal of collective agreements is widely commented on in the press and on the radio. Thousands of trade union militants explain the general nature and the special provisions of each agreement to the workers. Usually, the workers put forward thousands of proposals for speedily achieving the aims set by the collective agreement. These proposals are carefully discussed and included in the collective agreement.

But the task is not limited to the conclusion of agreements. The trade union organisations also systematically supervise the application of the agreements. At production meetings, where the management, the trade union members and all the other workers in a particular enterprise meet, and at trade union meetings, the workers scrupulously examine the results obtained, criticise any negligence on the part of the management or the trade union leaders, make their own wishes known and put forward additional suggestions.

This systematic mass work creates true unity of opinion among trade union members. The workers have the chance to gain a clearer idea of the work of the enterprise, they take note of its shortcomings and possibilities and in this way take a more active part in the economic life of the enterprise and the entire country. They also check on the practical work carried out by their trade union organisations. Such methods of work make a tremendous contribution to production and at the same time raise the cultural and productive level of all workers. For the rank-and-file, the working masses, they represent an effective method of regularly checking on the work of the trade union organisations themselves.

Other important measures are also successfully carried out in the Soviet trade unions—elections, examination of results obtained through socialist emulation, measures for improving the workers' culture.

* * *

THE Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) carries on far-sighted organisational and educational work among the masses. The strikes organised by the Italian trade unions are distinguished by a high level of unity, by the solidarity and determination of the masses. This is why in a large number of cases the strikes are victorious. The mere fact of the existence of a powerful and united Trade Union Centre seriously limits the appetites of the employers and the Government, obedient to the American imperialists. In spite of the unending and continuous attempts to split

the Italian C.GI.L., it remains a mighty, united organisation. This unity is, to a large extent, the result of extensive organisational and educational work among the masses

Let us take the example of mass work during the famous strike of the Ansaldo factory workers in Genoa. This huge plant was threatened with a close-down, but the workers unanimously refused to accept the orders of the management and when the latter abandoned the firm, the workers took over the management of production. In spite of Government sabotage, the management's refusal to pay wages, and the shortage of raw materials and operating capital, the workers ran the plant successfully, introducing many improvements into the production process, thus proving that the workers were capable of running the concern just as well, if not better, than the managers.

Finally, the Government was forced to withdraw its decision, and the workers thus won total victory. A typical feature of this action was that the workers were able to win over the majority of the population of the town of Genoa and of the surrounding countryside. Small tradesmen and business-men gave the workers credit, the peasants brought them food. The workers jokingly said that they had never eaten so well as during this struggle.

This was only made possible by extensive explanatory work among the masses, as a result of which every worker understood the correctness of the demands, knew what had to be done and how to do it; everyone displayed great initiative in the fight for the common cause. A widely supported struggle with widespread initiative on the part of tens of thousands of workers backed by the population of the town and by the peasants, is capable of prodigious achievements.

* * *

MAGNIFICENT examples of work among the masses are provided by the French trade unions during the recent strikes. Long before the beginning of the country-wide movement, extensive work of explanation had been carried on in the trade unions and among unorganised workers. As a result of this activity, the mass of workers came out against the Government's policy of systematically raising prices, and they became aware of the extent to which the split sought by the Government and engineered by the trade union leaders in their pay had compromised the fight for the workers' just demands. Common demands were drawn up. The workers belong-

ing to the C.G.T. fraternally co-operated with the workers belonging to the break-away Force Ouvrière organisation and with the members of the Christian organisations. The Paris metro and bus workers set an example of complete unity to other sections of the French working class during their strike. This varied work among the masses bore fruit. Workers of different views took part in co-ordinated action in a single front and in spite of all the efforts of the Government and the splitters to smash the strikes, they forced the Government and the employers to give way. The fight ended in a victory for the workers.

* * *

THE Chinese trade unions also carry on tremendous organisational and educational work among the masses. They explain to the workers the tasks and methods of trade union work, they bring them into the work, teaching the workers to take part in the management of enterprises, they work to wipe out illiteracy, promote labour emulation, and defend the workers' interests against attacks by employers and exploiters of all kinds.

It is interesting, for example, to see how the Chinese trade unions helped the workers to free themselves from the "gang bosses," entrepreneurs who trafficked in labour. These men were the complete masters of the hiring and dismissal of workers, pocketing as much as 60 per cent. of the workers' wages. The Chinese trade unions resolved to cure this running sore. Naturally, the Chinese People's Government could have put an end to the "gang boss" system by decree. But this would not have achieved immediately the desired results. For this reason a great deal of explanatory work was done in order to convince the workers that now, they themselves could finish with the "bosses." The workers then began to understand that it was necessary to put an end to the hated system. The Chinese trade unions organised mass meetings up and down the country at which the workers made concrete accusations against the "bosses" concerning their crimes and abuses. These meetings became, so to speak, tribunals which passed sentence on the old world of exploitation. They were also a magnificent school for inexperienced workers. Usually these meetings took the decision to abolish the old hiring system and at the same time to remove the very incarnation of this system—the "gang bosses." So it was that with the help of the trade unions, the workers of China themselves got rid of one of the cruellest forms of exploitation. The result was a great strengthening of the authority and influence of the trade unions, and the

workers improved their material living conditions and acquired great political experience.

* * *

THERE are naturally many other examples of good work by the trade unions in organising and educating the masses.

But there are also trade union organisations and union leaders who do not yet understand, or who still under-estimate the importance of this work, although they adopt good resolutions on unity and on the fight for the vital interests of the workers.

Weakness in a trade union's mass work unfailingly indicates a bureaucratic and sometimes sectarian tendency in its work. These tendencies always lead to isolation from the masses and, as a result, to the weakening of the organisation and to defeats.

The tendency to become isolated from the masses is, in fact, the outcome of the influence of groups, sections of classes who are "above" the masses and are filled with pride and are presumptuous towards them. Consciously or unconsciously, such trade union leaders adopt the thesis of the hero and the crowd and imagine that mass action can be replaced by the activity of heroes. They hold the bureaucratic view that all questions can be settled by orders and regulations.

Genuine trade union leaders are those who deeply believe in the creative powers of the masses. Without this confidence, leaders cannot carry out real mass work and always remain with the masses at every stage of the movement, in setbacks just as in successes. He who has fully understood that it is precisely the people who make history, and that true history is the story of the peoples and not of military leaders and kings, understands that separation from the masses means the loss of their confidence and support, means defeat.

Mass action is of decisive importance. If the masses are not united, if they themselves do not wage their own battles, it is impossible for them to win their liberation. Even limited demands, such as for increased wages, better social security, better housing, etc. will remain empty words if they are not defended by the masses.

Naturally, every mass movement, including the trade union movement, always puts in the leadership frontrank men, the most conscious, energetic and selfless men originating from the mass of the people—which possesses a wealth of such elements. It is natural that these are precisely the men to

become leaders of the masses and, together with their active members, to form the vanguard. The force, influence and authority of this vanguard depends on the extent to which it is linked with the masses. If the vanguard is incapable of establishing correct relations with the masses, if it isolates itself from the masses, it ceases to be in the vanguard and can no longer accomplish its tasks. Thereafter, the enemies of the working class and trade unions can easily exterminate this isolated vanguard.

* * *

EXPERIENCE of the labour movement shows that if these elements wish to be really in the vanguard and act as true guides to the masses, they must try to absorb the following ideas:

1) The representation of the basic interests of the broadest masses of the people and avoidance of any tendency to defend only the interests of certain groups and sections of workers. When defending the interests of particular sections of exploited workers, the vanguard must at the same time, propose, formulate and defend the basic general demands affecting the broadest masses of the people. For example, when trade union leaders put forward and defend such demands as wage increases, improved social security and better housing, they must not forget the fight for peace, because all workers are vitally interested in peace. Further still, the satisfaction of the workers' concrete demands depends on the preservation of peace.

The trade union leader who forgets this obvious truth runs the risk of tailing behind the masses and of becoming a petty bourgeois rather than a leader.

2) Leaders run the risk of isolating themselves from the masses if, in their work, they rely only on the most conscious section of the workers. The more backward sections of the workers must not be ignored. It is vital for slogans, forms of organisation, propaganda, agitation and all educational work to be appropriate not only to the level of understanding of leading elements but also comprehensible and accessible to the backward sections. Cadres are always in the minority, but a mass movement is only possible when the average and backward sections of the workers take part in it, when it embraces the most oppressed and poverty-stricken workers, the very ones who are most cruelly crushed by capitalism and difficult living conditions. They are backward because they are unable to obtain an education, because they must direct all their efforts towards obtaining a miser-

able crust of bread. But these are precisely the sections who, in the capitalist and colonial countries, are in the majority and who form an enormous potential fighting force; and it is precisely among these sections that it is necessary to carry on the most patient explanatory work. They must be united around the most immediate basic demands; the level of consciousness and organisation of the backward sections of workers must be raised, active workers and leaders from among their ranks must be helped and educated. Perhaps these leaders may still be too inexperienced, not sufficiently literate, perhaps they do not know how to express themselves well in words or writing, but they are linked to the masses, they know their thoughts, their feelings and their state of mind, and they are often better leaders than educated and enlightened elements who have come from outside and who are not completely rooted in the life, work and struggle of the masses.

3) It is not sufficient to proclaim correct principles and to give an exact general perspective. The journey towards the goal is not always a simple and direct one. It goes through different phases, involving offensives, turning points, zig-zags, and sometimes retreats. Every phase is determined by the general situation in a given country, by the situation of the different sections of the people, by the level of consciousness and preparedness of the masses, and by the immediate tasks which correspond to this phase.

One must be capable of correctly determining and weighing up all these factors, of determining which are the most important tasks to be carried out, of determining methods of work, of giving at the right moment the slogan which is comprehensible and acceptable to the broadest masses of the people, of knowing how to unite the masses around these slogans and of leading and guiding the mass movement. All this is a great art which does not come by itself, but which is built up in the course of a long struggle and through serious study. But a vanguard which does not possess this art is incapable of being a vanguard.

4) The vanguard isolates itself from the masses if it does not learn to know and correct its own faults, if it does not know how to carry on honest and direct criticism and self-criticism. Only an organisation which not only does not fear criticism and self-criticism but which on the contrary develops and encourages this and corrects its work in consequence, can be considered as healthy. A good leader should notice in time mistakes made, analyse them carefully, and draw the necessary conclusions to prevent a repetition.

5) In the leadership of the masses, it is just as dangerous to by-pass a phase which has not yet reached maturity because the masses have not yet attained the necessary level of consciousness to understand this phase, as to lag behind and to continue to repeat the old slogans when the masses have

already advanced beyond them. Either one of these errors will lead the vanguard into isolation for the people do not need such leaders.

6) Finally, it is possible to become isolated from the masses, even with a correct line and slogans if the masses are not convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the slogans and forms and methods of organisation.

The masses learn from their own experience. No agitation or propaganda, however extensive such work may be, is capable of replacing the masses' own experience. This experience is gained from the struggle, from victories and defeats, from successes and set-backs. It is therefore necessary to study the experience of the masses, to seek for and find its most characteristic lessons, to learn oneself and to teach the masses to draw the necessary conclusions from this experience, and to systematise and generalise them.

* * *

These are the conditions which the vanguard must fulfil in its work with the masses. To become a mass leader, one must be able to look and see further than the masses, one must have knowledge and experience. One must learn untiringly, with perseverance and application, and not merely from books and among one's friends. One must also learn from one's enemies. But also, and above all, one must learn from the masses.

Simple people are often much closer to the truth than learned professors. Thus the experience of the leaders must consistently be completed, enriched and verified by the experience of the masses.

Systematic trade union organisational and educational work among the masses is a necessary condition for the strength and authority of the organisation, the guarantee of an effective struggle and of victory.

A NEW PHASE

IN THE SPANISH PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By JOSE RODRIGO

THE struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist Franco regime has entered a new phase. In the short space of three months, hundreds of thousands of workers have come out in a series of strikes and protest movements that have mainly affected six of Spain's most important provinces from the point of view of both economic and industrial development and population density, namely: Barcelona, Biscay, Guipuzcoa, Alava, Navarra and Madrid.

These movements, which were launched in protest against the soaring cost of living, took on the character of a mass struggle, a united fight of the entire people against the Franco dictatorship and its policy of poverty and oppression. The working class took the lead in this struggle which also brought in all other sections of the population, students, professional workers, craftsmen, small and larger businessmen and tradesmen.

The Franco regime has brought the country to a state of most dire poverty. Millions of Spaniards are doomed to perpetual hunger. Tens of thousands of homeless families live in huts or caves, only a few feet away from the luxurious homes of the regime's privileged sections. Every year, ruin comes to thousands of small firms and businesses. Unemployment is a running sore affecting millions of agricultural and industrial workers. Spain has been made a country of beggars and tuberculosis victims.

Even workers with jobs cannot satisfy their hunger. Wages have scarcely doubled, or in some exceptional cases, tripled, in comparison with wages during the Republic, whereas the cost of living is now ten times higher. The wages of the great majority of workers and peasants range from 500 to 600 pesetas per month. Franco's *Statistical Handbook* puts the daily wage of miners in 1936 at 10.70 pesetas, and at 18.33 today. In many provinces, a worker earns only 12 pesetas a day. In Madrid, the figure is 14.

Rationing, which is still in force, is ridiculously inadequate. For example, the Madrid Provincial Food Supply Delegation announced during the last week in February, the following rations for a week:

	pesetas
¼ kilogramme of oil	2.85
100 grammes of sugar..	0.95
500 „ „ beans.	3.50

The workers have to buy the food they need for subsistence either on the free market, or on the black market at prices far beyond their means: potatoes, 4 pesetas per kilo; chick peas, 14 to 14.50 pesetas; low quality beef, 32.75 pesetas; oil, 32 to 40 pesetas; beans, 14 pesetas; lentils, 12 pesetas; cod, 22 pesetas; 1 dozen eggs, 36 pesetas; washing soap, 20 pesetas per kilo; sugar, 30 to 32 pesetas; rice, 14 pesetas. (Prices for March 1951).

Voicing popular indignation, the underground newspaper *Mundo Obrero,* published illegally in Madrid, appealed in February for action to win a minimum living wage:

"Can any worker, with his present wage of 15 to 20 pesetas (per day) afford to buy beans at 13.50 pesetas per kilo, chick peas at 11 pesetas, cod at 35 pesetas, meat at 35 to 50 pesetas per kilo? Not to speak of ham at 120 pesetas per kilo, sugar rolls at 40 pesetas, or eggs at 36 pesetas the dozen?"

Dissatisfaction is spreading to all sections of the population. In its February 27th issue, the Madrid Phalangist newspaper *Ya* admitted to having received many letters protesting against the high cost of living, and commented:

"A kilo of cod costs more than half the daily earnings of a magistrate, a high-ranking soldier, a college professor, or a tradesman. An overcoat costing 1,400 pesetas has an extremely short life. A 1,000-peseta suit can only just stand up to one year's alternating wear."

Corruption in the Phalangist Regime

FACED with the spread of popular protest, the Phalangists tried to shift the responsibility. They launched a purely verbal, demagogic campaign against "the black market racketeers," without taking any effective measures against them because these people are part of their own set-up. They blamed the situation on the persisting drought, negligence on the part of previous governments, the international conspiracy of communism and freemasonry, and so on and so forth.

In March, the so-called National Workers' Congress, organised by the vertical trade unions—the fascist trade union organisations imposed by the dictatorship—met in Madrid. Although attended by trade union stooges and quite foreign to the working class, this Congress was obliged to allow some of the workers' main demands to be voiced. But Franco indignantly opposed these demands and called for greater sacrifices from the workers, on the pretext that Spain was a poor nation with a deficit.

"It is necessary," he said, "to wipe out of the Spanish people's minds the puerile belief that Spain is a rich nation . . . The national economy has its limits and its exigencies. It cannot do more than justly share out what it produces. It cannot share out things which do not exist. If the living standards of all workers and of all social classes are to be improved, Spanish production must be increased."

But if, according to Franco, Spain is a poor nation when it is a question of workers' demands, it is by no means so for the privileged sections of the regime.

The seizure of power by the Franco regime gave power to a fraction of the big bourgeoisie—bankers, big landowners, agents of the international trusts—and to their servants, the civil, military and ecclesiastical Phalangist stooges. This clique has plundered the nation's wealth.

The balance sheets of the big capitalist companies, branches of international monopolies, show ever increasing profits. Using the control of State power, theft and the black market, the ministers and leading figures of the regime have built up fabulous personal fortunes. The vast network of organisations and offices which make up the police and fiscal apparatus of the regime in the various sectors of the nation's economic life, are centres of pillage, corruption and black marketing—for example, the National Wheat Office, the Meat, Leather and By-Products Office, the Food Commissariat, the Tax Collection department, the vertical trade unions.

Countless children in Franco Spain have known only poverty, hunger and despair. They are the products of a cruel and corrupt dictatorship.
(Picture Post Library.)

U.S. Imperialist Penetration

THE Spanish people's conditions have been worsened as a result of the handing over of the country to the American imperialists by the Franco regime. At the W.F.T.U.'s Second World Congress, in Milan in 1949, the Spanish U.G.T. quoted a large number of irrefutable facts in its exposure of the American monopolies' penetration in Spain and the alliance of Franco with the

warmongering rulers of Washington.

This policy has continued and intensified since that time. In exchange for political and economic backing, Franco has surrendered the national territory and the mineral and industrial wealth of Spain to the Americans. American imperialists have gained control of the wolfram, mercury, and oil deposits and of vital branches of the Spanish economy. The ports and aerodromes of Spain, which Franco has equipped and enlarged at the cost of hundreds of millions of pesetas, have been placed at the disposal of the United States. Franco has even promised Spanish troops to General Eisenhower for use wherever he may consider necessary, even outside the frontiers of Spain.

In order to make it easier to bring Spain into the Atlantic Pact, the pro-American majority of the U.N. withdrew the sanctions which had been taken against the Franco regime in 1946. The United States Government has made a loan of 62½ million dollars to boost the tottering fascist economy. Most recently, after the Barcelona population's heroic strike, the United States Senate unanimously endorsed Franco Spain's inclusion in the Atlantic Pact.

On the outskirts of Madrid, close to the luxury flats of the Franco-ite profiteers, whole families are forced by sheer poverty to live in caves. Their children have no choice but to play all day in the blistering sun in a former quarry.

The Betrayal by the Right-wing Socialists

THIS betrayal of the promises made to the Spanish people during and immediately after the war, and the criminal support given to the Franco regime would not have been possible without the collaboration of the right-wing socialist leaders, both on the international and national plane. The U.N.'s repeal of the sanctions against Franco was carried out with the tacit approval of pseudo-socialist Governments like that in Great Britain; or of governments including socialists, like the French Government. A Phalangist journalist, Gomes Aparicio, stressed in a recent commentary that the decision of the United States Senate coincided with the arrival in Washington of the President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol.

The Spanish working class, which has never ceased its struggle against Franco, had, after the Allied victory which it considered as its own, launched a growing series of strikes, the climax of which was the magnificent strike movement of the Basque workers in May, 1947. The fight was impeded by the division of the Spanish workers' forces and by the intrigues of foreign chancelleries.

The right-wing socialist leaders, Indalecio Prieto, Trifon Gomez, and Pascual Tomas, had split the General Union of Workers, the largest Spanish trade union centre, and had created a breakaway U.G.T. There was also a National Confederation of Labour, of anarchist tendencies, and the Basque Workers' Alliance, the Trade Union Centre of the Basque nationalists. The right-wing socialist and anarchist leaders aided the manoeuvres of the London and Washington Governments which had promised them that they would succeed Franco, by smashing the unity of the Republican forces, by signing a pact with the monarchists, and, under the pretext of avoiding sacrifices and in the name of anti-communism, by encouraging the workers under their influence to abandon the struggle and their unity.

This situation was overcome by patient and unremitting activity on the part of the most conscious sections of the working class. They understood the necessity of setting up, within each enterprise, a broad front of all workers, irrespective of political or trade union affiliations, to defend immediate demands, and they began to take action within the rank and file organisations of the vertical trade unions to expose the demagogy of the Phalangist stooges.

The Franco dictatorship has forced thousands of Spaniards of all ages to become beggars. Here are children and adults begging bread from travellers in a railway station.

Experiences and Struggles inside the Phalangist Unions

OVER the past three years, united action at the place of work has made considerable progress among the workers. In many firms the workers, united in a solid front, organised strikes and protest movements to win better wages and working conditions. Sit-down strikes, sabotage of production, and go-slow movements were the forms of struggle used by the workers to overcome the employers' resistance, in fights limited to particular demands which strengthened their class solidarity.

These limited struggles provided a great wealth of experience. They taught the workers the path to follow to win success for their demands and to combat the abusive methods of the Phalangist employers. They also taught that even the most savage repression is shattered when it comes up against the workers' solid front. They increased their confidence in the power of unity and exposed the demagogy of the Phalangist trade union stooges.

The wave of unity spread to all workers, in spite of the anti-unity attitude of the right-wing socialist and anarchist leaders. Proof of this is to be found in the clandestine Bulletin of the Catalonian Regional Federation of Manufacturing and Textile Industry Workers (C.N.T. — Anarchist), which in an article for young workers in December 1950 stated :

"Young Spaniards, whether you be Catholic or Protestant, Monarchist or Republican, Conservative or Communist, you should all march behind the same banner, that of unity; stimulated by the same sentiments of liberty; with the same concern—to shake off Franco's military yoke."

The United Struggle Spreads Throughout the People

UNITY and solidarity among all workers, forged and consolidated in the factories, was to reach a higher stage, uniting hundreds of thousands of workers in a common fight. The unchecked rise in prices sharpened the poverty of the working class and worsened the situation of all social classes. The imperialists' criminal alliance with Franco and the decision taken by the U.N. to withdraw sanctions acted as a spur to the Spanish people. The only road to liberation from oppression and hunger, to the conquest of bread, peace and liberty was the united struggle against Franco. The people of Barcelona were to open this new phase.

The rise in tram fares was the spark which set fire to popular discontent. On February 15th, 1951, leaflets began to circulate calling on the people of Barcelona to boycott the trams. Workers and students began what was called the "tram hunt," that is, they unhooked the trolleys and the trams were immobilised owing to lack of current. On February 24th, the students of Barcelona University and groups of workers and commercial employees, infuriated by the arrest of some of their comrades, began to stone the trams and beat off the armed police with a shower of stones. The trams were half empty. The walls of Barcelona were covered with such slogans as "Down with Franco!" "Peace, Bread and the Republic!"

On March 1st, in response to the instructions given in a leaflet raid and by *Treball,* the underground organ of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, no one rode on the trams. The vehicles travelled with the conductor, the driver and a few policemen as their only occupants. Factory and office workers and all other sections of the population went to their various jobs on foot. The police opened fire and killed a 5-year old child, Juan Moreno Ruiz. An impressive demonstration with thousands upon thousands of people, expressed its indignation in the streets of Barcelona to the cry of "Death to Franco!" and "Down with this murderers' regime!"

The boycott continued in the following days with the same

unanimity. Street fights broke out and some demonstrators were killed. On March 6th, the Barcelona Franco-ite authorities were forced to capitulate and to restore the former tramway fares. On March 7th, a huge demonstration, composed of tens of thousands of people, attended the burial of the students murdered by Franco's police during the preceding days.

The Unified Socialist Party issued new leaflets appealing to the workers to come out on a general strike in protest against the high cost of living, for a minimum monthly wage of 2,000 pesetas and against Franco's war policy. On March 12th, the general strike broke out.

From early in the day, the strike was complete in the textile and metal industries and on the building sites. Commercial employees, taxi drivers, cafe waiters and bar tenders joined the movement. Many industrial and commercial firms closed down. The strike, which involved more than 300,000 workers in Barcelona, spread to other industrial centres in the provinces : Mataro, Badalona, Tarrasa, Sadabell, Prat del Llobregat, Hospitalet, etc., making a total of more than 500,000 strikers.

The workers organised fighting demonstrations throughout the town and waged heroic fights with the police. Two strikers lost their lives at Cataluna Square at the hands of Franco's mercenaries. The workers overturned trams and took up paving stones to reply to the police.

The strikers demonstrated outside the City Hall where they overturned the luxurious automobiles of the Franco officials. They demonstrated in the Central Market Place where they threw out the tradesmen indulging in black market activities, right outside the Civil Government building, residence of Franco's representative in the province, the Phalangist Baeza Alegria, who, terrified, sent repeated requests for reinforcements to Madrid and the neighbouring provinces.

Armed police and the Civil Guard everywhere brutally charged the strikers, without hesitating to use their fireams. Near City Hall, five women were among the injured. Outside the Civil Government building, a 14-year old boy was murdered. But the people resolutely fought back and many police were also injured by stones.

A demonstration of several thousand workers collected outside the Ritz Hotel where a number of North American potentates were staying. They shouted : "Down with the protectors of Franco!", "We shall not go to war for the North American bankers!"

Another very significant event showing the maturity of the Spanish working class was the demonstration outside the headquarters of the vertical trade unions, one of the institutions most hated by the workers. This building was protected by a large contingent of guards armed with machine-guns. Within range of the policemen's weapons, the workers began to sing the International. In spite of twelve years of fascist domination, the international working class anthem has remained implanted in the heart of the Spanish proletariat.

The strike had been planned to last only 24 hours, but after the many arrests by the police — more than 2,000 strikers were arrested—the strike was prolonged. The workers continued the strike in most enterprises to obtain the release of their comrades and the withdrawal of Franco's order forbidding employers to pay

In Barcelona after the strike even churchgoers are suspect for the omnipresent symbol of the Falangist regime—the police.
(Picture Post Library.)

Bricks and paving stones, the mute evidence of popular anger, litter the streets of Barcelona after the huge demonstrations against the rising cost of living.

BELOW: **The Plaza de Cataluna, in the heart of Barcelona, being "guarded" by Franco's police against hungry men, women and children.**
(Picture Post Library.)

workers for the hours lost during the strike and recommending the dismissal of the strikers who had been imprisoned.

But the working class's firmness once again forced the dictators to retreat. Seeing that in spite of the intensification of the reign of terror, the Franco Government was not succeeding in smashing the heroic movement of the Barcelona population, it was forced, several days later, to cancel the reprisal measures; it withdrew the clause recommending the dismissal of the imprisoned workers and authorised the employers to pay wages for the days of strike.

The Movement Spreads to Other Areas

THE Barcelona strikes had considerable repercussions. They brought into relief the instability and weakness of the Franco regime. Franco sent warships and thousands of police reinforcements to Barcelona, and yet he was beaten by the united struggle of the working class and people. The path mapped out in Barcelona was promptly taken by other provinces of Spain.

On April 2nd, the Medical and Chemistry Students of the University of Madrid abandoned their lectures in protest against high fares on the urban transport system, and had violent clashes with the police. On April 3rd, the textile workers of the town of Azcoitia, near San Sebastian, came out on strike for higher wages, which they succeeded in obtaining.

On April 15th, 1,300 workers in the Bertrand y Serra textile factory in Manresa launched a fresh strike movement to back their demand for a cost of living bonus. On the 18th, the movement had spread to all the textile factories in the town, involving 6,000 workers. A few days later the movement had brought in the workers in the most important textile firms in the Catalan region.

On April 23rd, the Basque workers and people struck another very heavy blow at the Franco regime. The workers of Bilbao and San Sebastian, capitals of the Basque provinces of Biscay and Guipuscoa respectively, the workers in the industrial centres of the same two provinces —at Mondragon, Eibar, Vergara, Elgeibar, Renteria, Zumarraga, Lasarte, Passajes, Villafranca, Durango, Tolosa, Baracaldo, etc., came out on a 48-hour protest against the high cost of living, against the Franco regime and for a 50 per cent wage increase.

A strike of more than 250,000 workers paralysed the Bilbao Blast Furnaces, the Constructora Naval plant, the Euskalduna loco-

motive construction works, the Union Espanola de Explosives arsenal and other industrial enterprises in the area. Not only did the industrial workers take part in the movement, but also the employees of banks, shipping and insurance companies and commercial firms, fishermen and port workers.

The Phalangist Governor of Biscay, Jenaro Riestra, and his Guipuzcoa colleague, issued an ultimatum to the workers, calling on them to return to work the next day or their work contracts would be broken. But the strike continued on the 24th with the same solidarity. During the planned 48 hours, the Basque workers continued the strike and proved their fighting spirit and unity. At Zumarraga, a popular demonstration fought with Franco's repressive forces. At Tolosa, the women organised a fighting demonstration rallying the entire population.

The numerous arrests made by the Franco authorities gave rise to solidarity movements and the prolonging of the strike in many firms. The workers refused to go back to work as long as their imprisoned comrades had not been freed. The strikes lasted several days in many firms in San Sebastian, Zumarraga, Passajes, Renteria, Zarauz and other towns of the Basque Country, in a moving demonstration of working class solidarity, forcing the Franco authorities to free most of the imprisoned workers.

Brutally attacked, the strikers fought back and burned a car of the hated "policia armada", symbol of the regime.

DICTATOR'S SOLILOQUY
Who the hell said the earthquake was in Salvador?
—(from "La Ultima Hora", Havana)

A Fighting May Day

IN this atmosphere of struggle came International Labour Day. In spite of a formidable deployment of police forces in all industrial centres, the Spanish working class celebrated May Day. At Barcelona, more than 14,000 workers downed tools. At Mataro, the work stoppage was complete. In other towns of Spain, thousands of workers demonstrated and downed tools. A rain of leaflets flooded the whole country.

A few days later, on May 4th, the workers of Vitoria, capital of the Basque province of Alava, joined in the general protest of the Spanish people and began a 48-hour strike. During the 4th and 5th, the workers of Vitoria paralysed the activities of the town in spite of the threats and repressive measures of the Franco Governor who sent 400 strikers to the Nanclares de la Oca concentration camp.

On May 8th, 30,000 workers of Pamplona, capital of the pro-

vince of Navarra, launched a general strike. The fact that the strike movement spread to such areas as Alava and Navarra, where reaction has always been all-powerful, proves the great strength of the anti-Franco movement among the Spanish people. The strike broke out following the brutal police dispersal of a women's demonstration held on May 7th to protest against the high cost of living.

The strike completely paralysed the town, with the exception of the electricity, water and gas services and the hospital ambulances, for which the workers made themselves responsible. The strikers were attacked with a savagery which proves the fury of the Phalangists. The police opened fire on a demonstration making its way towards the Civil Government building and seriously injured several demonstrators.

The working people of Pamplona firmly pressed their protest, without allowing themselves to be intimidated by the savage repression ordered by the Franco Governor, Phalangist Luis Valero Bermejo. On the contrary, they handed the following demands to the Franco authorities as the first condition for a return to work :

1. Increase food rations and reduce prices;
2. Payment of the days of the strike and no victimisation of the strikers;
3. Release imprisoned workers.

The Franco Governor telephoned the conditions put forward to Madrid, and after a meeting lasting several hours, the Government agreed to accept them. The workers of Pamplona won a great victory after carrying on the strike without weakening for several days and imposing their demands on the fascist Franco Government.

On May 22nd, Madrid, the capital of Spain, selected by Franco as his residence, expressed its hatred of the tyrant. Clandestine broadcasts and the radio transmitter of the Independent Spanish Radio, issued instructions to organise a boycott on the 22nd in protest against the high cost of living, against the Franco regime and its war policy. This appeal met with tremendous response, the walls of the town were covered with huge "22's" and the population of Madrid reminded one another in their conversations and by all other methods, of the appointed date. Leaflets calling for the action on the boycott day were spread throughout the town by the chain method—anyone receiving a leaflet copies it and sends the copies to other addresses.

The Franco authorities multiplied their threats and launched an intensive campaign in the press and on the radio to terrorise the population. The Government called out the troops, flew in groups of officers and soldiers from Moroccan units and carried out a vast deployment of police forces throughout the capital. Defying Franco's terrorism, the people of Madrid successfully organised their protest day. The workers and the people in general went about their occupations on foot, while the trams and underground were empty. Cafes, restaurants, music halls and so on were deserted, and the Falangist newspapers piled up in the kiosks with no purchasers.

On the same day, the workers of Eibar, Plasencia, Elgeibar and Mondragon, important industrial centres of the province of Guipuzcoa, came out on strike in support of the protest movement of the Madrid workers and population.

United Action and International Solidarity

THE most outstanding feature of these struggles was the broad unity which was created among the Spanish people. The working class played a leading role, but professional workers, civil servants, students, craftsmen, small businessmen and tradesmen and even big employers, took part in the struggle in alliance with the working class. Certain employers preferred to go to prison rather than execute Franco's orders for the dismissal of workers who had struck.

At Barcelona and Euzkadi, in Navarra and Madrid, the mass of workers and other sections went back to the factories, shops and offices with a higher morale and greater enthusiasm, aware of the strength they gained by unity. The reign of terror did not succeed in preventing a united struggle by the people. The workers', republican and anti-Franco forces are uniting to do battle with the Franco regime. Fresh struggles are imminent in Spain. The Spanish people is going forward to the reconquest of welfare, democracy and freedom.

The heroic struggle of the Spanish workers has aroused the enthusiasm and admiration of the international working class. The World Federation of Trade Unions and the trade union organisations of the Soviet Union, People's China, the People's Democracies, France, Italy, Latin America, and so on, expressed their solidarity with the strikers.

In contrast, the magnificent events in Spain caused extraordinary anxiety in the imperialist ruling circles allied with Franco. Their plans for the inclusion of Spain in the Atlantic war projects were smashed by the pressure of the Spanish people's drive for freedom.

The imperialists are rushing to the aid of the Franco regime, which is tottering under the people's blows. Significant in this connection were the large-scale U.S. bomber manoeuvres over Barcelona during the Catalan working class and people's 24-hour strike; the American Senate's unanimous vote in favour of the inclusion of Franco Spain in the Atlantic Pact; and the recent declarations of General Bradley, United States Chief of Staff, on the subject of the incorporation of Franco's army in the "Western Defence" system.

The Spanish people's struggle for liberation represents an important contribution to the cause of world peace. At the same time, the fight for peace against the warmonger allies of Franco is one of the most powerful aids which the international working class and the democrats of all lands can give to the Spanish people.

By EMIL VOJONEC

People's Party Member of Parliament,
Vice-President of the Central Committee
of Czechoslovak Trade Unions.

Czechoslovak Workers Steadily Increase Their Well-Being

CONSTANT concern to increase the material and cultural welfare of the workers is the basic principle of the People's Democratic regime in which the working class, allied with the labouring peasants, holds power. They work for themselves, not for capitalists, and everything they produce belongs to them. Great successes have already been won in this joyful and creative labour for a bright future.

The targets for the first and second year of the Five-Year Plan were successfully reached, and this year also work is proceeding at a satisfactory pace. Thus, the workers are daily able to see a steady rise in their living standards.

The Czechoslovak Constitution

WE shall first of all describe some of the main provisions of the Czechoslovak Constitution of May 9th, 1948, emphasising that since the People's Democratic regime allows the planning of the economy, the State possesses the material means necessary for the *effective* implementation of these provisions.

Czechoslovak citizens possess the right, guaranteed by law, to work, education and leisure. Workers are protected from unemployment and from poverty in cases of disability. Wages policy is determined in close co-operation with the trade unions, and labour receives its just reward. The principle of equal pay for equal work as between men and women has been in force since 1945. The Constitution also guarantees the right to the protection of health and to social security in old age and for loss of the capacity to work. It also establishes the right to holidays with pay.

Special care is provided for women during pregnancy and child-birth. The Constitution proclaims the right of children and young people to develop all their physical and intellectual faculties.

The trade unions play a leading role in the application of the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution guarantees the workers the right to join trade unions, on a voluntary basis and with complete equality of rights. The trade unions defend the workers' interests and take an active part in the running of the economy and in the solution of all questions affecting the workers.

Mothers receive a great deal of attention, and are paid an allowance which represents a considerable addition to their wages. The total sum spent in family allowances today amounts to 750,000 million Czech crowns. It must be pointed out that care for families and children is not limited to family allowances, but includes many financial benefits.

In accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, the People's Democratic regime provides

A workers' recreation centre in the High Tatras.

workers with the possibility of enjoying a leisure period after every year of productive labour so that they may come back to their task with renewed strength. The law forbids any arbitrary action by the management of firms in connection with leisure periods.

The Right to Leisure

BEFORE 1945, the average length of workers' holidays was 7 days, whereas today, they amount to three-and-a-half weeks. Apprentices and workers of less than 18 years of age are entitled to three full weeks' vacation. In certain trades, holidays amount to as much as five weeks; workers of more than 50 years of age and miners are entitled to longer vacations. Religious holidays are also legal holidays and are paid by the enterprises.

During the period of capitalism, only the wealthy were able to take vacations, certainly not clerical workers and still less industrial workers. Manufacturers, big traders, great landowners, in short, everyone who lived on the exploitation of the workers, were to be found "resting" in the world-famous Czech spas. Trade union organisations, which did not even possess the means of aiding the unemployed, were even less able to provide the working masses with vacations in the spas. Now the situation has changed. In application of the Constitution, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions offers the workers the opportunity of regaining their strength in modern rest homes. The workers pay only a tiny part of the travelling and boarding expenses. The greater part of the expenses are borne by the State and the Central Committee of Czechoslovak Trade Unions. The latter also decides who shall be sent to a rest home. It goes without saying that shock workers and workers who have fulfilled their targets within the Five-Year Plan in an exemplary fashion have priority. The number of workers sent to rest homes is steadily increasing. The 1945 figure of 4,417 rose to 257,000 in 1950, and this year amounts to 285,000. This figure does not include the 232,000 agricultural workers and school children who will also spend their holidays in rest homes. Total expenditure on leisure amounts to 770 million crowns in 1951, 26 per cent more than in 1950.

A gay crowd of workers enjoy winter sports in the beautiful mountains of Czechoslovakia.

Social Insurance

A FURTHER example of the solicitude for the workers is the Social Insurance Law adopted in 1948. Today, 95 per cent of the country's population benefits from the provisions of this law which increases the workers' nominal income by 32 per cent.

Social Insurance is divided into two sections: health insurance and old-age insurance. In cases of sickness, the insured person and his family are entitled to financial assistance. All workers enjoy free medical aid in hospital or elsewhere. All the most up-to-date medicines and medical equipment are provided free, as well as spectacles, orthopaedic footwear, bandages, surgical belts, etc. In addition, the Social Insurance pays expenses in hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoria, rest homes and other institutions. Only very rarely is an insured person required to pay the expenses of a stay in a rest home.

Sick benefits are paid for a period of 365 days. If the illness continues, the insured person applies for a disability pension.

Pensions and allowances fall into the following categories: old-age pensions, disability pensions, single wage allowances, allowances to the wife, to the consort, to the widow, to the orphans of the insured person, help to young married couples, to victims of labour accidents, etc. Mention should also be made of the pensions paid to persons over 65 years of age and to invalids, this pension going to the widow on the decease of the insured. An allowance is also paid to orphans, both of whose parents are dead, and who are not otherwise entitled to an orphan's allowance.

A special aspect of our system of social insurance is the allowances paid to persons who, under the capitalist regime, had no right to Social Insurance or pensions. Today, 300,000 citizens in this category receive allowances amounting to 700 crowns per month.

The following statistical data illustrates the increase in the volume of Social Insurance:

Taking 1947 as 100, the amount paid to doctors in the form of fees was 78 in 1946 and 187 at the beginning of 1950.

Expenditure on medicines and medical apparatus was 70 and 157 respectively.

Maternity allowances were 70.5 in 1946 and 213 at the beginning of 1950, sick benefits were 67 and 169, and other allowances were 65 and 330, respectively. The index of the total sum paid in sick benefits in 1946 was 70, and at the beginning of 1950 was 219.

Insurance allowances are also increasing. In 1946 the index was 89.44; in 1948, 148; and in 1949, 246.45. Allowances paid to victims of accidents are not included in these figures.

Amenities for Women

WHAT does the People's Democratic regime do for women? What has it done to change their lives, to make them better and happier? It has put into practice the principle, laid down in the Constitution, of the equality of rights of all citizens, equality of rights between men and women in the family and in society. It has given women access to all professions and posts, to all titles of rank and education. Every single post is open equally to women and men. Women have the same rights as men in employment, wages, vacations, social insurance and education.

All necessary conditions have been created to prevent women's right to work and education from conflicting with their duty as mothers and

Young workers in Czechoslovakia participate extensively in sport and games.

educators of the new generation. Under capitalism, women received very poor wages, almost 50 per cent below the already low wages of men. Today, their monthly wages amount to several thousand crowns and shock workers often earn more than 7,000 crowns per month.

Under the Social Insurance system, pregnant women are entitled, before and after child-birth, to leave totalling 18 weeks. During this period, they receive sick benefits. An allowance of 2,500 crowns plus a layette allowance of 750 crowns is paid at the birth of each child. Naturally, medical attention, whether at home or in a maternity hospital, is entirely free. In 1950, more than 405 million crowns were paid out in child-birth allowances, 326 millions in maternity benefits, 113 millions for layettes and 49 millions for attention outside maternity homes. The network of clinics and consulting rooms for pregnant women and young mothers is steadily being expanded.

Creches, kindergartens and nurseries have been opened so that women can take employment with an easy mind. The children can stay in the creches the whole day. Their menu is supervised by doctors and the price paid for food received by the child in the creche is very low and varies according to the family's total income. The number of kindergartens is also on the increase. In 1945 there were only 1,670, but in 1950 there were about 4,000, caring for more than a quarter of a million children. In the Centres, organised within

Young Vilikovska is an outstanding shockworker.

A recreation centre run by the Central Council of Trade Unions, where men and women agricultural workers from all over Czechoslovakia enjoy their holidays.

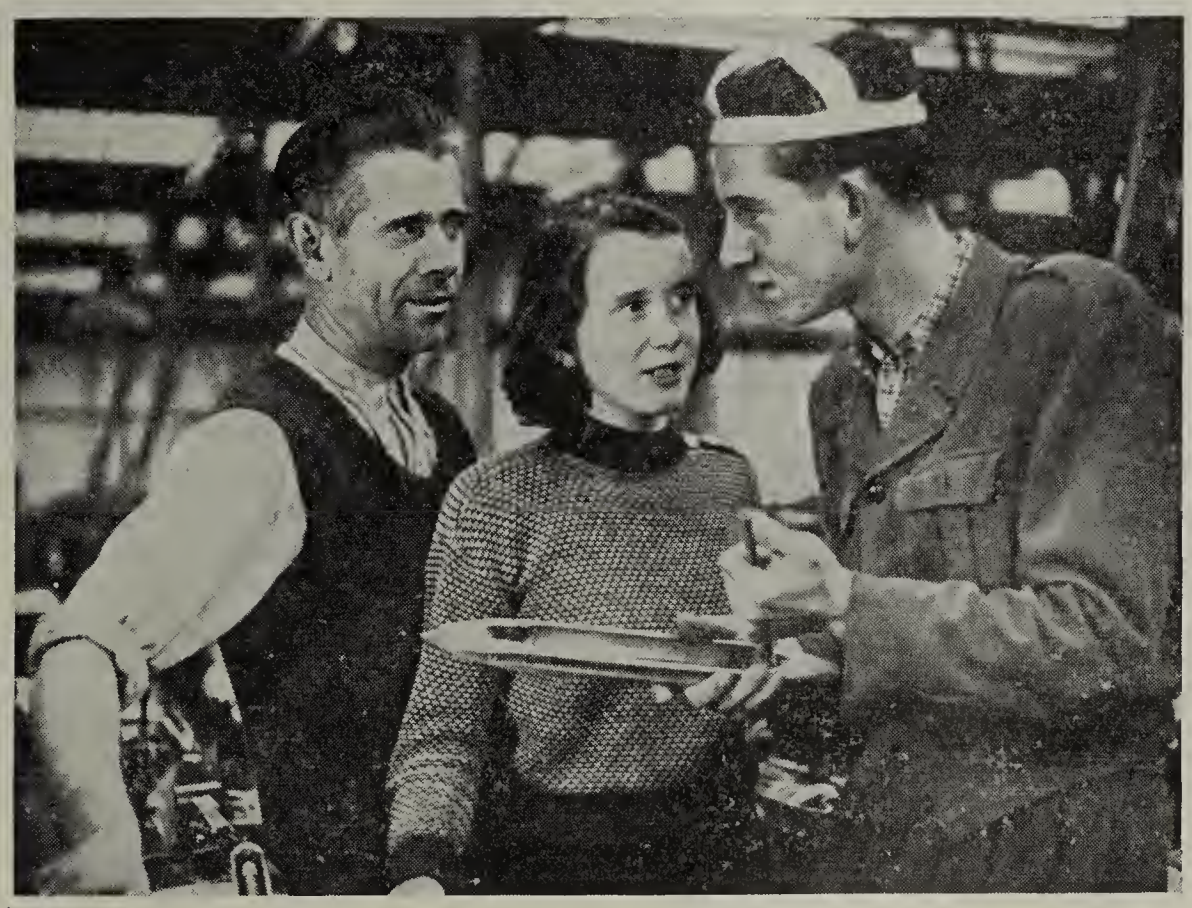
schools for children up to the age of 15 years, there were more than 28,000 children in 1950. Agricultural workers enjoy the same benefits, for the same care is bestowed on children in the villages as in the towns.

Of very great importance to women are the factory canteens, which are continuously being improved and developed. Between 1949 and 1950, their number rose by 12 per cent and the number of people served increased by 25 per cent. The workers can buy tasty dishes at moderate prices. No longer do we see workers hurrying to their jobs, a bottle of black coffee in one hand and a lunch tin in the other. School canteens are another amenity for women, where more than 700,000 children took their meals in 1950. The women of our country are fully aware of the benefits which the People's Democratic regime brings them, and they therefore contribute with all other workers to the building of the national economy, by fighting tirelessly for peace, progress and a bright future for their children.

Young Workers

APPRENTICES and young workers receive a great deal of attention. The time when one used to see advertisements reading "Wanted, well-mannered boy" is still too close to us to be forgotten. These few words implied 3 or 4 years of heavy labour, full of humiliation, insults and blows, privation and often poverty. The ideal of all employers was to have the largest possible number of apprentices because they cost them practically nothing and this made it possible to make big profits out of them. Since the apprentice could also be made to do household tasks in the employer's home, he could not, in fact, begin his apprenticeship until after the hiring of a second apprentice who, in his turn, would have to do the work of a domestic servant. The time when parents had to pay to have their children taught a real trade has now gone.

Today apprentices receive a grant covering the entire apprenticeship period. In the mining industry, for example, this grant amounts to 1,400 crowns in the second year, with a 25 per cent increase for work at the coal face. Apprenticeship is organised in such a way that during this period apprentices can acquire not only knowledge of a particular trade, but also general education. Every year hundreds of millions of crowns are spent by the State on the education, housing, clothing, physical and cultural development of apprentices.



Young Dedecius, one of the best weavers in his factory, is explaining his time-saving methods to his sister.

Our apprentices are our pride, our hope, and very often examples to the older workers in our factories, workers who did not have the opportunity of living and developing in conditions like those enjoyed by our youth.

Under capitalism, it was extremely difficult for young working class newly-weds to set up a home and in particular, to buy furniture. Now the State makes a loan to young people on marriage. On the birth of the first child, the State takes over the payment of interest on the loan and one-sixth

of the loan is paid off by the State when the child is one year old; the State cancels one-sixth of the loan at the birth of each successive child.

New Homes

UNDER capitalism, Czech workers did not have enough money to pay their rents. It was no rare thing to see people living in old railway trucks, in wooden huts and even in caves. Today, this is a thing of the past. 21,980 apartments, representing an area of 1,869,000 square metres, were provided for the working population in 1950. The housing plans for 1951 are much bigger than those for 1950, since 51,000 houses are to be built. We want to put an end to the crowding of large families into small apartments—we want to give all workers healthful and comfortable homes. Much has already been done to achieve this, but we still have a lot to do.

Labour Safety

THE State is also concerned for the workers' welfare in the factories. We repudiate the capitalist argument that accidents at work result from inattention by the workers themselves. Now that our workers are no longer subject to any form of speed-up, an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual assistance prevails in the factories. These new work relationships have brought about a fundamental change in labour safety. Those jobs which require great effort and divert the worker's attention from danger have been mechanised. Our technicians are perfecting new methods that reduce the number of work accidents to a minimum. Accidents are also on the decline because of the rising standards of general and trade knowledge among the workers. The workers themselves make a big contribution to the development of labour safety methods. All factories have commissions created by the factory trade union branch to organise the fight against labour accidents. They have already achieved magnificent results.

The Czechoslovak workers' living standards are improving daily. The awareness of this fact is predominant in the workers' attitude and this is the guarantee for even greater future successes. Czechoslovak workers also know that through their creative labour, they are also fighting to preserve a lasting peace. This idea unites all the citizens of our country into a solid front which will smash all the manoeuvres of the warmongers. The workers of Czechoslovakia firmly believe President Clement Gottwald's prediction that 1951 will be a year of fresh successes and of new victories in the fight for peace, the people's well-being and socialism.

ILIO BOSI

General Secretary of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International.

Regional Agricultural Conference In Latin America

AFTER their experiences with the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, increasing numbers of European workers are becoming aware of the nature and function of American imperialism.

You must go to one of the Latin American countries to see with your own eyes what this inhuman system of economic domination and slavery means.

The savage violation of the peoples' independence, the crushing of all democratic and progressive movements, the support openly given to cliques of reactionary politicians, the threats to starve countries daring to demand their independence, the obstacles impeding all economic progress, all these are employed by American imperialism on the Latin American Continent.

On going ashore in Cuba, and visiting the shops, you will see shoes, cloth, machines, beverages, food and other goods of all kinds, all "Made in U.S.A." Even the Havana cigars are now "Made in U.S.A.", because Cuban tobacco is prepared in Florida.

If you visit the fertile areas of this island, you can walk mile after mile on land belonging to the big American companies. You will see only American-owned sugar refineries and warehouses.

You will find the same situation in the other countries of Central and South America. The wealth of these countries is in the hands of American capital; all profits go to the United States; only poverty, exploitation, degradation and the most shameful corruption remain in the country.

This is how American imperialism puts into practice its oft-repeated principles of liberty and independence for the peoples.

Foreign Imperialism and Domestic Feudalism

EVEN when the big companies are not actually established, their influence is felt. Latin America is a country where the methods of exploiting the native populations, introduced by the Spanish conquerors, have remained unaltered for hundreds of years.

Feudalism reigns brutally in the countryside where the great landowners live on revenues which, in a variety of ways, they extort from the workers. This money is squandered in the different capitals of Latin America, in the spas, and in foreign casinos, while at the same time, agricultural workers — Indians, persons of mixed race, Europeans—are driven to forced labour little different from slavery.

Undoubtedly, there are laws against slavery and feudal exploitation, but these laws are never applied and all workers' liberation movements are violently crushed with arms furnished to the governments and their supporters by democracy "Made in U.S.A."

This is how the Indians, living in their primitive communities, the poor peasants and agricultural workers enjoy the American way of life which openly or otherwise guarantees and protects the United States and chains the debt-laden workers to the big plantations.

For example, the seringueiros (rubber tappers) are forced to live isolated in virgin forest, away from all help, and obliged by a harsh contract to cut the bark of the rubber trees and to collect the rubber sap for months and months for the sole benefit of the middlemen and big capitalist companies.

Similarly, the peasant must work five days per week for the proprietors of the big Haciendas in Peru and Bolivia, and is only permitted to cultivate a small patch of ground for himself, quite inadequate for feeding himself and his family.

This is the Latin American "way of life" which the United States wants to introduce to Europe and other countries that they intend to "liberate".

In such conditions it is obvious that the national economy, industries, and the welfare of the population cannot develop. But the profits of the big companies are assured as is the economic and political grip of the United States.

The Conference Was the Expression of a Powerful Labour Movement

THE Latin American working class is still almost undeveloped. Against it and its organisations, all possible methods of persecution have been used, and already in several countries, the trade union organisations are working illegally. Despite this, they are the vanguard of a decisive struggle for the citizens' and workers' elementary rights, against the dictatorship of the big landowners, and for the liberation of Latin America from the domination of American imperialism.

The representatives of the industrial and agricultural workers as well as the peasants have responded to the appeal to meet in Mexico addressed to them by the WFTU and its agricultural trade department, the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International, as well as the CTAL. They have defied the hatred and persecution of their governments which, once again, have played their parts as valets of U.S. imperialism.

Several delegates were unable to go to this Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America, held in Mexico City from May 2-6, because visas were refused, but the delegates who were present denounced living conditions in Latin America where the supporters and followers of fascism and racialism, protected by the U.S.A., prosper to such a point that they control all key government positions.

The cold-blooded dictatorships set up in the Latin American countries, are ignored by the capitalist press and the paid propagandists of the American "standard of living", i.e., by the splitters within the workers' liberation movement. The attempts to split working class unity in the Latin American countries, even though fruitless, are the most shameful and cynical of all these attempts made on behalf of imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes.

In spite of all these obstacles, the Latin American working class demonstrated its maturity at the Conference in Mexico by correctly stating the serious and important questions that have to be settled. The news published by the few Mexican papers opening their columns to accounts of the work of the Conference and delegates' reports, have shown that the question of the liberation of the Latin American rural masses, that is, the majority of the population, was clearly understood by the working class.

The direct relation between the domination of American imperialism and the big landowners on the one hand, and the poverty, slavery, complete lack of democracy, and national subjection on the other, was strongly condemned.

The Latin American working class have raised the banner of national liberation, of economic and social progress, in the name of the great majority of the population. The experiences which the delegates reported to the Conference showed the road to follow in the fight for freedom. It is actual experience that is important and decisive. This experience is made up of the heroic fights of the working class and by all sections of the Latin American workers against dictatorship and the fascist type of regime. It is the resistance of all democratic patriots in varous countries to imperialism; it is the struggle for the defence of civil liberties; it is the tremendous work of the industrial and agricultural workers and their trade union organisations, members of the WFTU, for increased wages and for the general improvement of living conditions. The peasants' struggles against the feudal rule of the landowners have pointed out to the Latin American peasants the great road leading to an alliance with the proletariat.

An Exchange of Experience That Will Bear Fruit

EACH delegate to the Conference in Mexico, the first of its kind, brought his share of experiences. Many of these, such as those from Mexico, will become part of the history of the continent. They are very important for the positive repercussions they have had on the lives of the peoples. The liquidation of the big feudal and church estates, the conquest of the land by millions of

Mexican peasants, and the nationalisation of oil are the main conditions making possible the development of national industry and social and democratic progress in Mexico today, thus strengthening resistance to imperialist oppression.

Results are the important thing. Different countries will achieve the same results, but by different means determined by the historic development of each country, by general international conditions, by the strength of the working class, and by their capacity to lead the present liberation movement of the peasants who make up the majority of the population.

The delegates to the Conference in Mexico demonstrated that they understood this, proving that despite repression and demagogy in Latin America, the liberation movement is a powerful factor that nothing can stifle, not even the intense pressure of American imperialism which, driven out of Asia, is desperately fighting to conserve and expand its domination over Latin America.

Two days after the conclusion of the Congress which the press had carefully refrained from mentioning, an important right-wing Mexican newspaper printed an article apparently inspired by the U.S. Embassy. The article announced that "a group of Reds" (they were referring to Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, Maurice Carroué, vice-president of the Agricultural Trade Department, and the author of this article) were in Mexico, that the Conference had alarmed the foreign embassies in Mexico, and that necessary measures would have to be taken. No doubt, the embassies hoped for these measures and the newspaper article was meant to exert pressure on the Mexican government.

The Mexican workers and their free trade union organisation cordially greeted all the Conference delegates. The readiness of the Mexican people to defend their independence against foreign intervention and particularly against those of the Gringos (Americans) is so strong that the manoeuvres inspired by the American imperialists have been unsuccessful.

These facts promised well for the achievement of the programme adopted by the Conference. In the future, American imperialism will have good reason to be alarmed.

A Message from the W.F.T.U. to the

ALL KOREA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The Secretariat of the W.F.T.U. has cabled the All Korea Federation of Trade Unions the following message:

Dear Comrades,

On this anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Korean people against the American aggressors, the World Federation of Trade Unions sends you, and through you to the glorious Korean people, the fraternal greetings of tens of millions of organised workers throughout the world. It sends warm greetings to the heroic Chinese volunteers who have ranged themselves at your side in this savage war.

The W.F.T.U. assures you of the active solidarity of the workers of the world in the fight to end imperialist aggression and to ensure that a just and lasting peace crowns all the heroic acts of the Korean people which has given the world a magnificent example of its devotion to independence and national liberties.

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

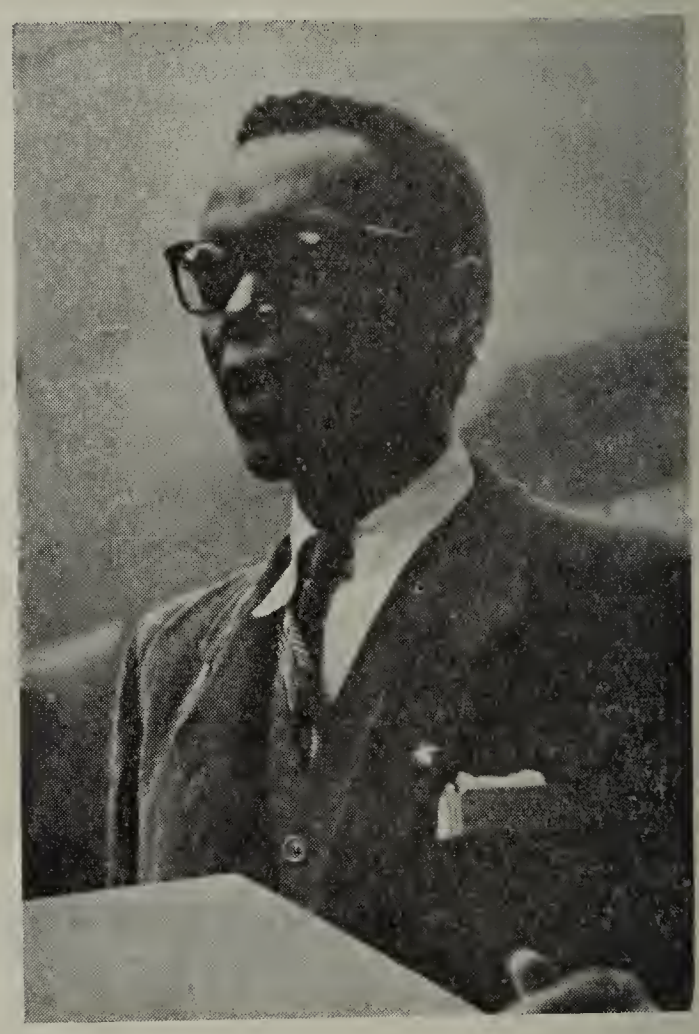
A CONFERENCE OF WORKERS IN FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

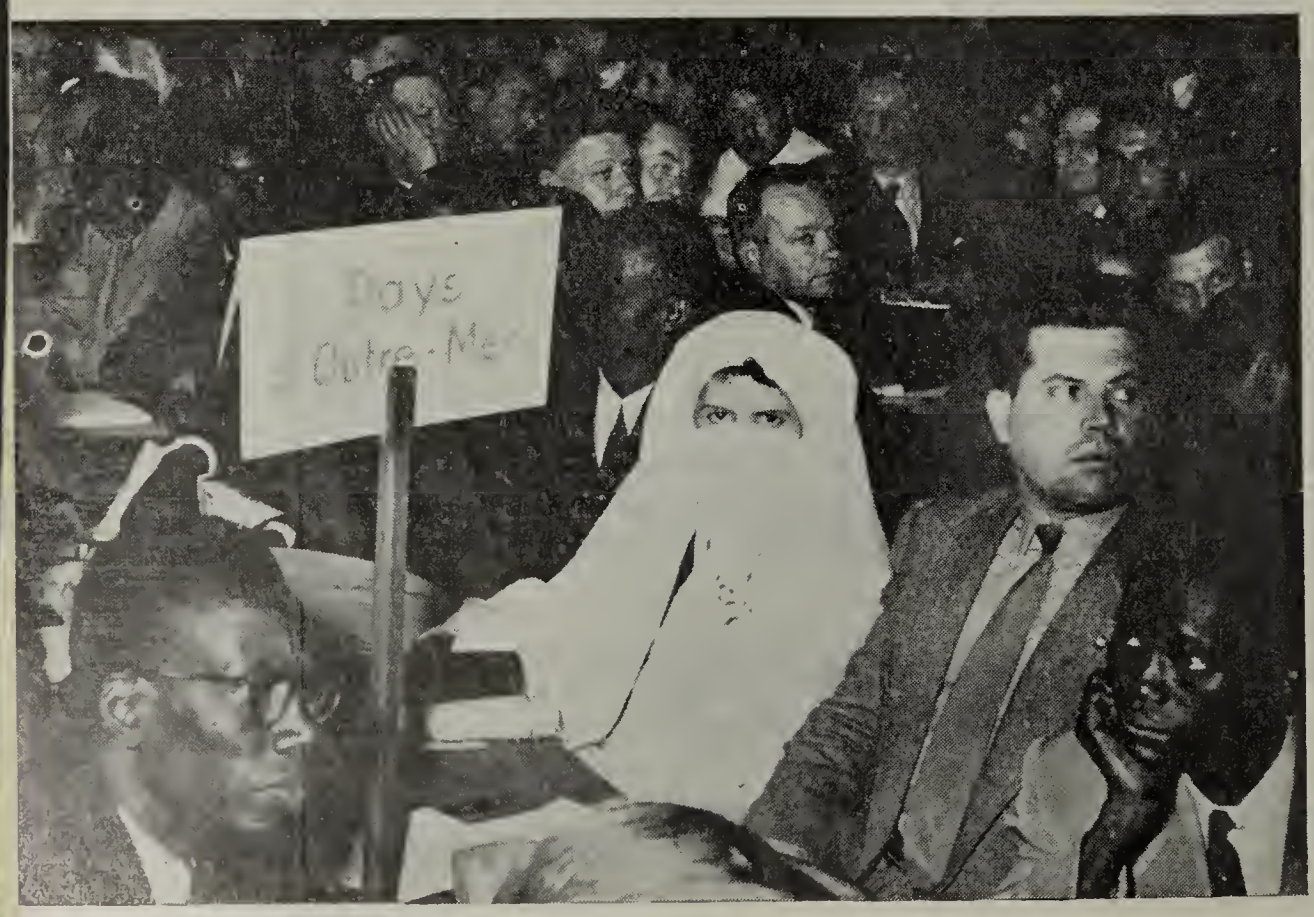
SOME forty delegates from French overseas territories who had come to Paris for the C.G.T's 28th Congress met in a Conference organised by the C.G.T. from May 24 to 26, on the eve of the Congress. Also present were fraternal delegates from the Tunisian Centre (U.S.T.T.) affiliated to the W.F.T.U., a representative of the African railwaymen's independent union and a railway worker belonging to the C.F.T.C. (Christian workers) from Dahomey.

The basic conclusion of delegates' speeches was that overseas workers had become aware of their own strength; they had understood the necessity of developing both unity within each overseas territory and unity with all other colonial workers and with the workers of the metropolitan country, so as to win victory in the fight for immediate demands, for peace and national liberties.

When a representative of Viet-Namese workers in France thanked the Algerian workers—particularly the dockers—for the effective aid they had given the Viet-Namese people by refusing to load war material, Djername, an Algiers docker, replied : "We must not allow one oppressed people to be used to oppress another."

The Conference adopted a resolution appealing " to all trade unions in countries colonised by French imperialism to intensify their struggles, in workers' unity, under the banner of a common struggle along with the workers of France and their C.G.T. and under the banner of the W.F.T.U."





ABOVE: **Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary of the French Sudan Trades Council and vice president of the WFTU, which he represented at the 28th Congress of the French C.G.T.**

BELOW: **Moslem women are beginning to take their proper place in the trade unions and labour struggles. To represent them at the Congress of the C.G.T. in Paris, workers of the Hospital of Blida (Algeria), who have just ended a victorious 48-hour strike, chose a well-known militant worker, Aicha Benaouda.**

BRITISH RAILWAYMEN MOVE FORWARD

By

TOM DOWNS

THE recent struggle of the British railwaymen, which culminated in the February wage award of approximately 7½ per cent, represents one of the most important developments in the British Trade Union movement since the end of the war. The award, which was won mainly by the unofficial action of the rank and file, is a reflection of the growing mood of militancy developing in the ranks of the British trade union movement. The victory itself has had a profound effect on the railwaymen. There is a rising spirit of confidence in their power to wrest their demands from the Railway Executive (the Government board responsible to the industry), a new faith in the militant action of the rank and file.

On the other hand, the negotiations around the claim, and the settlement, reveal new tactics by the British employers. Faced by the rising revolt of the trade unionists for wage increases to meet the mounting cost of living, the employers are resorting to the method of making grudging concessions in wages to which are attached open or concealed conditions amounting to an intensification of exploitation through speed-up and rationalisation.

For two weeks during February, the railwaymen electrified the country with the threat of a national strike. In the Liverpool and Manchester areas stoppages occurred. In many other areas the railwaymen ceased normal working and started "work to rule" movements.[1] Throughout the entire country Branches and District Councils of the unions called mass meetings from which ultimatums were issued to the Railway Executive that unless an increase was granted in a matter of days, the men would take unofficial action to force their demands. Had the settlement been delayed a few days longer, hundreds of thousands of railwaymen would have gone into action.

The movement was spontaneous and on a national scale, springing from the rank and file and reflecting the deep-rooted anger of the railwaymen.

To appreciate the importance of this development, one must remember that this is the first major dispute involving the rank and file railwaymen that has broken out in the industry since 1926.

What Happened During the Negotiations

THE general body of railwaymen are among the lowest paid of the main industries of the country. The National Union of Railwaymen, the largest of the three railway Trade Unions, embracing the lowest paid workers in the industry, had consistently fought inside the T.U.C. against the wage-freeze.

Determined to break through the 3-year old wage standstill, the N.U.R., at the end of 1950, approached the other two Rail Trade Unions (the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and the Railway Clerks Association), with a view to submitting a joint wages claim to the Railway Executive. At this stage, because of the weakness of the rank and file movement for unity between the three Unions, a joint application was not agreed to by the Executive Committees of the three Unions, and instead each put in an application for a varying amount, (the R.C.A. for 7½ per cent, the N.U.R. for 10 per cent, and the A.S.L.E. & F. for 15 per cent). The representatives of the Unions met the Railway Executive and put forward an unchallengeable case for their respective claims. They were able to show how the standards of their members had deteriorated even in relation to other sections of industry and presented facts to show that unless wages were increased the industry

(1) "Working to rule" is the strict application of the rules governing the performance of a task. These rules are generally designed to conform to statutory safety regulations, so as to protect the employer from liability in case of accident; in practice they are very often not fully applied, in the interest of getting the job done quickly. By applying them fully, therefore, the workers operate a slow-down strike.

would be faced with imminent crisis due to inability to recruit suitable labour.

In spite of the modesty and sincerity of the claims, the Railway Executive brushed them aside. An offer of approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was made —*to which was attached what amounted to a dramatic worsening of conditions.* Never in the past—not even when the industry was run under private ownership—had the employers treated the Unions in such a contemptuous manner. To make matters worse, the spokesman for the Nationalised Railway Executive was none other than Mr. W. P. Allen, a former General Secretary of one of the railway Trade Unions.

The Unions emphatically rejected the offer, making it perfectly clear that they would not even consider an offer to which was attached proposals for worsening the conditions of the men.

Railwaymen Defy Order 1305

UNDER Arbitration Order 1305, the Unions are, in effect, prevented from declaring an official legal strike. They must first of all notify the Minister of Labour "that a dispute exists" between them and the employers. The Minister would then attempt to get the two parties to arrive at an agreement, and failing that would refer the dispute to arbitration, the decision then arrived at being binding.

The railwaymen's leaders, sensing the mounting anger of the rank and file, approached the Minister of Labour to try and end the deadlock. But at the same time they made it perfectly clear that they would not allow their claim to go to arbitration. The firm stand of the Union forced the Minister to seek a way out by setting up a "Court of Inquiry" to examine the Unions' application. The "Court's" findings were only to be in the nature of "recommendations."

Out of the 5 members appointed to the "Court," only two were trade unionists and both were notorious right-wing supporters of the wage-freeze.

It was the Minister's aim to use the inevitable reactionary findings of such a "Court" to force the railwaymen into retreat. However, this was as yet not fully realised by the majority of the railwaymen. Only the most advanced section of the men in the industry saw through the manoeuvres right from the beginning and began to demand more militant action in support of their wage claim. The majority still thought they should await the findings of the Court.

But events very soon confirmed the correctness of the views of the militants. At the beginning of February the "Court" made public its findings. It struck the whole trade union movement with a jolt. Its recommendations went no further than those of the employers and in the most threatening and arrogant language it stressed that the miserable increases offered to the upper strata were only permissible if the Unions agreed to a drastic worsening of conditions all round.

But the authorities had miscalculated. Instead of intimidating the railwaymen, their actions had a contrary effect. At once, the railwaymen, hitherto steeped in a tradition of "conciliation" and "compromise", saw through the phoney negotiating ma-

J. R. Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen.

chinery of the employers and the Government. They had begun to realise that they would only get what they were prepared to fight for.

The Union leaders also recognised that a transformation was taking place in the attitude of the railwaymen. Without hesitation they rejected the findings of the "Court of Inquiry."

Militant action by the rank and file began to develop. Strikes broke out in some parts of the country. Elsewhere the Branches and Districts began preparing the workers to join in their tens of thousands in the stoppages and "work to rule" movement. Day by day the movement was growing. It

The great London railway terminal at King's Cross is deserted during a railway strike. This terminal is normally used for north bound trains.

was beginning to assume the character of a national strike. Thousands of local rank and file trade union Branch officials, who until then had been among the most loyal supporters of the Government, began to take part in building up the rank and file movement to further militant action by the railwaymen.

This movement was accompanied for almost two weeks by day and night negotiations between the Railway Executive, the Government and the Unions. It was the Government and employers that were forced to retreat, not the railwaymen. A demand by the Minister of Labour to the Unions to compel their members to resume normal working pending negotiations was rejected. The "Court's" findings were thrown out of the window and no more was heard about them. The Railway Executive was forced to start making concessions to the demands of the Unions. So critical was the situation becoming that the Prime Minister summoned an emergency Cabinet meeting, the result of which was that the Railway Executive received authorisation to meet the minimum demand of the Unions for $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Agreement was just reached in the nick of time to save the Government from one of the greatest industrial struggles for many years.

The Railway Executive and the Government, forced to meet the wage demands of the workers, turned their main attention to preparing the way to get back more than they had given by speed-up and rationalisation in the industry. While agreeing to separate the question of working conditions from the wages claim, with the assistance of a powerful campaign supported by the capitalist press, they presented the railwaymen as being "under-worked" and guilty of wasteful and restrictive practices.

On the same day that the wages agreement was signed, they succeeded in obtaining the signatures of the Union leaders to another agreement pledging them to support a drive to secure "economies" in the industry. These "economies" simply mount up to an attack on long established rights and customs won by the men in the past.

However, there is every evidence that the rank and file will give up nothing without a fight.

Growth of Militant Trade Unionism

THE railwaymen's struggle represents the beginning of a new phase in the post-war struggle of the British working class. After the Labour Government was returned to power in 1945, the leaders and the majority of the rank and file of the trade union movement expected the Government to pursue a policy that would mean peace, Socialism and rising standards.

Instead, the dominant leadership of the Labour Government, according even to Bevan, a Cabinet Minister from 1945 to 1951, has allowed itself to be dragged behind the chariot wheels of American

imperialism and has constantly surrendered to the capitalists at home.

The majority of trade unionists, while sensing that something was wrong, remained loyal to the right-wing leaders in the Government and in the trade union movement.

The economy of the country was turned over to full-scale preparations for war. The cost of living began to mount. Wages were frozen. Trade union rights and democratic liberties were whittled away.

So long as the trade union movement passively accepted their policy and the T.U.C. General Council actively supported it, they were unable to meet the legitimate needs of their members. Distrust and dissatisfaction with the trade unions began to grow. Trade union membership—including that of the Railway Trade Unions—began to fall alarmingly.

The recent struggle of the railwaymen represents the end of this tendency to demoralisation and disintegration of the trade union movement. It represents a turn towards healthy, militant, fighting trade unionism.

In the weeks following the wages settlement, thousands of railwaymen joined the Unions.

Never before have railwaymen had so much confidence in their strength. This is evidenced by the fact that even after the agreement was signed and settled, the Railway Cartage workers, who had fared worse than other sections, presented an ultimatum to the employers and succeeded in obtaining a further increase.

In the course of the struggle, a big step forward was taken in breaking down the rivalries and isolation that has characterised the relations among the three Railway Trade Unions.

In many Depots and Districts joint committees were established and joint activities conducted.

In the decisive London area, a powerful rank-and-file leadership was built up, uniting all the major depots.

The Fight Against Capitalist Nationalisation

OPPOSITION to the present form of nationalisation—State Monopoly Capitalism—is also being increasingly expressed by the railwaymen.

Before they came to power, the Labour leaders always declared that under nationalisation the first charge on the industry would be the wages and conditions of the workers. Recent developments have brought sharply to the forefront that the opposite is the case. Herbert Morrison, present Foreign Secretary of the Labour Government, states quite openly that the " ex-shareholders " are better off under nationalisation than ever before. The first charge on the industry is almost £30 million per annum which goes towards compensation for the former shareholders.

To make matters worse, all the influential posi-

Railway porters are on call for all kinds of jobs; here a porter at St. Pancras Station in London trundles two invalided old ladies and their baggage from an ambulance carriage.

Women demonstrating in Hyde Park, in London, against the war in Korea and for an end to U.S. intervention there. British railway workers are also on record in opposition to the war in Korea and for the maintenance of world peace.

tions in the industry remain in the hands of the very same people who ran it under private ownership. Nepotism is becoming increasingly rampant. Supervisory posts are multiplied two and three times to create "jobs" for the relatives and lackeys of higher officials.

In proportion as the industry becomes a vast milch cow for an army of ex-shareholders, bureaucrats and officials, the conditions of the working railwaymen deteriorate.

One of the most universally popular demands of the railwaymen — expressed by many Union Branches and District Councils and in the Union journals is for the abolition of the burden of compensation and a "clean-out" of the officials.

Political Awakening

THE new spirit of trade union militancy has been accompanied by a political revival among many sections of the railwaymen. The National Union of Railwaymen, the fifth largest union in Britain, with great influence inside the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party, has been increasingly advocating a progressive working class policy.

It has demanded the abolition of the atom bomb and recently has gone on record for the ending of the war in Korea. It has asked the T.U.C. to meet the Russian Trade Unions to discuss what common contributions they can make to maintaining peace.

J. R. Figgins, the General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, is one of the most outstanding left-wing trade union leaders in the Labour party. His recent article in the Union journal *Railway Review,* characterises "American imperialism, the implacable enemy of liberty and humanity." His call for a "decisive change in the policy of the Labour Movement" has had an enthusiastic response from rank and file railwaymen.

Considerable support has been given by railwaymen to the Stockholm Appeal and the Warsaw Congress. A number of railwaymen, supported by their Depots and Trade Union Branches, have participated in recent delegations to the Soviet Union.

An important contribution to maintaining peace and developing international trade union unity would be served by a further exchange of rank and file delegations between British railwaymen and their brothers in other countries.

It may well be that the railwaymen, hitherto re-

garded as one of the more passive sections, will yet march in the van of the British labour movement.

They have had many rich and valuable experiences since the advent of the Labour Government. They have first-hand knowledge of the deception of capitalist nationalisation. The rearmament programme and the increasing cost of living has hit them with particular severity. Experience has taught them that their strength alone is the only guarantee of defending their wages and conditions. They have fought a battle, defeating the Railway Executive and the Government. They have defied Arbitration Order 1305 and struck a mighty blow for trade union rights.

Their fighting spirit and morale is higher than ever before. They are beginning to wage a vigorous fight for peace and an end to the domination of American imperialism.

Being an engine-driver takes great skill, involves long irregular hours of work and lengthy periods away from home. Because his pay is low he has entered the fight for higher wages and he is determined to win.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

British Worker's Impressions of the Soviet Union

Mr. Alex Clark, a miner from the Douglas Colliery, Scotland, and a member of the British workers' delegation which recently visited the Soviet Union, in a recorded broadcast said:

"There are many things that will leave a lasting impression on my mind regarding this visit to the Soviet Union, and I think, on the minds of nearly all our delegation... But, I think it is necessary once more to emphasize what has been the outstanding feature of all our visits—and all our talks with the Soviet people, whether they were trade union leaders, factory directors or rank-and-file workers. It is the emphasis that has been laid by all on the need for peace and friendship among the peoples. There is no doubting the sincerity of this. Wherever or whenever they speak—this is always the central theme.

"We have found the Soviet people very anxious to learn more about Britain. Many books of British classic writers are read, and in general the world of culture and art of the Soviet people, like all phases of Soviet life, reflect the numerous changes taking place in the U.S.S.R. Art and culture in the Soviet Union is the true art of the people. It reflects the pride in all the great construction that is taking place throughout the length and breadth of the land. This construction we have seen wherever we have gone, in every city we have visited.

"We have seen huge buildings being built, and everywhere you could see lots of building taking place. It is very obvious that all this is being done to give the Soviet people an ever better life. Such building has no place in a society organising for war. I wish the Soviet people every success in their efforts to build their way of life to its final conclusion.

"At the same time I promise to redouble my efforts for peace and friendship. Long live solidarity of the working people! Long live peace!"

Soviet News, 23.5.51

FINLAND

Metal Workers Against War

A Congress of Defenders of Peace called by the Metal workers' trade unions was held in Helsinki on Sunday, June 3. More than 260 delegates, from various parts of the country, participated in its work.

The main report, which dealt with the tasks of the Defenders of Peace, was made by Arne Saarinen, Vice-President of the Finnish Defenders of Peace organisation. He called the attention of the Congress delegates to the increasing danger of war which the American-British imperialists are preparing. The speaker stressed the fact that the armament race in the capitalist countries is a heavy burden on the workers whereas the capitalists are making tremendous profits.

"The aggressive policy of the American warmongers," Saarinen stated, "has already led to the Korean war. At the conclusion of the Second World War, the United States of America virtually occupied many countries, transforming them into military bases. All this has aroused great anxiety for the security of the peoples of the whole world."

The speaker showed how the reactionary circles in Finland are trying to involve their country in a new catastrophe.

"We can see," he said, "that large-scale war preparations are being organised. Attempts are being made to revive the *chutskor* and other paramilitary fascist organisations. This proves that reaction is planning to use Finland as a supply base for an aggression against the U.S.S.R. In view of this situation, our people must be vigilant and must increase tenfold their efforts in the fight for peace."

Saarinen informed them that more than 300,000 signatures had already been collected in Finland for the Appeal calling for the conclusion of a Peace Pact. Nevertheless, said the speaker, certain trade unions, led by right-wing social democrats, are not actively fighting for peace. This is the result of the divisionist policy pursued by the right-wing majority of the Central Union of Finnish Trade Unions (S.A.K.).

The representatives of the local Defenders of Peace organisations who participated in the discussions on the report, unanimously emphasized the need to consolidate, through all possible means, friendly relations between the peoples of Finland and the U.S.S.R., and to expose the conspiracies of the reactionaries who are attempting to include Finland in the aggressive anti-Soviet bloc.

The delegates stated that Finnish workers must attentively observe the actions of the enemies of peace, and must further consolidate their ranks in the world-wide struggle for peace.

The Secretariat of the Building and Wood Workers' Trade Unions International made the Assistant General Secretary of the International, V. C. Bondarenko, responsible for delivering the International's greeting. He told of the participation of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its Trade Departments in the peace movement. Brother Bondarenko recalled that the W.F.T.U. calls on all workers to mobilize their strength in order to force the instigators of a new war into retreat, and to support the Appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers.

The resolution calls on the workers to resist firmly all reactionary attempts to attach Finland to the aggressive American-British bloc.

It was decided to set up committees for the defence of peace in all enterprises, to speed up the collection of signatures for the Appeal calling for the conclusion of a peace pact, and to demand the adoption of a law prohibiting war propaganda.

Trud, 5.6.51.

ARGENTINA

Working Class Demands Amnesty for Imprisoned Railwaymen

There has been little change in the situation on the railways. Three months have already passed since the last strike and yet the railwaymen are still subject to the rigours of the "War-time Military Mobilisation Act." The reason for this is that dissatisfaction and indignation are smouldering among the railwaymen; and the Government fears an outburst because of the injustice and brutal repression which it used merely because the railwaymen exercised their inalienable right to strike. To crown it all, the police are still posted on the jobs, where they persecute and insult the workers in a thousand and one ways.

More than 3,000 railwaymen are still kept unemployed. This means that there is an army of Argentinians —mothers, wives and children, doomed to starvation because the men demanded better wages and working conditions, freedom to settle their trade union affairs themselves and to hold elections expressing the will

of the majority. At the same time, the infamous prosecution of hundreds of valiant railwaymen's leaders innocent of any crime, is being deliberately delayed so as to keep the prisoners in the worst possible conditions. Many of them have not even a mattress to sleep on.

They have even gone to the point of taking measures against solidarity demonstrations in favour of the railwaymen who have been victims of unjust reprisals, and several arrests have been made simply for this reason. At La Plata, they applied electric torture to three railwaymen. But the railwaymen do not forget their prisoners nor those who have been discharged.

On an appeal from the Emergency Consultative Committee, reconstituted with those members who had not been arrested and with new members elected by the workers as temporary replacements for the prisoners, a large number of solidarity and amnesty committees were set up.

Parcels bought with the proceeds of collections were sent to the prison, and the remainder was shared out between the families and the discharged men.

There is a unanimous and imperative demand for the abrogation of the military law; similarly, a demand is being put forward for the release of the imprisoned men and the reinstatement of all those dismissed. Meetings, resolutions and telegrams demanding an amnesty are becoming more and more frequent. Many trade union branches have declared their determination to call a work stoppage if these injustices are not rapidly ended.

Unidad Sindical
(Organ of the Movement for Democracy in the Trade Unions), May, 1951.

INDIA

Big Step towards Unity

The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, affiliated to the A.I.T.U.C., and the Mill Mazdoor Sabha, under the leadership of the Left Socialists, have decided to unite together to form a new amalgamated trade union for the entire textile industry of Bombay City, in pursuance of the slogan "one union in one industry." The name of the new Union will be Mill Mazdoor Union. It will have a red flag without any symbol as its banner.

The new union will work on the principle of class struggle, trade union democracy, establishment of one single national trade union centre (A.I.T.U.C.), under the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This decision will be finally endorsed by a joint mass rally of textile workers to be held under the auspices of both the organisations at the Kamgar Maidan on 3rd June, 1951.

The programme of the new union will be to unite and organise the entire body of textile workers in the city, bringing them under its fold, fight for its recognition and get the recognition of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh (I.N.T.U.C.) cancelled. The Union will organise and struggle for the demands of the workers, such as Bonus for 1950, 100 per cent. dearness allowance, leave with pay, security of service, Provident Fund and old age pensions, repeal of all repressive legislation and release of all political prisoners, full trade union and democratic rights.

The Bombay textile workers will thus soon see springing into reality their long-cherished dream of putting an end to the split among the ranks of the workers existing for the last years.

Trade Union Record
May-June, 1951.

Poverty and Starvation

About 5,000 people from the Tirunelveli District have migrated from the villages and 25 to 75 per cent. of houses in the several villages are vacant. The people have left for distant places.

Some have stayed on, fighting the famine. Those who have lands have mortgaged them, those who had cattle have sold them; the poor have sold or pledged their jewels, brass vessels, house doors and even roof-tiles. The few rich *ryots* (peasants) have sold their cattle for want of fodder. The small and uneconomic ryot-holders of lands, have deteriorated in status and joined the labour ranks. Labour struggles between life and death. Old persons who cannot work or beg starve and are mere skin and bones. Many among the middle aged are emaciated. Children are stunted in their growth. Some of them have shrunken eyes and protruding bellies. The dilated stomach due to drinking excessive millet gruel, is a common feature among all age groups. Women look tired and fatigued.

The common food of the working class, who earn some 12 annas a day, and their dependants, is one pound of sweet potatoes (1 anna 3 pies), 6 oz. millets (2.0); 3 oz. mochai (1.0), and some leaves*. Fish is extremely costly and therefore not within their reach, though available. Even this food cannot be had for more than half the number of days in a month.

The non-working persons or those who earn about a 4-anna wage dilute this food with water and distribute it among the family members. Gingelly and ground nut oil cakes, a cheap rotten tapioca flour which sells, though banned by officials, are the substitutes used in the area. Severe malnutrition and intermittent starvation have led to anaemia, swellings and diarrohoea, cholera and small pox. Non-earning old men and women in this area should be given up for lost.

Starvation has damaged children's future capacity to work and earn. This will need immediate attention. The slow emaciation among the middle aged can be averted, but speed is the essence in giving them work and food.

Elected representatives and officials visit the area in their jeeps and cars, talk to a few among the top classes, and leave without entering the interior villages and the streets of the poor . . .

. . . in this famine area, road and tank works have not been promptly started, nor is relief provided for those who cannot work. There is not a single relief shop in the whole area, except at Vilathikulam, where a 3-oz. ration is distributed. Just when tracts like this area need tight procurement and rationing, after three successive crop failures, the last being the worst, the Government closes the ration shops, thus accentuating the scarcity and forcing prices up.

Indian Express, 27.5.51.

**) 1 anna is worth between 1d. and 1¼d.*

MALAYA

The Civil Service

The Secretary of State for the Colonies blames the paucity of Malays in the Malayan Civil Service on the lack of suitable Malays. What is a suitable Malay?

Two Malays (one of them a Major) who had held the King's Commission during the war were rejected because they had only military experience.

A Malay barrister who holds a Raffles College diploma and who has had 13 years' experience in a State Civil Service was rejected, presumably because he had no university degree.

A Cambridge graduate in another State Civil Service was rejected presumably because he had only a general degree.

Before the war, a Malay barrister holding a Second Class Honours degree from Cambridge was rejected, presumably because he had no experience.

Few Malays are suitable. If experienced, they have no qualification. If qualified, no experience. Their European brothers are luckier. If not experienced, they are qualified; if not qualified, experienced.

Letter in the *Straits Times* (Singapore), 17.1.51.

NEW ZEALAND

Mr. Holland's War

In spitc of unprecedented measures, the New Zcaland Tory Government under Mr. S. G. Holland has still failed, after nearly four months, to bring an end to the waterfront dispute and the sympathetic strikes in other industries that have accompanied it. Although the trouble began as a wage dispute, it has since become an open trial of strength between the Government and the Waterside Workers' Union under the leadership of Mr. H. Barnes and Mr. T. Hill. The Union is the strongest in the country and is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, but has a completely non-Communist National Executive. Mr. Holland regards the conflict as total war and is therefore the victim of what this postulates—the necessity for total victory.

The dispute began in February, when watersiders were dismissed in all ports following their refusal to work overtime—a protest action against the granting of a 9 per cent. wage increase—instead of the 15 per cent. provided for in an Arbitration Court Order. (The full 15 per cent. is being paid to members of the new unions formed under Government patronage). When the watersiders rejected an ultimatum ordering them to resume normal work, including overtime, the Government replied by suspending the Waterfront Industry Commission and declaring a state of national emergency. It also deregistered the Waterside Workers' Union and seized its funds. Sweeping emergency regulations introduced on February 23 have set the pattern of the dispute—and, indeed, of New Zealand life—ever since. There does not appear to be an exact precedent for these regulations in the history of any British Dominion. They give the Government unlimited powers to override any existing law without any reference whatsoever to Parliament. The law under which they were enacted, the Public Safety Conservation Act of 1932, which was introduced by the Government of the day to deal with unemployed riots in Auckland, differed from its obvious parent, the British Emergency Powers Act, 1920, in that it made no provision for the calling together of Parliament within a stipulated time following the proclamation of the state of emergency. The absence of this safeguard is now being exploited by the Holland Government to a disquieting extent.

In one blanket Order the regulations prohibit freedom of speech and assembly and freedom of the press. It is a punishable offence to print, write or say—even in a private house—anything which might be construed as giving aid, or likely to give aid, to the watersiders. Telephones are tapped, private correspondence is opened and demonstrations and picket lines are broken up by the police. Possession of underground literature is an offence; and, although the watersiders are obviously receiving considcrable assistance in cash and in kind, this is quite illegal. Newspapers must print the Government case or nothing at all. The police have accepted the regulations as the green light for a no-holds-barred attitude in their application. There have been cases of police officers attempting to prevent the representative of an "unfriendly" paper from attending the court hearings of charges brought under the regulations and obstructing attempts to bail out people arrested for taking part in the demonstrations or street meetings.

Other ugly aspects of the crisis have emerged. Members of the new unions that Mr. Holland has sponsored (the Auckland organisation got going with a £500 loan from the Bank of New Zealand) assemble each day at police stations in the districts where they reside and proceed in armed convoy under police and civilian guards to the wharves. Picturcs published in the Australian press show that the guards heavily outnumber the workers.

The Federation of Labour is supporting the Government—a strange association that is fraught with the most far-reaching consequences for the whole trade union movement. The dominant figure in the Federation is Mr. F. P. Walsh, for nearly twenty-five years the president of the Seamen's Union . . . he built his position in the New Zealand trade union movement on the foundation of the harsh discipline he imposed on his own union. But now the hold has been broken and, against the advice of the Federation, and in defiance of Mr. Walsh, the seamen are striking nationally in sympathy with the watersiders. In the same way, the miners, one of the strongest and most important affiliates of the Federation, are all on strike and a majority of thc National Council of their union, acting on legal advice, has suspended the president and secretary. A popular phrase among New Zealand trade unionists today is the "tottering of the Walsh Empire." It is uncertain how much the present industrial upset will finally benefit the Trades Union Congress, a recently formed rival to the Federation.

The present situation on the waterfront is that work is being carried on by servicemen and by members of the newly registered unions, who comprise an inadequate fraction of the number in the deregistered union. But if Mr. Holland's Minister of Labour succeeds in recruiting a sufficient complement for the waterfront, he can only do it at the expense of other branches of industry.

The New Statesman and Nation
(London) 9.6.51.

UNITED STATES

A Proposal for Peace

Speaking at an Armed Forces Day dinner, May 18, Pres. Truman told an audience of national leaders: "I hope every one of you will go home and get down on your knees and pray for guidance to do the right thing that these young men who are now fighting on the battlefields of Korea shall not die in vain."

In the light of that solemn admonition, an examination of some recent incidents in what appears to be a change in U.S. policy may be profitable.

John Foster Dulles was speaking to a China Institute dinner. The President's chief Republican adviser on the bipartisan foreign policy, whose business dealings have included close ties with Francisco Franco of Spain and whose investments have reaped profits through world cartel operations, was hinting broadly that the U.S may spend even more lives and billions in attempting to overthrow the present government of China.

Dulles said, "I can assure you that, in negotiating the Japanese treaty, we shall not consider that the voice of Mao Tse-Tung is the voice of China."

In other words, the head of the Chinese people, the people who have fought longest against Japan, will not be heard in a peace treaty involving them more intimately than any other people on earth. Instead, some leader whom Dulles likes will be set up to represent the Chinese people according to U.S. liking.

At the same meeting Dean Rusk, assistant secretary of state for far eastern affairs, promised the U.S. will not recognize the Chinese Communist government and hinted so broadly that we will help Chiang if he starts a mainland revolution that the Washington Post was prompted to editorialize that "a brand new policy has been born."

In the light of Truman's admonition to prayer, it appears strange that he did not feel called upon to mention in any way a resolution introduced in the Senate May 17, a few hours before the President spoke. The resolution, introduced by Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, if followed would without question halt abruptly and completely the loss of U.S. and other lives in Korea.

It says the Korean war looks like a hopeless war of attrition, that a limited war is likely to spread into a world war, that despite one million casualties the war has succeeded only in heaping indescribable misery on the Korean people, that new developments in war machines will make the next war unbearable, that the Monroe doctrine, so cherished by the U.S., is also expressed in Asia for the Asiatics, that a government and a way of life must not be forced on any nation great or small, that the policy of the U.S. people is a just and lasting peace and it is never too late to begin.

Then the resolution calls for an armistice on June 25 and the removal of all non-Koreans from Korea by December 31.

It would seem that Truman's request to U.S. citizens to think, think, think, and then go home and pray, might have included a statement of some kind on Johnson's resolution.

John B. Stone in
Federated Press, 22.5.51

GREAT BRITAIN

In the Steps of Yankee Imperialism

There is no doubt whatever that.... Syngman Rhee did make the remarks (British troops have outlived their welcome) attributed to him. He made them... in the course of an interview with a senior Australian U.N. official, who reported them to an attaché of the British Legation in Pusan. How seriously you take the matter depends on your assessment of Syngman Rhee. Most British officials and officers regard him as beneath contempt.

My colleague writes: "The Yanks have now put a press relations 'expert' on to Rhee to see he makes no further slips of this kind... He probably feels the same way about the Yanks, too, really. Even if he doesn't, it's a safe bet the vast majority of Koreans would like to see all their 'kind friends' go, the sooner the better.

"Its no use kidding ourselves that we give a hoot for Rhee. We are stuck with this war until we can figure out how to get unstuck... Even in the purely military fields our attitude towards the Koreans is so negative that they don't fight for us as well as they fight for the Communists.

"What in hell do we expect when we treat the poor sods as fifth rate citizens in their own country? Civil aid and rice doles from the Army, however well handled, scarcely compensate for the hideous combination of napalm on villages and general goddam-gooking that goes on."

Tom Driberg in
Reynold's News, 10.6.51

FRANCE

American-Style Democracy

The final results clearly show that the elections of June 17 were a great success. With five million votes the French Communist Party is, by a long lead, the first party of France.

The "disaster" so much dreaded by Washington has occurred. Neither the incessant pounding of their frantic propaganda, nor the 12 million copies daily of the American-subsidised French press, the government-owned radio, the arrests, the climate of intimidation with which they wished to surround all popular discussion, could stop this victory for peace.

Five years ago Pleven babbled to the United States through the American press, about the liquidation of Communism in France. Five million votes have given the answer.

This was the second time that elections have been held throughout France since the eviction of Communist ministers from the government turned the whole state apparatus into an exclusively anti-communist machine. The first were the municipal elections in 1947, in which the Communist Party had a notable success. Four years later, the advance is indisputable: the 1947 figures have been exceeded practically everywhere.

Unable to destroy the confidence that millions of French men and women have in the Communist Party, the pro-American coalition party have had recourse to common thievery and faking in the elections.

Read the results of every constituency. The same figures appear regularly. The Communist candidate is "defeated" with 100,000 votes; his opponent is "elected" with 30,000 votes. That is what our good apostles call "democracy."

In Herault, the Communist list was far ahead with 69,369 votes. But no one on the Communist list was elected. The list of Jules Moch had 38,821 votes; three were elected. The list of Coste-Floret had 20,879 votes, and one was elected...

The losses sustained by the R.P.F. (the Gaullist party) must by no means lead us to underestimate the danger of fascism. All honest people must try to defeat fascism whether or not they voted Communist.

Jean Recanati in
l'Humanité, 19.6.51

Here is a graph which shows the flagrant injustice of the election fakery by which the "Atlantic coalition" intended to prevent French workers from being represented in Parliament in proportion to the number of their votes. One can compare the number of ballots needed to elect one deputy, respectively (left to right): a Communist, a Gaullist (RPF), a "Christian Democrat" (MRP), a rightwing socialist (SFIO), a conservative "Radical" (RGR), and an "independent" Conservative.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

June 8

UNITED STATES.—The Transport Workers Union (CIO) calls a meeting to make final preparations for a strike on July 1 of 36,000 workers on the New York municipal subway, elevated and bus lines. The dispute with municipal authorities involves the demand for the 40 hour week without wage deductions.

FRANCE.—Many work stoppages in protest against the attack on the headquarters of the Paris Regional Trades Council (CGT) and its occupation by the police take place throughout the day in the whole Paris Region. Many members of the Force Ouvriere, (breakaway trade union organisation) and the CFTC (French Confederation of Christian Workers) participate in these protests. The FO and CFTC trades-councils in the Paris Region condemn the police aggression. In the evening the police leave the trade union offices after ransacking them.

ITALY.—For three days tram workers organise an intermittent strike, directed by the three trade union organisations against the systematic refusal of the management to extend to this category of workers the agreement on wage increases and the application of a new calculation of the sliding scale.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—The International Conference of Progressive Composers, Musicians, Artists and Music Critics of 16 countries is held in Prague. An appeal to the musicians of the world is adopted, requesting them to: "inspire with their works the people's struggle for peace, contribute by their art to the increase in the ranks of fighters for life and the happiness of humanity!"

June 9

GREAT BRITAIN.—Most London docks are at a standstill due to the extension of the strike of tally clerks begun on June 4th. Over 1400 of the 1500 tally clerks employed to check cargo as it is loaded and unloaded are involved in the strike. Dockers refuse to blackleg or to work with blackleg labour.

The Conference on "Negotiations or War" held in London is attended by hundreds of delegates from all walks of life. The Conference, convened by the British Peace Committee, demands a Five Power Peace Pact. The delegates also condemn the ban imposed by the government preventing the attendance of Professor F. Joliot-Curie, Madame Isabelle Blume, Sergei Gerasimov and Emi Siao as contrary to every tradition of freedom of movement and discussion.

IRAN.—The members of the Board of Directors of the Iranian National Oil Company, formed with the passage of the law nationalizing the oil industry, arrive in Ahwaz to take charge of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company installations.

HUNGARY.—Nearly the entire adult population of Hungary, 7,097,000 Hungarian citizens, have signed the Appeal for the Five Power Peace Pact.

ITALY.—Eleven thousand government and municipal employees in Rome stop work to obtain wage increases and the application of a new calculation for the sliding scale.

GERMANY.—The Berlin Appeal for the Five Power Peace Pact is having great success on the jobs. In 112 places (factories, building sites, offices, co-operatives, etc.) workers have signed 100% and nearly everywhere from 90 to 97% of workers' signatures have been obtained.

June 10

CEYLON.—The Prime Minister of Ceylon, D. S. Senanayaka, resisting Anglo-American efforts to ban shipments to China, says Ceylon will continue to sell rubber and other raw materials to the USSR and People's Democracies. He states, "Free and unfettered trade is the present policy of my government. Any country is free to buy our products."

SOUTH AFRICA.—A delegate meeting of district councils called by the Action Franchise Council decides to continue protest action on the lines of the successful general strike of May 7th against the limited franchise of coloured workers.

CHINA.—The planting of two million trees on the North China plains to act as windbreaks has been completed in five months.

June 11

ARGENTINE.—Students of the University of Buenos Aires go on strike to demand the freeing of a student, Mario Ernesto Bravo, who was arrested May 18th and savagely tortured by the agents of the Special Section of the Peronist police.

SUDAN.—The office employees of the Khartoum police department, who are on strike for a reasonable wage, refuse to return to work despite an ultimatum of the government threatening to discharge them. Mohammed Sayid Sallam, president of the Sudanese Federation of Labour and his secretary have been arrested.

MALAYA.—This is the third anniversary of the outbreak of the British war in Malaya. Already 500,000 people are in concentration camps and 11,000 people have been deported to an island off the coast of Borneo. Villages have been razed and bombed, collective fines imposed on the population, large rewards offered for the capture, alive or dead, of any member of the Communist Party. And yet the British government cannot overcome the fight for the liberation of Malaya.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Malan government forces through the Communist Amendment Bill by 69 votes to 62. The Bill is described by the opposition as a threat to the liberties of the people. It establishes a fascist police state in South Africa and gives the Minister of Justice the power to summarily exclude from public life any person who at any time has striven for any progressive policies.

USSR.—The text of the note of the government of the USSR to the United States government on the subject of the Japanese peace treaty, dated June 10, is published. The note shows, in particular, that the American proposal for a peace treaty with Japan is not for the peaceful purpose of preventing Japanese aggression, but for the purpose of re-establishing Japanese militarism. At the same time the note denounces the attempt of the United States to impose a separate peace treaty of the United States government and its satellites on Japan instead of a multilateral peace treaty.

UNITED STATES.—The National Labour Relations Board rejects the appeal of the National Maritime Union (CIO) to conduct an election among marine cooks and stewards, on the grounds that the NMU had not shown sufficient evidence of membership in this category of work. This represents a distinct victory for the militant and progressive National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, against which the reactionary leaders of the NMU have been conducting a union-busting raid.

NEW ZEALAND.—At the annual conference of the Labour Party, its President publicly blames the Tory Government for prolonging the waterfront dispute; he also states that Party policy should include the principle that no one should profit financially from war.

June 12

UNITED STATES.—Sixty-five thousand clothing workers, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) strike against 2,000 shops in New York City because of a breakdown in negotiations for a new contract. This is the first big walkout in the garment industry in 25 years.

SOUTH KOREA.—The chairman of the South Korean National Assembly's internal affairs and security committee reports that more than 50,000 South Korean draftees had died of disease, starvation and "inhuman treatment" in military training camps since last December. He said thousands of others had deserted rather than face such a fate and that less than 350,000 survived, but that 80% of them are "physical wrecks incapable of labour." He blamed corrupt officers for conducting these "death camps."

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mrs. Monica Felton, member of the Labour Party and British representative on the International Federation of Democratic Women Commission to Korea, is discharged from her government job. She comments: "I have been dismissed because I have found out the truth . . . The Government dare not let the country know what savagery is being committed . . . A whole people are being destroyed with a calculated savagery that can only be compared with that of Hitler and the Gestapo against the Jews . . . The Americans are using the most devilish weapons against the civilian population . . . Every single British soldier in Korea will bear me out. If this is doubted, let the United Nations send a commission of inquiry."

POLAND.—A meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Miners' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the WFTU) is held from the 12th to the 14th in Sosnovice. Taking part in this meeting are miners' trade union representatives from the Soviet Union, the People's Republics of China, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, France, Western Germany, French Guinea and other countries. The Committee discussed the activities of the International and established the tasks for miners' trade union organisations in the struggle for the social and economic interests of workers in the mining industry, and in the struggle for peace.

UNITED STATES.—A delegation of representative Americans calls upon the Philippine Representative to the United Nations to protest against the recent sentences to death or long imprisonment of 26 Filipinos, on the ground that they were harshly and unjustly condemned. They also present a letter addressed to President Quirino demanding that Amadeo Hernandez, head of the Congress of Labour Organizations and Manila City Councillor, who was arrested and detained since January without charges or trial, be guaranteed his constitutional rights and that he and others be immediately "released from their unlawful confinement."

June 13

PHILIPPINES.—The Philippines Department of Defence posts lists of Hukbalahap leaders throughout the islands offering rewards of from $5,000 to $50,000 for them dead or alive.

GREAT BRITAIN.—After ten days, the strike of 1400 tally clerks on the London Docks ends. The Transport and General Workers Union gives an undertaking of adequate rank and file representation in joint machinery, thus conceding the democratic rights of the workers which was a major issue of the dispute.

NEW ZEALAND.—Six weeks after his arrival in New Zealand, a former Grenadier Guardsman is made president of the Government-sponsored scab dockers' union. His only experience in the industry is as a scab, which clearly characterises this so-called 'union.' Seven thousand of the 8,300 members of the Waterside Workers' Union, locked-out since February, still stand firm and are having nothing to do with the government's scab outfit.

The annual conference of the Labour Party rejects by an overwhelming majority a motion which would have banned Party membership to trade unions affiliated to the WFTU.

UNITED STATES.—The National Maritime Union (CIO) reaches a stalemate in its negotiations with the East and Gulf Coast steamship operators with the union refusing to accept "any contract that does not contain the improvements we seek." The NMU, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (CIO) and the American Radio Association (CIO) are involved in the dispute. The NMU is demanding a 25% wage increase, industry-wide vacations, a 40 hour week at sea and the elimination of inequities.

The leaders of the Seafarers' International Union (AFL), as a part of their raiding tactics on the progressive National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, file a petition with the National Labour Relations Board for an election among cooks and stewards in the hope that it will win over MCS members. A similar attempt by the NMU leadership was beaten recently by the MCS.

The strike of 65,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (AFL) ends with the elimination of confusion over interpretation of the contract by agreement on a revised wording.

June 14

UNITED STATES.—Four of the "Trenton Six" are acquitted and two are sentenced to life imprisonment. The Six are Negroes of Trenton, New Jersey, charged with murder in 1948. The conviction of

the two is another notorious case of the attempt to convict Negroes without a fair trial. In a previous trial the six had been sentenced to death. They were convicted on "confessions" obtained by force and drugs. Former defense attorneys labelled the case a "Northern Scottsboro" case.

American housewives are boycotting high-priced beef in an attempt to offset the "holdback" strike of the cattle producers. Sales of beef substitutes, eggs, dressed poultry and cheese are rising phenomenally in the New York City market and in some other large cities.

IRAN.—Discussions between the Iranian Government and officials of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company begin on the question of the nationalisation of Iran's oil industry. The Iranian Government declares that talks cannot proceed unless the company agrees to turn over at once to the Iranian Government all revenues from the sale of Iranian oil as of March 20 after deducting expenses and 25% to guarantee the company's probable claims.

GREAT BRITAIN.—At the behest of the Tory Party, Attorney-General Sir F. Soskice, of the Labour Government refers papers relating to Mrs. Monica Felton to the Director of Public Prosecutions in order to institute proceedings of high treason. At the same time Mrs. Felton is cheered by a large and enthusiastic audience at the Hammersmith Town Hall for her courageous reporting of American atrocities in Korea and her stand against the continuation of the war.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.—The Governor of the Leeward Islands calls for reinforcements to quell by force the demonstrations by Antigua workers against their distressing conditions. A detachment of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers arrives by air from Jamaica. Antigua workers in the sugar industry and on the docks were on strike in May in protest against their intolerable conditions.

FRANCE.—On the appeal of their trade union sections of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour), C.F.T.C. (French Confederation of Christian Workers), and the Force Ouvriere, a right-socialist organization, a large number of Paris bank employees leave their jobs before closing time to demonstrate at the Ministry of Finance for higher wages and holiday allowances.

June 15

MEXICO.—The Mexican Federation of Labour (CTM) announces its withdrawal from the Scab International (ICFTU). The resolution states that the ICFTU "is attempting to make Latin-American workers dependent on United States and European leaders..."

GREAT BRITAIN.—A delegation of 52 workers belonging to the railroad, building, mining, laundry, steel and engineering, textile, and clothing industries, firemen, bus men and painters fly to Warsaw as guests of the Polish Trade Unions.

June 16

MALAYA.—The British, frantic at the lack of success in their Malayan war, are now hoping to break Malayan resistance by a series of food regulations. It is now illegal to eat any food out in the fields, or to remove food from the house in certain areas. Food can only be bought on production of an identity card and shopkeepers must keep detailed records of sales. Contravention of these regulations may be punished by fines of $5000 (Malayan) or 3 years' imprisonment or both. The authorities will be given the power to prohibit the sale of food, should these measures not be effective. It appears that the British, having tried bombing, blasting, shooting and bribing the Malayan people, is now to descend to trying to starve them into submission.

June 17

ITALY.—Tram and bus workers who have been fighting for more than a month for wage increases and for a new computation of the sliding scale began a series of intermittent strikes on June 14th. On that date workers throughout the whole of Italy struck for two hours. On the 16th the strike was repeated for three hours on a national scale. On June 17th, workers in the urban services strike for four hours, and workers on the non-urban services strike for 12 hours.

UNITED STATES—A maritime strike on Atlantic and Gulf shipping spreads throughout U.S. ports. The strike results from a breakdown in negotiations for a new contract to replace the old contract which expired June 15. The strike now involves 60,000 seamen and 650 American flag vessels. Three unions are involved, the National Maritime Union, American Radio Association, and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, all affiliated to the CIO. The unions are demanding wage increases, better conditions, and the 40-hour week at sea.

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THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA

MEXICO CITY

May 2-6, 1951

RESOLUTIONS

- on agricultural workers' demands
- for a programme of agrarian reform
- on the demands of native workers and peoples
- on organisation

Supplement to No. 13 of World Trade Union Movement
July 5, 1951

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

AT THE

REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE OF LATIN AMERICA

CALLED jointly by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Confederation of Latin American Workers, and the Trade Unions International of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), the Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America was held in Mexico from May 2nd-6th, 1951, and the following resolutions were adopted at the conference:

Resolution on the Demands of Agricultural Workers

AT its meeting on December 7, 1950, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions called attention to the conditions prevailing in Latin American agriculture, and the need for more consideration by the trade union movement in our countries of the organisation and development of the struggles of the agricultural workers and peasants for their demands.

The wretched conditions and the hardships endured by the great majority of the population, especially the peasants: starvation wages, brutal methods of exploitation which burden the agricultural workers; the high cost of living and the impoverishment of the great masses of peasants who have been robbed of their lands or who do not own enough land, and who do not have the necessary tools to cultivate them; the feudal and semi-feudal regimes which maintain slavery conditions and inhuman exploitation; the extortion practised by the imperialist enterprises, the big land owners, the middlemen and monopolists upon their victims, the peasants; the lack of water, irrigation, ploughing implements, seeds, machines and credit, etc.; the absence of sanitary laws, and the endemic diseases which ravage the rural population; the suppression of democratic rights, and the repression which is becoming more and more violent—**these are the characteristic features of conditions prevailing in most of the Latin American countries.**

The impoverishment and the misery of the Latin American rural masses are the fundamental consequences of the actions of two main groups, North American monopoly capital, and the big national landowners (latifundia), which control the economy, the resources and land of our countries, and which maintain feudal and semi-feudal conditions of exploitation in the countryside.

These two groups, whose interests are interwoven and harmonize with each other, through their joint exploitation of the workers and the peoples, are the main obstacle to our national development and they maintain the present economic backwardness, preventing diversified crops, industrial development, democratic progress, and the independence of the Latin American nations.

The economic and political submission of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners to the imperialist monopolies proves that we can neither improve general conditions nor develop an independent national economy without abolishing the feudal and semi-feudal conditions which are maintained in the rural areas. To do this, we must destroy the power of the big landowners, and we must pass and enforce progressive labour legislation.

The imperialist monopolies, through the medium of big capitalist enterprises, exploit vast areas of land in which the great majority of agricultural workers live, workers who are subjected to the most brutal conditions of exploitation.

The foreign enterprises on the one hand, and the bourgeois landowners on the other, exploit the great majority of peasants who are also subjected to a feudal type of oppression.

The interests of agricultural workers, of all sections of the peasants, of the national industries which produce for the internal markets, and those of the intellectuals and the middle classes, coincide with the common interests of the people in fighting against the imperialists' and big landowners' monopoly of land. They agree on the following points: the improvement of the economic conditions of farm workers, the overthrow of the latifundia, the distribution of the land to the peasants, the diversification of agriculture, industrial development, the expansion of internal markets, and the search for new markets suitable for the export of their products. All this will free our country from the economic and political rule of the American imperialists.

The agricultural workers, in their fight for their own class demands, must bring the peasants over to their side by supporting their demands, by directing them in their struggles, by joining forces with them and with all other social sections and classes in favour of national independence and liberation, and thus form a powerful fighting front against their two principal enemies, the imperialists and the big national landowners.

In view of these considerations, the Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America, which was called together by the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., adopted a programme based on the following demands for the different sections of the agricultural population:

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

THE agricultural workers' trade union organisations must undertake and organise the fight for:

1. A general increase of agricultural workers' wages corresponding to the extraordinary rise in the cost of living which has been intensified by the imperialist policy of rearmament and war.

2. The abolition of all systems of wage payment in money not legally valid.

3. The payment of wages at intervals not exceeding a week.

4. The abolition of the "tienda de raya" or "comisariatos" (company stores), and its replacement by free trade within each "hacienda" (landed property), "batey" or plantation, and by the organisation of consumers' co-operatives.

5. The abolition of the system of hiring or recruiting workers through middlemen and the establishing of work contracts based on a system of agreements and collective bargaining.

6. The setting up of provisions in the labour laws which guarantee minimum rights in the contracts of the individual agricultural workers corresponding to other branches of production.

7. The abolition of the payment system whereby workers' debts are paid off through compulsory work.

8. The maintenance of public services such as housing, water, light, etc., by the employers without wage deductions or charges.

9. The improvement and modernisation of housing and other services which are included among the employers' obligations.

10. The setting up by the trade union organisation of "hacienda", landed property or plantation works committees, democratically elected by the workers in order to deal with the employers concerning the administration of the services and in order to settle disputes which might arise concerning them.

11. The application of the 8-hour day and its reduction to 6 hours for heavy and unhealthy work.

12. The abolition of night work for women and young people.

13. Payment for overtime work with a minimum increase of 50% on the regular wage.

14. The elimination of extra work, which will be permitted only when workers are not available for urgent work.

15. To set up regulations providing that overtime will in no case exceed three hours per day.

16. The payment of higher wages for night work in relation to the normal wage.

17. The right of trade union organisation and collective bargaining for all agricultural workers, and the repeal of laws and decrees which restrict and limit these rights.

18. Respect for the principle of seniority for permanent workers as well as those who work during the harvest periods and in seasonal occupations.

19. The prevention of unjustified dismissals by guaranteeing the right to regular work and by obliging the employer to pay indemnities to workers who are discharged.

20. The free grant of land lots as supplementary wages to agricultural workers in the "finca" (estate) or enterprise where they are employed.

21. The payment of travelling expenses of workers who go from one district to another at harvest time, and the signing of contracts with the workers' trade union organisation.

22. The establishment of social security against sickness, work accidents, old age, unemployment, etc., for agricultural workers as well as for short-time workers who ought to benefit from it throughout the year. Social security rights must be enforced throughout the territory for workers who go from region to region.

23. In regard to the emigration of the workers from one country to another as agricultural workers, the trade union movement will fight to put an end to all discriminatory measures and to guarantee working and living conditions equal to those existing in the country to which they emigrate, and to guarantee them the right to return to their country of origin when their contracts have ended.

24. The trade union movement will actively combat the recruitment of emigrated workers, who have been hired as agricultural workers, into the armed forces or services of the nation where they are working.

SHARE-CROPPERS

THE workers' trade union organisations must work for the complete abolition of all feudal types of contracts; this is necessary for increasing agricultural production and for the establishment of a prosperous peasant class.

The trade unions will support the following demands of the share-croppers.

1. A division of the produce which guarantees a just and fair remuneration to the peasants for their work and services. This division includes animals, work tools, seeds, fertilizers, and advances of cash.

2. The right of the peasant to security in his tenancy and the prohibition of revocation of contracts without justification.

3. The division of the produce at harvest time and the right of the peasant freely to dispose of his share; the abolition of the requirement that the peasant sell his produce to the landowner, as well as all the restrictions which virtually make this necessary.

4. The right of the peasant to choose the kind of produce to cultivate, and to guarantee the development of his work.

5. The abolition of the "pongueaje" system which calls for the payment of land rent through compulsory work. The establishment of the system of payment in agricultural produce.

6. The elimination of all types of feudal charges or contributions.

7. The right to carry out repairs at the expense of the landowner.

SMALL FARMERS

1. For a contract providing for the leasing of farms for a minimum period of nine years, that is, three crop rotations of annual plants, and in the case of perennial plants, for a period equal to their duration.

2. Reduction of rent payments until they reach the level of legal interest, based on the net value of the property.

3. Payment for improvements carried out by the peasant on rented lands.

SMALL LANDOWNERS

1. Effective protection of small peasant landowners.

2. Free organisation of co-operatives for the sale of their produce and the purchase of production and transportation facilities.

3. Setting-up of centres for the distribution of seeds, agricultural tools, fertilisers, and machines for the small landowners and farmers.

4. The trade union organisations will support all the demands for the protection of the produce of the small agricultural landowner, and permit him to sell them at a fair price on the market, by eliminating the middlemen and monopolists.

GENERAL MEASURES

1. **Taxes** — To consider the peasant's small property as a work-tool, and therefore to exempt him from paying taxes; to abolish internal custom duties of "peage" or "toll" taxes on the produce of the small landowner.

2. **Credit** — Long-term, cheap credits, in sufficient time and adequate for improving agricultural output.

3. **Technical Aid** — Construction of connecting routes and roads so that the peasants can transport their products to the markets; freight reductions on the transportation of these products and State construction of stores and refrigerators in the agricultural centres for harvest storing.

4. **Education** — The trade unions and the peasant organisations will fight for the setting up of centres for illiterates, for primary schools and technical-agricultural educational centres.

5. **Welfare** — The trade unions and the peasant organisations will fight for the introduction of preventive and prophylactic medical aid services in the rural districts, for the setting up of public health and sanitation organisations, and for permanent action against endemic diseases which undermine the health of the peasant population.

Resolution for a Programme of Agrarian Reform

THE Executive Bureau of the WFTU in its resolution of December 7, 1950 pointed out the tasks of the Trade Union movement in Latin America.

In this resolution the Executive Bureau of the WFTU pointed out that the workers and the labouring masses of Latin America live in difficult conditions, that agriculture—a fundamental branch of the economy of these countries—is backward, that the process of industrialisation has barely started in these countries, that the cultural level of the population is low, that national reaction and foreign imperialism prevent the extension of the benefits of civilisation and universal culture among the masses.

The Executive Bureau of the WFTU also recalled that the fundamental task of the WFTU is to better the living conditions of the workers in all countries by the defence of trade union and democratic rights, and the safeguarding of peace.

In accordance with these views and our desire to put them into practice the first Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America was held. On the agenda was the problem of agrarian reform.

The Regional Conference discussed this problem fully. It took into consideration the documents prepared by the CTAL. It listened to the delegates who presented very important data not only concerning the state of concentration of landownership in the Latin American countries, but also on the experience acquired up to the present time by the different countries in answering the anguished plea of the peasant masses, who have no land to cultivate for a living.

With the exception of Mexico, which began agrarian reform in 1915, but has not realised it completely, the countries of Latin America are still subjected to a regime of the big landed property-owners, or Latifundia. The concentration of landownership varies from country to country but it can be said that from Cuba to Brazil and from Guatamala to Argentina the land, see that neither the size nor the fertility of the land rural population live by working for the landowners.

This is as true for the agricultural workers as for the peasant communities, who even when they own land, see that the land neither in its size nor fertility permits them to maintain an acceptable standard of living, and can still less contribute to the development of national agricultural production.

The regime of the big landowners (Latifundia) under which the Latin American countries existed during the epoch of Spanish and Portuguese domination, has been maintained for more than four centuries, giving rise to an uninterrupted fight by the rural masses for the possession of the land.

The war of independence of the Latin American nations, in the early years of the 19th century, was not only for the purpose of obtaining the political liberty of the colonies from Spain and Portugal, but also to change the economic structure of the colonial system based on the big landowners. It is for this reason that from the war of independence until the present, the majority of the big popular movements, particularly those of the vast sectors of the rural population, have become movements for the transformation of the established economic system.

This circumstance also explains why the major part of the Latin American governments have been governments formed by the representatives of the landowning bourgeoisie or influenced by them, which have restrained, often by violence, the movements and demonstrations leading toward a transformation of the Latifundia system.

Immediately after political independence had been won by the Latin American nations and when the struggles began in these countries against the semi-feudal and slave system of the big landowners, there arose, alongside the traditional system of Latifundia of the Catholic Church, which had descended from the conquerors and the privileged people of the colonial regime, a new system of big landownership created by imperialist enterprises, in particular those of the United States.

These foreign enterprises acquired large expanses of land by means of government concessions or by direct purchase, in many cases at the expense of the local owners whom they robbed of their land.

The system of big landownership in Latin America is therefore a system which comprises all the aspects of historical evolution, from the huge concentration of landownership in the hands of contemporary imperialism having passed through the stages of a semi-feudal system to capitalist agriculture maintained by the national agriculturalists.

This relationship of internal and external forces which oppress the popular masses of Latin America, has made the struggle of the peasants for the possession of land much more difficult. And it must also be realised that under these circumstances, even in countries which have taken big steps towards breaking the system of Latifundia such as Mexico, or in those which have formulated an agrarian policy, the successes obtained are constantly in danger.

Nevertheless, the economic, social, political and cultural progress of the Latin American countries will not be possible without the destruction of the regime of the big landowners. This regime represents the culture of only the smallest part of the big rural landowners. It causes delays in the production system. In many of the countries it implies the single crop system, the inadequacy of agricultural production to satisfy the needs of the people. It means the importation of products of prime necessity which could be produced in the same country. It carries with it the misery and the exploitation of the rural masses, the impossibility of the birth of a national industry, or the stagnation of that already established. It constitutes a burden, a serious obstacle for the material and political progress of the people.

While the regime of the big landowners exists in the Latin American countries, it will not be possible for them to liberate themselves from the semi-feudal sys-

tem to which they are subjected and to transform themselves from agrarian to industrial countries.

The case of Mexico is an important example. In 1910 mining was the principal industry but with the agrarian reform agricultural output has achieved, in less than 25 years, the same output as mining and as a consequence of the agrarian reform industrial output is actually equal to the mining and agricultural output together. This shows, that when the main aspects of the Latifundia system disappear national industry develops immediately to supply the internal market and the agrarian reform has made possible the raising of the living standard of the rural masses.

This shows the historical importance of agrarian reform in these semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of Latin America. It is a step forward to uniting all progressive national forces in their fight against foreign imperialism.

The international Trade Union movement, which is active, constructive and revolutionary, is fully aware that a programme of agrarian reform within the capitalist system will obviously not bring complete emancipation of the peasants and the people, because complete agricultural reform can only be obtained under a socialist system. In fact, all reforms benefiting the working class achieved under the capitalist system, which is based on private property, are unstable victories because of the contradictions within the bourgeois system. This perspective should be known to all peasants and all workers in general, manual and intellectual, for otherwise they are apt to form dangerous illusions, not only about agrarian reform but also about all social reforms. But precisely because the WFTU is an active, constructive and revolutionary movement it fully understands that capitalism develops in different forms in different regions and in different countries of the world, and that the struggle must always be organised according to the historical stage of evolution, that is to say, the economic, political and social evolution of each people.

Within the framework of the historical evolution of each country, as well as in that of the international scene at a given moment, reforms such as agrarian reforms, even if they cannot attain the superior stage of a definite liberation, are nevertheless progressive measures which the working class ought to support and which gives undeniable benefits not only to the peasant class, but to the people and the nations which have the same characteristics as those of Latin America.

One cannot advise everywhere and at every moment a policy of all or nothing.

The Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America cannot recommend concrete measures for the fight within each country for that is the task of the working class organisations and the organised peasants of each nation. But it is evident that for a specific type of economic, social and political system there is always a corresponding similar strategy and tactics. The correct application of this strategy and tactics is a task of the working class and peasant movement of each country.

Faced with a system of big landed estates or Latifundia as in Latin America, there is no doubt as to the strategy and tactics of the working class. The proletariat must support the demands of the peasants who have as their immediate and central objective the destruction of the concentration of landownership. They must lead and canalise agrarian reform in the right direction, and must appeal to all to associate themselves with this task.

In view of these facts, the Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America presents the following points which constitute the programme of demands of the rural masses of Latin America, against the system of concentration of land ownership.

1. The workers and peasants of Latin America must fight with all their energy for an effective agrarian reform to overthrow the Latifundia, to give the land to the peasants, to increase and diversify production, to better the life of the peasants and workers, to favour the development of industry and to reinforce national independence.
2. The Agrarian reform must include such fundamental measures as:

   a. The confiscation of the Latifundia of the imperialist enterprises, of the church and the large landed estates, and the free distribution of sufficient land to the peasants to ensure economic output and to better their living standards.

   b. The free distribution of state lands to the peasants under the same conditions and for the same purposes as set out in the previous paragraph.

   c. The restitution to the peasant communities of the land of which they were deprived, as well as the endowment of land and water in a sufficient quantity for their normal development, for the benefit of these same communities.

   d. The protection of the small peasant owner while limiting by law the extent of his holdings.

   e. The rational development of agriculture as a whole, by the selection of land under cultivation, determining the amount and location, in accordance with the needs of the national economy.

   f. The reform of the credit system existing in each country in order to allow for the creation of an efficient agricultural credit system, with low interest rates for peasants and small owners.

   g. The construction of irrigation and communications systems adequate for the development of agricultural production.

   h. The furnishing of machinery, tools, manures and seeds to peasants and small owners.

   i. The supporting of the development of co-operatives and showing the peasants on the basis of their experience the superiority of collective agriculture over individual agriculture.

Resolution on the Demands of Native Workers and Native Populations

THE Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America, in view of the difficult situation of the native workers and native populations, who are suffering from the most acute and specific forms of exploitation and oppression, who have a very low standard of living, who are deprived of their rights and subjected to slave conditions of work as a result of their colonial status, considered it necessary to work out a programme of economic and social demands for these numerous and important groups of the population.

Most of the native groups are linked, in one form or other, to agriculture. In numerous cases, the communal lands which belonged to them were taken from them and those which they still keep are insufficient. The rights of the communities and their local administrative organs are frequently violated or not recognised by the provincial and national authorities. There exist in many countries conditions of forced labour, such as "peonaje," "mita," corporal punishment, taxes and personal impositions in the form of manual labour for the benefit of the municipalities, state and religious institutions.

The native workers are excluded in practice from the benefits of social legislation which protects the other workers. They do not receive wages sufficient to cover their needs. In other cases these are debased and corrupted by their being paid in alcohol, or coca. They are kept in a state of complete ignorance, deprived of sanitary care and without any effective help on the part of the state, deprived of their most elementary rights and submitted to conditions of the most inhuman exploitation.

The Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America, convened by the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Latin American Workers, approved the following programme of immediate demands for native workers and native populations:

1. The broadening and immediate application of social legislation in all countries to benefit the native agricultural workers, without discrimination of any kind for reasons of race or language.

2. The immediate abolition of all forms of slave exploitation of which the native workers are victims, as well as the imposition of excessive tasks beyond their strength, which compels them to demand help from other members of their families in order to be able to complete these tasks. The granting of the demands of native workers for a sufficient wage.

3. The absolute forbidding of taxes and personal tributes which are imposed on the natives; prohibition of obligatory and unpaid work for the benefit of the municipalities, the state and religious institutions as well as the forbidding of corporal punishment, the payment of fines in the form of work, the payment of wages in the form of alcohol and coca, or in all other forms contrary to liberty and human dignity.

4. The organisation of elementary instruction for the natives in their national languages, the facilitating of their cultural development as well as their bonds with the rest of the population based on the use of a bilingual system. The creation of elementary schools to give instruction in these regions for the purpose of training teachers from amongst the natives themselves. The allocation by the Government of grants to cover the necessary expenses of the pupil and an indemnity to compensate his family for the loss of his wages.

5. To demand of the state that it give particular attention to the unhealthy conditions and the lack of sanitary conveniences in the living quarters of the native populations and try not only to improve their sanitary conditions, but also the state of personal health of the inhabitants of these regions by the establishment of preventive medical services, hospitals and dispensaries and the organisation of medical assistance in all the regions inhabited by the natives.

6. Respect for the rights of the native communities, the return of lands of which they have been dispossessed and the giving of new lands for the use of these communities. Technical, economic and material agricultural aid, water and irrigation, means of communication, means of transport, etc., for the development of their agriculture and their participation in the general economy of the country.

7. The protection and encouragement of native artisan production, production of ceramics, paintings, weaving and other manual arts, by means of granting credits at low interest rates and the establishment of co-operatives with a view to their further extensive development.

8. Incorporation of the native population into the national economy and general life of each country on a basis suited to the community, technically and scientifically studied and not imposed by violence. This incorporation must be effected under the responsibility of the state and not by private cultural institutions or religious missions.

9. The working class organisations must fight for and demand adequate support from all democratic forces in each country in order to prevent the dangerous meddling of North-American so-called "cultural" institutions in the ministeries and state institutions in charge of native affairs, which has been done in many countries under the pretext of the "good neighbour policy".

10. The abolition of all forms of slavery, and of all racial discrimination, respect by the state for the rights of local authorities and communities, democratic election of all authorities, political rights for all native groups who at present are deprived of the right to vote and excluded from all participation in national life, under the pretext that they cannot read or write or other pretexts.

The agricultural workers' unions, the peasant movements and the trade union centres should apply this programme of demands in each country in accordance with their own characteristics and organise the native workers in the trade unions along with other workers and with equal rights.

Resolution on Organisation

THE Regional Agricultural Conference of Latin America notes that important struggles are being waged by different sections of agricultural workers in various countries for the improvement of their living conditions.

This struggle meets with great difficulties which have been created by the splitting activities of the imperialist agents within the ranks of the working class movement, by government repression in most countries, by the employers' repression, and by the dispersal and continuous emigration of workers.

In these circumstances, the Conference warns that inadequate attention is being devoted to organisational problems.

The Conference emphasises that the demands set out in the resolutions which have been adopted, can only be won through stubborn and firm struggle and with the direct participation of the great masses of agricultural workers and poor peasants, supported by the working class.

Nevertheless, a good resolution does not mean that victory has been won, but only the desire to conquer.

The achievement, protection and development of the agricultural workers' gains can be obtained only by a strong organisation of a permanent and stable nature.

The Conference calls on the masses of agricultural and forestry workers and poor peasants to take the initiative in setting up their organisation and in seeking forms and methods of work most suitable to the conditions existing in different countries and to the type of struggle they must wage.

1. Principles and forms of organisation.

The principles and forms of organisation should take into account the need to organize the peasant masses, and to bring them into the fight for the achievement of the programme of demands established in the Conference on the basis of the principles of the WFTU and the CTAL.

Considering the conditions and the situation in Latin America and the different sections of workers and peasants concerned, the forms of organisation must not be rigid and should be changed when experience shows it to be necessary in order to obtain the best results.

The Conference makes the following recommendations for the implementation of these principles:

1) The main effort of organisations should be based on wage-earners, regardless of how they are paid, (agricultural workers on sugar cane, coffee, banana plantations, etc., workers in forestry projects, "peones" (day labour), casual labourers, etc.)

These workers should be organised in agricultural or forestry workers' trade unions, affiliated to their National Centre, and possessing full membership rights.

2) Agricultural workers having the status of share-croppers (that is to say, those who receive a part of the harvest as wages) may be organised in share-croppers' trade unions, which are affiliated to their National Centre and possess full membership rights.

3) The poor and middle peasants, whose social conditions differ from those of paid workers, must be organised and encouraged to fight for the Conference's programme and the aims set by the Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions International.

In the areas where they are not organised, they should be called on to organise, using the most appropriate forms (action committees, leagues, co-operatives, peasant organisations, etc.)

These peasant organisations could be affiliated directly to the Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions International.

On a national scale, adequate methods should be adopted by the organisations of the different countries in order to establish organisational or non-organisational alliances and links with the working class.

4) The principles of working class solidarity in the trade union movement, and the interests of the workers require close liaison between all the trade unions on a trade basis.

To ensure the application of these principles of solidarity, trade unionists should establish regional associations in each branch (workers, share-croppers).

5) To ensure solidarity among the different sections of agricultural workers and a common struggle for the common aims of the programme adopted at the Conference, methods of co-ordination and action should be sought in each country, in agreement with the National Centres.

2. Methods of Organisation

The Conference stresses the need to publicise and disseminate widely the trade union movement's principles on organisation, these principles being conceived not only to be proclaimed but also to be applied.

All wage-earners should be called on to join trade unions. The trade unions must be organised on a factory, local, or regional basis.

In order to establish close bonds between the workers and their trade unions, it may be necessary to form trade union branches (based on branches in each estate, "hacienda," plantation or enterprise, district or village.) The trade union must maintain direct and permanent contact with the workers.

In line with the democratic principles of the trade union movement:

a) The General Assembly of trade union members shall be the final authority on all decisions to be taken.

b) Trade union leaders shall be elected; they shall be responsible to the General Assembly with the

provision that they can be recalled by the General Assembly.

c) Trade union leadership must be organised collectively, and must see to the regular functioning of the trade union bodies in order to develop trade union democracy.

The Conference calls the attention of all militants to the fact that the achievement of all this trade union work requires large financial resources. Funds cannot be obtained indefinitely through the solidarity of other workers.

To avoid paralysing the trade union organisation and making it inactive, it is necessary to pay great attention to these financial questions.

The Conference recommends:

a) that measures be taken to improve the collection of trade union dues and to facilitate their payment by the workers. For this purpose, it is necessary to appoint a treasurer to each farm, estate or plantation committee who would act as trade union dues collector.

b) that financial activity, in addition to the collecting of dues which is essential, be directed towards the establishment of cultural activities, sport, recreation, etc. which will strengthen the economic situation of the trade union organisation.

In view of the special nature of the agricultural wage-earners, of the importance of the workers' organisations, and of the long and frequent periods of unemployment, each union should fix the amount of dues and its own collection system, which may, in accordance with the particular situation, take the form of a monthly or annual subscription. In any case, the organisations should consider the regular payment of dues and the renewal of membership cards as very important.

At the present time, and for some time to come, agricultural workers' organisations will need cadres and the co-operation of other groups (civil servants, intellectuals, industrial workers). However, the Conference stresses the need for the rapid promotion of real agricultural workers who are linked with the masses and are acquainted with their needs, aspirations and demands, to posts of leadership at all levels.

The development of activity will bring about the discovery of cadres who will come to the fore from among the mass of agricultural workers; but measures must be taken to help train and develop these agricultural cadres.

3. Unity of Action and Organisation

The Conference points out that division is the principal weapon on which the agents of imperialism and various governments rely in order to weaken and to inflict serious blows on the agricultural workers' movement.

Unorganised or divided workers are unable to win their demands.

As recommended by the Executive Bureau in its December 1950 Resolution, "the first objective to be attained is united action by the workers" based on the unity of all workers and all trade unions, regardless of trade union affiliations, in the fight for their demands. This unity must be organised on the basis of the place of work and on a local and national scale. The Conference emphasizes that our organisations must energetically take the initiative in proposing united action. If this proposal is to be effective, it must not be made in a general manner nor in connection with general problems, but on precise, limited, and concrete objectives, capable of mobilizing all workers for a common struggle; for example, for the fight to win wage increases, improved housing conditions or for a particular piece of social legislation.

The proposals for unity must be publicized so that the workers will realize that these proposals are in line with their interests and that united action is therefore necessary.

The proposals for united action must be made not only to the trade union leadership but above all to the rank and file. The workers should be called on to form united action committees, if possible by means of elections carried out on the following precise principles:

The proposals for united action must be presented without sectarianism and with the determination to see that each step is a step forward towards united action, thus making the work of the splitters and the demagogy of the fascist and reactionary governments and the employers more difficult.

This attitude strengthens the workers' will for unity and it paves the way to the achievement of organisational trade union unity.

The Conference proclaims its agreement with the above-mentioned resolutions adopted by the Executive Bureau of the WFTU in order to organise the struggle for organisational unity in conformity with the slogans of the WFTU:

A single trade union for each estate or plantation.

One regional or national organisation for agricultural workers.

A single Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International affiliated to the WFTU.

On this basis, the Conference pledges itself to fight for the achievement of the unity of agricultural workers. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to conduct an unremitting campaign to expose and to censure before the workers, the disastrous activity of the Scab International leaders and agents, of the fascist leaders and governments, on the basis of the workers' own experience of such activity.

Therefore, the application of unity of action does not exclude the relentless denunciation of the disruptive agents in the agricultural workers' movement.

The Conference calls on all workers to permanently defend the freedom of their trade unions against the employers and governments.

4. Measures to be taken for the application of the decisions on organisation

Once again, the Conference stresses the need to call on the masses to take the initiative. The Conference decisions must be made known to the masses by all possible methods.

The Conference emphasizes the role of the existing agricultural workers' Federations and organisations, and of the National Centres.

The Conference requests the National Centres to organise Agricultural Conferences, if this should be found to be necessary, in order to take adequate measures to apply the decisions which have been adopted.

The National Centres should, as far as possible, publish special material for agricultural workers, and pamphlets designed to train agricultural workers' trade union leaders.

The Conference stresses the role of the industrial trade union movement and calls on it to take measures to aid the agricultural workers to organize (sending of militants to live among the agricultural workers, support for their demands, etc.).

5. Relationship with the International Trade Union Movement

The Conference affirms the confidence of Latin American agricultural workers in the programme and action of the WFTU and the CTAL and calls on the workers to give their support to these two organisations.

The Conference recommends that all Latin American agricultural workers' organisations join the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International which they recognize as essential to the international solidarity of agricultural workers, and as an element of support for the Latin American agricultural workers.

The Conference stresses the importance of the publication and circulation in Spanish of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International bulletins and documents.

It launches an appeal requesting that all practical and necessary measures be taken to strengthen the links of agricultural and forestry workers with the Trade Unions International.

The Conference stresses the need to establish a permanent exchange of information and experience among the Latin American agricultural workers' organisations.

It equally stresses the need to organize co-operation and solidarity among Latin American workers.

To achieve this aim, it proposes the formation of a permanent service attached to the C.T.A.L. for the purpose:

a) of assembling all useful information and documentation issued by organisations or intended for them, in order to investigate the Latin American agrarian situation.

b) of organizing the necessary work of co-ordination in agreement with the CTAL and the Trade Unions International.

c) of participating in any national or regional Conferences which may be organized, in agreement with the CTAL.

d) of maintaining close connections with the Secretariat of the Trade Unions International.

e) of taking all suitable measures for the publication and circulation in Spanish of the Trade Unions International material in agreement with the CTAL and the International.

The Conference requests the Trade Unions International Secretariat to publish a bulletin which establishes and consolidates the links between the Latin American agricultural workers, if the necessity arises, in agreement with the CTAL.

The Conference resolves to elect a representative of the Latin American Trade Unions to the Administrative Committee of the Trade Unions International.

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TWO SUPPLEMENTS

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Resolutions of the WFTU Executive Bureau, Vienna, July 2-6, 1951

THE DRIVE FOR UNITY

THE W.F.T.U. EXECUTIVE BUREAU TAKES THE INITIATIVE

THE Vienna meeting of the Executive Bureau was one of the most important sessions this leading body of the World Federation of Trade Unions has ever held.

It provided an opportunity for a correct analysis of the deep roots which link the W.F.T.U. to the daily life and struggles of millions upon millions of working men and women throughout the world.

It made an important contribution to the clearer definition of the programme of action of our world trade union movement, by concentrating on the determination of specific tasks for trade union organisations. One of the clearest points brought out by the Executive Bureau's discussions and decisions is that trade union work must provide every possibility for carrying on real work with and among the working masses. In order to do this, all progressive trade union organisations, leaders and active workers who endorse the W.F.T.U.'s programme and unity policy, whatever the trade union organisation to which they belong, must prove themselves to be devoted defenders of the vital interests of the working class.

The main feature of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau's analysis of the situation of working men and women throughout the world is the fact that, on the one hand, in the U.S.S.R., New China and the People's Democracies, the living standards and conditions of the working peoples are steadily and consistently being improved, whereas on the other hand, in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, the workers' living standards are falling sharply, and in those countries where social legislation actually does exist, its very basis is being placed in jeopardy.

No State can, at one and the same time, carry on both a policy of preparing for war and a policy of social progress in the interests of the working population.

The countries which are involved in the arms race because their governments have tied their policy and their future to the North American monopolies' plan for world domination are not in a position to provide sufficient resources from their own countries to limit the disastrous effects of the complete integration of their national economy in the war economy. The orientation of the entire economic apparatus of these countries towards the satisfaction of military requirements places them still further under the domination and control of the most powerful imperialist State, the U.S.A.

The spread of war economy, far from creating suitable conditions for overcoming the economic contradictions ravaging the economic system of the countries upon which it is imposed, has, on the contrary, given rise to social conflicts of unusual proportions.

War economy means the concentration of the means of production on producing arms and the reduction of the output of consumer goods. Increased military appropriations in national budgets involve increased taxes, a rising national debt, and the reduction of social and cultural expenditure.

War economy means widespread inflation and a steady rise in prices, the increased development of private monopolies, their tighter stranglehold over the State apparatus, and a large rise in capitalist profits and super-profits. Finance capital takes command and integrates itself in the war economy in order to increase its extensive speculation in this sphere.

War economy means a sharper struggle among private monopolies and governments they dominate for control of the sources of raw materials, and the intensification of the contradictions which exist among them. It also means the disorganisation of their system of production and exchange, rendering the normal forces of production unproductive over the long periods necessary for conversion.

War economy means the intensification of the internal features of the general crisis of capitalism.

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IT is the working men and women who suffer the most serious and immediate effects of war economy. The purchasing power of wages is continuously falling, speed-up is introduced and the length of the working day raised, repression becomes more savage, police measures and disruptive manoeuvres against working class poli-

tical and trade union organisations and their active members and devoted leaders become increasingly frequent.

Together with this far-reaching analysis of the present situation, the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau noted *an overall growth in the resistance of the working masses to the effects of war economy and the policy behind it.*

The number and intensity of workers' struggles in capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries have grown over the past six months. Very important strikes have taken place, testifying to the workers' determination not to accept their poverty-stricken conditions.

The fight against poverty and want gave the movements a fighting character which greatly raised the level of these movements. United action by the workers developed to such an extent that it went beyond the sometimes narrow limits of existing trade unions and brought in *all* workers in the trades for which the unions engaged in the movement catered.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau noted the fact that these struggles took place and developed in countries where important trade union organisations belonging to the W.F.T.U. are in the lead of the mass movement. *It also noted that in those countries where the leaders of the Trade Union Centres had withdrawn their members from our world trade union movement, the workers have also begun to resist and have taken the offensive.*

The workers of these latter countries are ignoring the orders of trade union leaders who have broken faith with the W.F.T.U. and are increasingly *adopting the line of action and programme of demands of the W.F.T.U.*

What does this prove?

As the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau said in its letter to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, this poves that :

> *". . . the workers can no longer endure such intolerable conditions. They are being forced to fight for the improvement of their material situation and for their children's bread. They realise that by unity, and by unity alone, will they succeed in improving their conditions. In these circumstances, the workers expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. The trade union organisations cannot stand aloof from the action undertaken by the workers."*

We shall be referring again to this letter which the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau decided to send. All workers, whatever their trade union affiliations, must hear about it, read and discuss it. Those workers not yet organised in trade unions must also have the opportunity of discussing its contents and judging its purpose.

The purpose of this letter is to break down existing hindrances to the broadest possible union of the working masses already engaged in action, to provide fresh possibilities for united action, to broaden the workers' opposition to the reduction of their living standards, and to resist successfully the deterioration of their living and working conditions.

This aim will be opposed by those who are prepared to let the workers pay in increased poverty, for the outrageous policy of domination by big business, financiers, speculators and warmongers.

We know that working men and women throughout the world are opposed, not to the aims set forth in the W.F.T.U.'s letter, but to the inhuman policy which this letter condemns.

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THE W.F.T.U., with full consciousness of its responsibilities to working men and women, took the initiative of publishing the letter which it addressed to the other international organisations.

We know that the workers are not unaware of the importance of united action as the decisive factor for the success of their demands. *The idea of unity for action has penetrated into the workers' minds with the same strength as it has spread among their ranks.*

The W.F.T.U. and all its affiliated organisations will do everything possible to make this beneficial and essential unity possible and achievable.

The successes already won in many countries show that possibilities exist everywhere of uniting the workers in defence of their demands. Victory has been won wherever unity has been achieved.

The failure of a number of strikes and the limitation in some cases of mass demonstrations for the workers' demands were sometimes caused by the survival of sectarian manifestations within the very ranks of our own trade union movement.

The result has been that the correct methods for achieving united action have not been found owing to these sectarian tendencies which we strongly censure. Sectarianism is a source of impotence. It is sometimes concealed as a search for pure principles, whereas it is nothing more than a retreat in face of the responsibility of taking action, a negation of the spirit of initiative, an attempt to reject a critical and self-critical examination of the difficulties encountered, the setbacks suffered or the shortcomings evidenced. There must be no confusion between the vigilance necessary in action and the sectarianism unnecessarily introduced into activity.

Sectarian tendencies in trade union leadership and sectarian manifestations in the line taken by trade union activity are incompatible with the W.F.T.U.'s mass trade union policy, with its policy of trade union unity and democracy.

A sectarian trade union policy leads to confusing treacherous and anti-unity trade union leaders with those workers who, for many reasons, remain members of trade union organisations controlled by these treacherous leaders. Sectarianism in trade union leadership must be the prerogative solely of the splitters whom we are fighting; it must be entirely eliminated from the activities of all those who claim to support the principles and programme of the W.F.T.U.

ONE positive lesson is brought out by the experience of united action over the past few months.

Important successes were won in many countries in the fight for the workers' demands as well as in the drive to unite the workers' forms of struggle.

When and how were these successes obtained? This was the question which the members of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau examined, and a number of different answers were given, depending on each situation.

Success was won when trade union organisations were capable of formulating simple and correct demands, understood by all and felt to be an immediate need by all workers.

Success was won when trade union leaders allowed their organisations to show the path leading to victory and particularly when the importance and need for united action was explained.

Success was won when, in the face of paralysing and undemocratic trade union bureaucracy, the workers enforced the creation of united action committees at their place of work, in forms adapted to the particular conditions, and when these united action committees took as their programme a list of demands adopted by workers' meetings.

Success was won when leaders untiringly and publicly made proposals for unity with all existing trade union organisations and when they showed a spirit of initiative.

Success was won when the workers were consistently consulted to ensure the democratic conduct of their collective campaigns and to prevent the sabotaging of their struggle by closed, behind-the-scenes discussions with governments and employers.

In these conditions the workers became conscious of their strength, their militancy reached new heights and their understanding of the political conditions for the success of their struggle rose as a result.

Thus the workers recognised by logical analysis, by their simple and direct estimation of the facts, the link which exists between the war policy and economy on the one hand, and the super-exploitation to which they are subjected, on the other. They, therefore, understood the link which exists between the arms race and the drive for profits and super-profits by one section and the decline in the living standards of the other.

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THE W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau showed that even the near future is full of prospects of inevitable struggles by working men and women in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, aimed at smashing the intolerable restrictions imposed by war economy on their living and working conditions.

The Executive Bureau terminated its analysis of the present international

situation by a stirring and urgent appeal for the broadening of united action among workers of all views in each country and in every industry.

We shall undoubtedly record fresh advances along the path to united action.

The key to the problem of united action, everywhere and in all circumstances, is to be found in the drive for unity in the factories, unity on the job.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

Transport Workers' Conference and Trade Union Unity In Guatemala

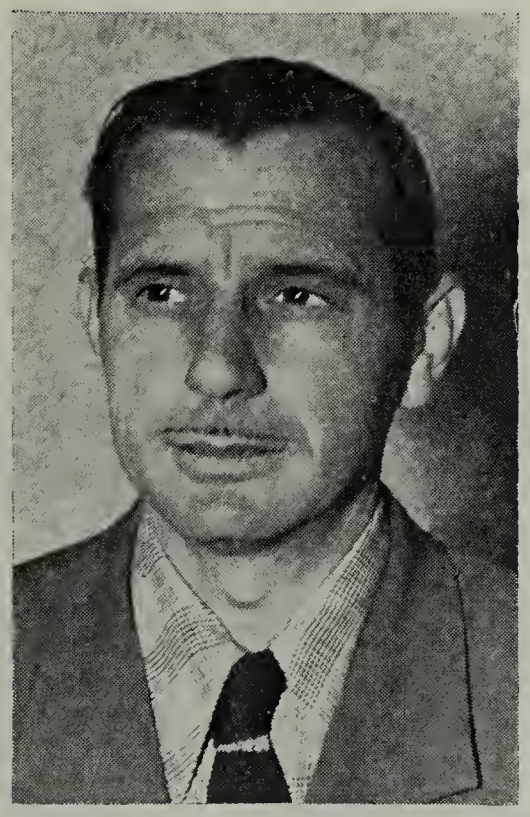
By **CARLOS FERNANDEZ**

Assistant to the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U.

The Regional Conference of Land and Air Transport Workers of Latin-America, held from May 10th to 13th in the Guatemalan capital, constitutes beyond all doubt an impressive demonstration of the practical application of the resolutions adopted at the December 7th meeting of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, at which the tasks of the trade union movement of Latin-America were discussed.

The exchange of ideas and experiences and the decisions taken during this trade union conference were the result of the joint work of the W.F.T.U., the C.T.A.L., and the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), which called and assisted in the preparation and organisation of this important meeting.

In spite of the difficult conditions in which the trade union movement of Latin-America is developing—and which are an outcome of the policy of war and repression on the part of the Governments under the thumb of American imperialism



—and in spite of the measures agreed to by the Washington Foreign Ministers' Conference to hinder the movement of independent trade union leaders from one country to another, the fact that 32 delegates representing ten countries were able to be present at the Guatemala Conference is factual proof of the interest it aroused among the workers of Latin-America and of their unshakable confidence in the W.F.T.U.

The trade union organisations in various branches of the transport services of Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Guatemala, Costa Rica and San Salvador were represented at the Conference. Delegates from the Argentine, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela and Puerto Rico were unable to be present, some because their organisations had been banned and others because their Governments had refused them passports.

W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and President of the C.T.A.L., took an active part in the Conference, and their participation was of great importance for all its work.

The Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International was represented by the active Cuban trade unionist, Rafael Avila, who is the Latin-American representative on the Administrative Committee of this Trade Department.

An Oasis of Democracy in the Midst of Dictatorship

THE opening session of the Conference was followed by a mass meeting in a large hall at the Guatemalan Ministry of Public Health. Trade union leaders of all opinions, the entire Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the Congress of the Republic were at this meeting, which, by reason of its nature and the speeches made, was of great importance.

It should be emphasised that the Republic of Guatemala, under President Jacabo Arbenz's Government, is one of the few countries in Latin-America to enjoy a democratic régime under which the working class movement is developing in complete freedom; and this despite the fact that the country is surrounded by a chain of military dictatorships current throughout Central America and subject to tremendous pressure from the imperialist monopolies.

The great unified May Day demonstration, in which more than 50,000 workers participated, took place a few days before the Conference. In addition, the Conference was preceded by the great victory of the railway union (Sindicato de Accion y Majoramiento Ferroviario) over International Railways of Central America, subsidiary of the powerful American monopoly, the United Fruit Company, which controls the whole railway system, the shops, and the only port through which pass all Guatemala's exports and imports. This monopoly is a gigantic octopus whose numerous tentacles extend over the economy, the land, the banks and the transport systems of all the countries of Central America.

The railway workers' successful strike, carried on with the support of the whole population of Guatemala, gave a great lift to the Conference and provided the occasion for an analysis of the experience gained in this fight for the protection of the rights of the workers in this area.

The courageous strike of the Argentine railway workers, crushed by the reactionary Peron Government and the trade union leaders which he imposes on the unions against the wishes of the workers, the strikes of the railwaymen in Rio Grande do Sul, and the tramwaymen in Porto Alegre, Brazil, the struggles for improved conditions by the 'busmen, tramwaymen and railwaymen in Cuba, the strike movements among the road and rail transport workers in Chile—all these recent activities formed a backdrop to the Conference which brought into relief the struggles for a better standard of living of the transport workers of Latin-America.

Fighting Programme for Clearly Defined Claims

THE Conference gave particular attention to the drawing up of a detailed programme of claims for the whole as well as for each of the various sectors of workers in the transport industry.

The programme adopted includes the fight for all-round wage increases, against the high cost of living and in favour of price control, for the improvement of collective agreements and working conditions, for the right to strike and organise, for protection against industrial accidents, for social insurance and paid holidays, for improved housing and other special claims.

The importance of this programme arises from the fact that it includes specific claims for railwaymen, bus and tramwaymen, and road and air transport workers. It is the outcome of the pooling of the experience of all delegates to the Conference. It established the basis on which the greatest numbers of the masses can be drawn into a programme of short-term claims.

Alongside the struggle for the economic and social betterment of transport workers' conditions, the Conference dealt with other problems of vital interest to the peoples of Latin America on whom fall the crushing yoke and the grabbing hand of the big American monopolies which hold up and shackle their economic development. The fight against the big firms and foreign monopolies is an inseparable part of the struggle for the national independence of the Latin-American peoples.

The Conference noted the fact that the communication lines in the majority of the Latin-American countries are to be found in the hands of American monopoly capital which planned and organised them so that they should serve the commercial, political and strategic interests of the imperialists.

For National Independence and World Peace

BEARING in mind the necessity for each country of its own independent economy, the Conference adopted a resolution stating that the transport unions and the trade union movement as a whole, will, in conjunction with other popular and democratic forces, fight for the nationalisation of foreign-transport undertakings, for the protection and development of local industry in so far as these are not monopolistic in structure, guarantee the improvement of the present inefficient and insufficient services, and contribute to the economic development of each country and the improvement of the living standards of the workers.

The Conference voted another resolution on the struggle for peace and against war, based on the position taken by the W.F.T.U. and the World Peace Council, in order to take a more active part in the campaign for signatures demanding the signature of a peace pact by the five great powers. The resolution outlines the tasks of the transport workers' trade unions in the struggle against war preparations, against the despatch of Latin-American troops to Korea and for a peaceful solution of international differences.

Workers' Unity Essential to Victory

ORGANISATIONAL problems were discussed very attentively. After a broad and fruitful debate, the Conference passed another important resolution in which the tasks of the transport unions in this field were clearly defined.

The main tasks were stated to be: united action based on day to day claims in each enterprise or industry; the formation of a single union in each industry; the creation of a single national organisation grouping all the transport workers of each country and a single national and international centre; the practice of the widest internal trade union democracy; the organisation of the thousands of still unorganised workers; collective work by the executive bodies; co-operation with brother workers in government-controlled unions in all countries; and affiliation to and contact with the Trade Unions International of Transport Workers and the W.F.T.U.

Delegates to the Conference of Latin-American Transport Workers greet W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant and C.T.A.L. General Secretary Vicente Lombardo Toledano at the airport in Guatemala.

Among other facts brought out by the Conference were: absence in the past of a specific programme of claims for each branch of the transport industry; weaknesses and shortcomings of organisational methods; the non-application of a correct policy and therefore a lack of rank and file unity in the various branches of the transport industry; examples of various forms of sectarianism which delayed the achievement of both united action and organisational unity; and reluctance in certain countries to carry out the necessary work within the government-controlled trade unions.

The Conference agreed to measures correcting these mistakes and weaknesses and leading to a positive change in the present situation. These measures are in conformity with the decisions taken by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau at its joint meeting with the C.T.A.L. Central Committee in Bucharest on December 7th, 1950.

But, as the Guatemala Conference of Transport Workers stressed, a good programme and correct line alone are not enough.

It is the duty of trade union leaders to see that in each organisation and in each country the necessary measures are taken to ensure the immediate carrying out of the resolutions agreed to, and to bring to the notice of all organisations and all Latin-American transport workers the contents of these resolutions in the widest possible manner and by all available means, at the same time working with decision and energy for their practical and effective application.

Decisive Step Towards Trade Union Unity in Guatemala

THE W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. have more to be pleased about in Guatemala than the success of the Regional Conference of Transport Workers. They were in addition able to take a decisive step, small in size, but great in importance, towards the achievement of trade union unity among the peasants and workers of this Central American nation.

The young trade union movement in this country came into being along with the popular movement which overthrew the despotic government of General Ubico after almost a century of military dictatorships.

The proletariat and the peasants helped to overthrow this tyrannical government and to set up the present regime which has restored the democratic rights of the workers. The people have a strong anti-imperialist outlook and, on the international level, are resolutely in favour of peace.

In spite of the growth of the trade union movement in recent years and the ever increasing awareness of the working and peasant masses who co-operate in their struggle for a better life, it has not, for various reasons, been possible up to the present time to achieve trade union unity.

There are two trade union centres in Guatemala: the General Confederation of Workers (C.G.T.) and the General Federation of Workers (F.G.T.) both affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. In addition, other regional federations function autonomously, and one of the biggest—the Railwaymen's Union—has like several others remained independent. Besides these, there is the Peasant Confederation of Guatemala (C.C.G.), which has no connection with the industrial labour movement.

For the first time in the history of the country there was a unified May Day demonstration by ALL trade union organisations which took part in a *single powerful demonstration,* the main slogans of which were for the struggle for day-to-day demands, for agrarian reform, for peace and against imperialism and war.

Unity, which came about first as a result of the railway strike followed by the great united May Day demonstration, was a strongly marked feature of the Transport Workers' Conference. All organisations without exception contributed to its popularisation and created in many ways an atmosphere of enthusiastic support.

The interest aroused by the presence of Louis Saillant and Lombardo Toledano who symbolised for the Guatemalan workers our international trade union organisation, for which they expressed their warm support, was fully confirmed when in response to the W.F.T.U.-C.T.A.L. invitation, representatives of every trade union organisation in the country *without a single exception* took part in the meeting at which the most effective ways and means for achieving trade union unity were discussed.

Unity Congress Preparatory Committee

DURING this meeting and with unanimous agreement, the basic principles for the achievement of the unity of all workers were decided upon in a programme essentially directed towards the masses. A Preparatory Committee was set up for the calling of a Congress on Trade Union Unity, the outcome of which was to be the setting up as soon as possible of a single trade union centre grouping all workers and all trades, all worker and peasant organisations in Guatemala.

This Preparatory Committee is composed of the representatives of the two national trade union centres, the railway trade union, the Confederation of Peasants, the autonomous regional federations and the independent trade unions.

At the magnificent closing meeting of the Transport Workers' Conference which was held in one of the biggest halls in the Guatemalan capital, the thousands of workers present greeted this news with a tremendous ovation and scenes of great joy. The workers' applause eloquently underlined the speech on the subject made by the President of the Unity Congress Preparatory Committee, Victor Manuel Gutferrez.

The working masses thus showed by their enthusiasm that they recognise the necessity for unity. No one can stop its achievement if the workers want and demand it.

These two things, the Regional Conference of Transport Workers and the trade union unity of the Guatemalan workers and peasants, are two vital stakes in the work of the W.F.T.U. among the workers of Latin-America.

By the Sleeping Spires of Cracow Grew a New Town

Nowa Huta ... City of Life

by **ANIA PERSKA**

THIS then is the story of two neighbouring towns.

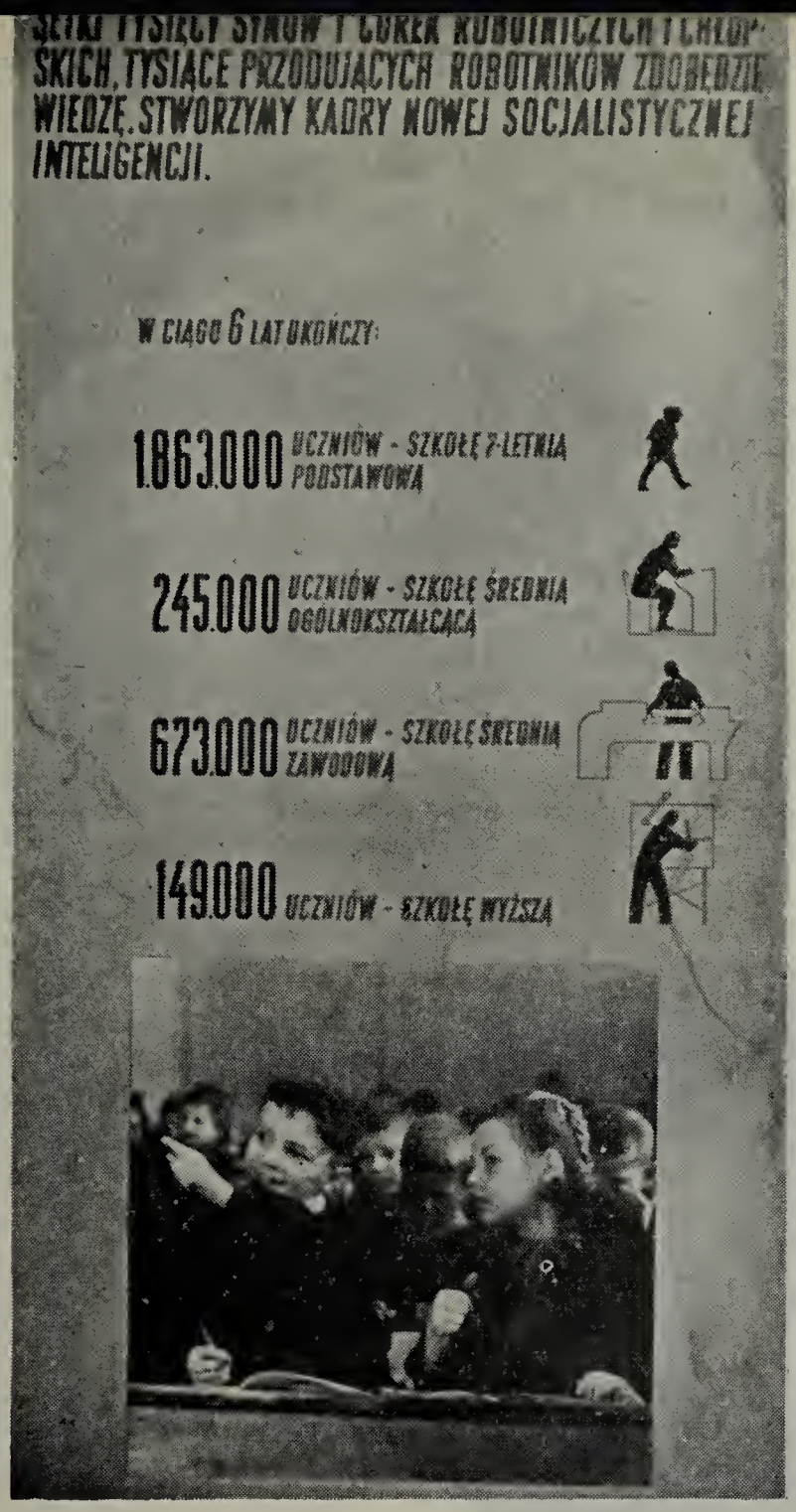
The first is Cracow, the "sleeping beauty of the thousand spires" of Polish history. The burghers of Cracow, conserved in the splendour of their baroque palaces, their sculptured spires and pediments, themselves became objects in a documentary exhibition. The University (used to the sight of car loads of tourists in raptures at its carved woodwork) prided itself a few years ago on being the most reactionary in Poland.

Under the arcades, traditional sellers sold traditional toys, souvenirs and national costumes, everything drowsed beneath the slumber of centuries. In a cafe decorated with engravings and etchings, some transfixed people of Cracow used to dream of past splendours not theirs.

Today in the new Poland, which looks to the future with a confidence and strength all the greater in that it draws on the unforgotten past for guidance, the value of time has not merely doubled, but gone up ten times. The Warsaw of today is a city which arose from the ruins in less time than it took to construct a single spire of Wawel, the castle of the Polish kings.

Imagine for a moment the case of a boy 18 years old, born in a Cracow back street, a son, not of those who drank coffee under the arcades, but of those who made the tables on which rested the elbows of the idlers. His father is a carpenter. His mother washed the linen of others, for she has many children. He was 12 years old when the long Nazi persecution ended. Things began to happen. His father, a man long resigned to conditions, unused to political arguments, had always worked for contractors ungenerous with wages, but skilled in keeping their workmen away from trade unions and "subversive" organisations.

The new regime brought sugar and meat, cream and butter to the table usually graced only with cabbage soup. The father went to work in a furniture factory; he received paid holidays, bonuses, medical care and all sorts of things hitherto unknown. The mother who still went to confession in one of the historic churches came back saying: "I don't understand the priest. He seems to think God doesn't like our new comforts. But how can God be against honest people?" Under the influence of her husband and eldest son she changed confessor and so was able to eat her roast beef without remorse.



Hundreds of thousands of workers' and peasants' children will create a body of new socialist intellectuals. In six years 1,863,000 students will complete training in primary schools, 245,000 in secondary schools, 673,000 in secondary trade schools, and 149,000 in higher education.

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Young workers examine the bulletin board at Nowa Huta showing the list of the leaders in the month's socialist emulation.

Jacek Goes to Build the New Town

WHEN he was 16, Jacek began to attend the technical school. One Sunday in the muddy spring of 1950, he and his comrades decided to visit the new site that everyone was talking about —Nowa Huta. It was said to be a new town centred round a big steel works, a socialist town. The young people saw lines of as yet unasphalted roads and excavations and foundations stretching everywhere before their eyes; whole fields of piled up bricks.

On his return, Jacek decided that he too wanted to go to build the new town. The father appeared perplexed and full of ifs and buts. The mother resorted to the tears that were the accompaniment to every change.

Jacek didn't give in; he went to see his headmaster and was given leave. And there he was on the job along with teams of technicians, beginning to learn the secrets of electricity. People were here from all over the place, men from far away, from the depths of the country, men who handled the new digging tools first fearfully and then confidently. These men become more and more proud of themselves as they learn to do new jobs. Jacek too learnt new technique on the site. He learnt them more quickly than at school because he realised that he was contributing to a creative work awaited by the whole country.

At dawn he left the still sleeping Cracow aroused by the train, car and lorry loads of work-

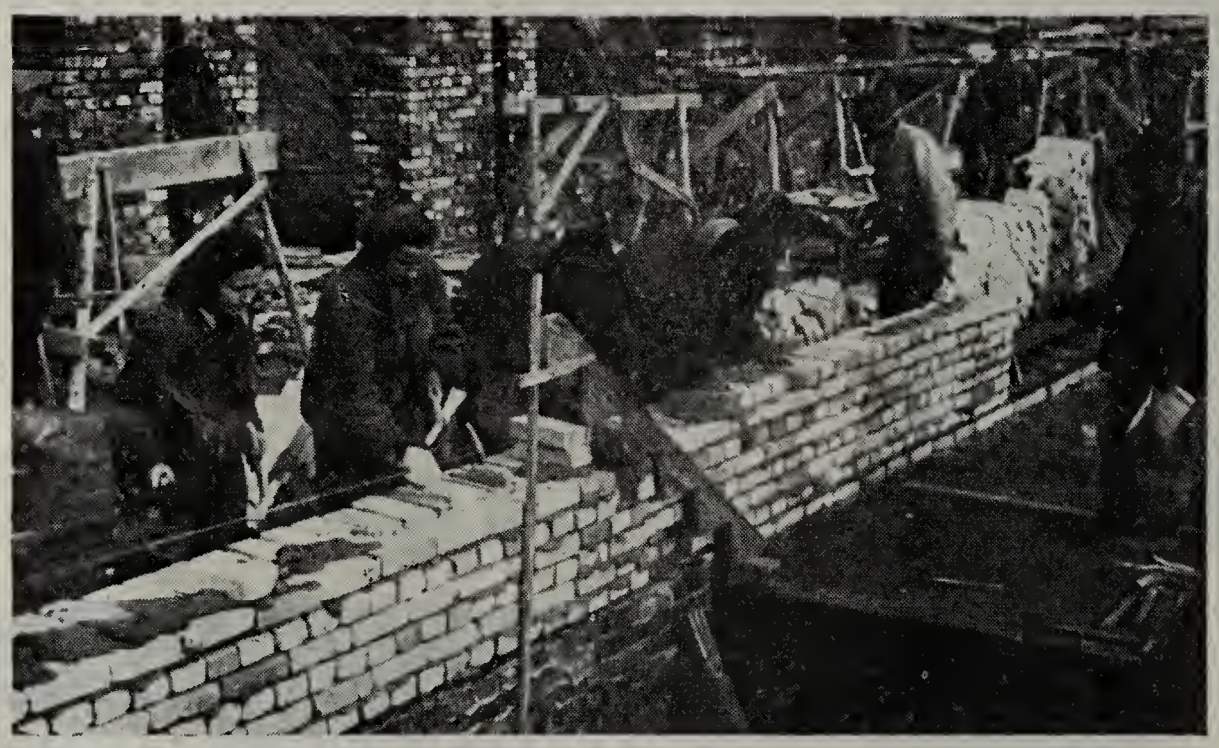
ers. He dreamt of the day when Nowa Huta would have 100,000 souls in its streets, its factory, its shops and its schools. These hundred thousand beings exhilarated by the future, brimming over with eagerness to work and the job of being in this world, would act as Prince Charming to ancient Cracow, languishing among her liturgies and legends . . .

Proud Creators of the City of Youth

A YEAR passes. The roads and streets are asphalted. Whole lines of new buildings already house ten thousand workers and their families. In the shops the assistants could do with two pairs of hands apiece to serve their customers. Another ten thousand workers, men and women, still come by train or bus each morning to the ever-growing site.

Four hundred babies have first opened their eyes in the maternity clinic at Nowa Huta; to them this unfinished town will be the home town they've always known. These four hundred new lives are Nowa Huta's first message to the world.

In the evening, Jacek walks along the new streets, looks at the brightly lit windows and murmurs: "I helped to make them shine." And his comrades echo: "We're responsible for hundreds of the 30,000 baths that function in Nowa Huta; it is thanks to us that the radiators heat, it is thanks to us that the telephone rings, that the roofs stay on, that the handrails of the stairs are in place, that water flows from the taps." And it seems to each one that he is roaming in the city



Men and women work side by side in complete equality in the building of the new Poland. The photograph shows workers at Nowa Huta.

New, modern and healthful apartments for workers replace the slums and crowded housing which workers had under capitalism.

of youth, their own town risen under their own hands.

And these 18-year old boys in the spring night of 1951 full of the scent of budding trees and shoots of young grass, start to sing that international song of youth, 'Peoples of the world, let us make a ring—an immense ring of peace.'

Jacek's father followed his son to Nowa Huta only a few months later. He was envious from the outset when he saw the lad come home tired but happy and full of lively, enthusiastic and contented tales.

At night when he turned over in bed, he said to his wife: "You know, the job at Nowa Huta has top priority. So my factory would give me leave to go over there if I asked."

"Away with you, Przemyslaw," sighed his wife, "you're like a boy. The lad's happiness comes from his youth and not from building that town."

Nevertheless, without saying a word, the mother planned to take her other four children along one Sunday to see this champion city and its factory which would bring new life to the placid dreaming of the old capital. She declares:

"What pleases me above all is that they are building houses for the workers before they start the factory going. It's the first time I've ever seen that here. I know how it used to be. They would open a factory and the workers would try to find somewhere to live not too far away, in hovels, shanties and badly built houses on land shaken by the vibrations of mine or machine."

In short, the father became a carpenter at Nowa Huta. Then one day a flat such as the family had never seen was allocated to them. The whole family went from room to room, the little ones shouting with joy.

"Look, you turn a tap, and the bath fills! Look, you touch a switch and the light comes on! Look, you strike a match and you can cook the soup!"

In the dark and winding back street to which the aristocrats of Cracow relegated 'the rabble,' high up the steep staircase in attics hard to keep warm in winter and stifling in summer, the children of the carpenter and washerwoman knew neither electricity nor gas, nor running water. As

"And now let's hear from the Voice of America the real depths of the famine in Poland."
From a Polish collection entitled "Political Caricature."

for a bath-tub, this to them was no more than a word, not a real thing.

And so Jacek and his family from Cracow, the jewel, the museum, one of the most famous towns in Europe, discovered the meaning of comfort and hygiene, and thus, so far as their daily private lives were concerned, the meaning of beauty, in this town of the New Poland, built up with their own hands.

Nowa Huta isn't listed in the artistic guides; no professor of aesthetics will explain at length to which law the line of these buildings and the embrasure of the creche windows is subject. And yet the hundred thousand Polish people living in these houses built in record time at an ever-increasing speed will know a new and better life.

A Past of Tears and Troubles

THE Nowa Huta adventure doesn't end here. On the contrary, this record performance is an introduction to man's adventure.

Thus Jacek and his family came from the most 'civilised' town in Poland—as the travellers from the West used to say, disdainful of everything not permeated by the centuries. But their knowledge of the great changes which have taken place in the country, their certitude of being in power, dates from this new site which became a town, *their* town to which they gave life and shape.

Thousands of the workers living in these houses they built with their own hands, themselves come from the heart of the countryside. The older men remember the awful days of agricultural unemployment, the exactions of the lords and the rich peasants, the monotonous and poor food and the long stands at the market. If they managed to sell what they grew on their patch of ground they considered themselves as happy in their misery.

But there were nearly always more sellers than buyers at the market. Up in the middle of the night, men and women still aching from their labour, travelled miles, arms, back or shoulders laden with heavy baskets. The lucky ones had a donkey, mule or horse. But often they returned with their produce unsold or sold at a loss. Then the money-lender would seize the mortgaged patch of land, their only source of income.

All this past furrowed with tears and sweat is pent up in the memories of the men who built Nowa Huta. And the youth already laugh about it; yet for them, memories of early childhood are even sadder. They are memories of the Nazi occupation, of villagers hanged from the swaying branches of trees, memories of fear and hunger.

Even though unfinished, the new structures in Nowa Huta are put to use as soon as possible. In this unfinished building a milk bar for the workers proves to be a popular rendezvous.

But when one is 18 years old, the future is unbounded and each day is full of new and exciting things, changes, fights and victories, how can one fail to put aside the bitter recollections of the horrors of childhood?

The Same Prospects and the Same Hopes

IN front of a blackboard covered with figures and names young people—boys and girls mixed—all wearing blue overalls and rubber boots, are having a discussion. Coloured handkerchiefs frame the rosy mocking faces of the girls. They laugh and suddenly the discussion becomes animated; boys and girls chase one another about in feigned rivalry.

We approach. I recognise Zofia Wlodek from the shock brigade. Her brigade is the leading bricklaying team. These young people, the oldest of whom isn't yet 23, built the school, the creche and the hospital with the help of older women. Zofia Wlodek has become a kind of heroine.

In front of the board on which the achievements of the various teams are noted, she exultantly shows the men that the women are leading. Zofia Włodek was a country dress-maker. She made skirts and blouses and read in the newspapers of the marvellous venture of those who were building socialism for all the world to see by putting up houses, by driving tractors and by speeding the motion of the machines.

She listened to interviews with shock workers on the radio. She knew which master founder had shortened by several hours the period taken in the manufacture of steel. She listened to coal-cutters talk of their inventions. She knew that the champion bricklayer who introduced the 'troika' or three-man-team method into Poland had become a national hero.

The elevation of labour to a place of honour, the glory with which the best workers and peasants were covered made the little dressmaker impatient.

One day, manpower recruiters came to Zofia's village, as they did to most of the villages and outlying areas of Poland. They told of the enormous site, of the town rising from the earth. They said: "We are looking for builders of the new world, those who first erect a town and then live and work there." And Zofia Włodek with her yearning to live fully, sought out the speaker. She left her village. She formed her team of girl shock workers.

They sleep in large rooms in new houses that they built themselves. They eat at restaurants, drink at the milk-bar, attend conferences, and dance on festive occasions. They exceed the men's norms, they issue challenges and accept them. Their hands are red and their faces tanned even in winter.

Zofia was a delegate to the World Peace Congress in Warsaw. She came back buzzing with wonderful stories. Now she seems to be a kind of explorer to the girls in her team and to all the builders of Nowa Huta. She tells them what the Brazilians, the Americans, the French, the Swedish, the men from central Africa and the martyred women of Korea are thinking.

"Do you think I could have dreamt of such things back in my village? Do you think that in the most imaginative fantasies of my childhood I could have believed that one day I would be able to talk to a Chinese girl and that we would discover that we knew the same wrongs in our childhood, and that we have now the same prospects and the same hopes?"

In listening to the young Polish girl with the lively resolute eyes telling me that she wanted to study, to develop herself, to become a "useful per-

The Six-Year Plan calls for making leisure available to millions of workers. In 1949, 356,000 workers benefited from vacation facilities, whereas in 1955 1,000,000 workers will benefit. In six years Poland will spend 24 thousand million zlotys to enlarge sport and rest facilities.

son—whose usefulness is always increasing," and telling me about her meetings with representatives of the oppressed peoples "for whom we also work," with the representatives of the free people "who, in their own way are building the same thing we are," I felt the scope and truth of the words " proletarian internationalism."

The Polish peasant girl, the village apprentice dressmaker, now feels responsible for her country. She no longer submits passively to law and life; she helps to make Poland into a new and changed country.

"Yes, time flows quickly at Nowa Huta," she says. "Here is where I became aware of certain essential facts. For instance, that the equality of man and woman is not a phrase, but a fact. Nowa Huta has changed my companions and me. Here, like everyone else, I have become a thinking citizen."

Now the steelworks producing for peace have already begun production. The town has taken its place in the country and in the world.

Cracow, the sleeping beauty of the many spires, wakes up to the murmur of machines, to the deafening noise of the excavators and the cry of "Long live Peace" which summarises the hope and maxim in life of all the Jaceks and all the Zofia Wlodeks. Nowa Huta with its new steel works plunges the ancient capital back into the inexhaustible surge of life.

Philippine Workers in the Struggle for National Independence

By **JUAN MENDOZA**

IN January this year Amado V. Hernandez, national chairman of the Philippine Congress of Labour Organisations, and some 40 other leading trade unionists were arrested in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, by the police and military intelligence service. In February, another 500 working class and democratic leaders were arrested in Manila and Luzon Provinces. And in May, after a trial which, unknown to the rest of the world, had been proceeding for six months, death sentences were passed on six people, including a young woman of 24; nine others received life imprisonment, and eleven others varying terms of imprisonment.

This reign of terror in the Philippines has been introduced by the puppet president Quirino at the behest of his imperialist masters, the U.S. ruling class. The American imperialists, thrown out of China in 1949 and now chastened by their failure to subdue Korea, are intensifying their campaign to spread the war in Asia in a vain and desperate attempt to dominate that part of the world. The trade embargo against China, the rearming of Japan, the U.S. military talks with British and French representatives in Singapore, and the recently decided Pacific Pact, are all part of this same American imperialist drive to dominate the countries of Asia, to exploit their people, wrest from them their valuable raw materials, and utilise their territories as strategic bases to further the American war plot.

According to U.S. plans, the Philippines are destined to play an important part in this strategy. John Foster Dulles has already made clear that the Philippines are to be included in the Pacific Pact along with Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the United States. But the Philippine people are not prepared to see their country stripped bare by the American rulers, their sons sent to Korea as American cannonfodder, and their territory used as a military base against the people of Asia struggling for national independence.

Amado V. Hernandez, chairman of the Philippine Congress of Labour Organisations, who was arrested in January of this year, is being detained without trial by the Philippine police and military intelligence.

THE RAPE OF THE PHILIPPINES

FOR over fifty years the rulers of America have drained the Philippines dry and kept its people in abject poverty. When the Filipino people rose in revolt against their Spanish oppressors in 1896 and won their freedom under the leadership of their national hero, Andred Bonifacia, the Americans promised their support. But no sooner had the Spaniards been defeated and an independent Filipino Republic established, than the Americans betrayed their promise and launched a bloody war against the Filipino people. After three-and-a-half years' valiant struggle, the Filipino people were crushed by force of American arms. The famous American author, Mark Twain, wrote a fierce indictment of America's rape of the Philippines, in which he satirically suggested that the Philippines be given for a flag the usual United States flag "with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and crossbones."

It was in this savage war that Douglas MacArthur, whose father became Military Governor of the Philippines, first saw military service. Douglas MacArthur later became one of the biggest landlords in the Philippines, a monopoly owner of industry, and virtual dictator over the Filipino people.

American rule in the Philippines maintained the feudal agrarian system inherited from Spanish colonial rule. It protected and enhanced the wealthy landlords, the feudal masters who helped stifle the democratic aspirations of the workers and peasants and thus kept the Philippines safe for American control and profits. It was in the interests of American capitalism to preserve the feudal-colonial agrarian system. American capital flowed into the Islands after the conquest in order to milk the rich resources of the Philippines in the interests of Wall Street millionaires. Sugar, hemp, coconut oil, gold—all flowed from the Islands to add dollars to the coffers of American big business. The economy of the Philippines was distorted and made entirely dependent on the United States.

Paul V. McNutt, a leading promoter of American imperialist interests in the Philippines, has described America's rôle in these clear terms:

> *In the Philippines the national economy was geared before the war entirely and completely to export trade. And* 95 *per cent. of that export trade was with the United States. Except for rice and fish, which are locally consumed,* 98 *per cent. of all other production in the Philippines, amounting to* $266,000,000 *in* 1941, *is produced for export. . . . And I might and should say here and now that we, the United States, managed it that way. We are responsible for the sole dependency of the Philippines on the American market. Our business men and statesmen in past years allowed the Philippines to become a complete economic dependency of the United States to a greater degree than any single State of the Union is economically dependent on the rest of the United States.*

To achieve this aim, the American imperialists utilised the Spanish feudal land system to hold down the peasants and agricultural workers, to keep down wages, to keep down the cost of sugar, hemp and coconuts, and so swell profits for America.

U.S. IMPERIALISM RETURNS TO THE PHILIPPINES

WHEN the Japanese imperialists invaded the Philippines, the Filipino workers and peasants rose to the forefront of the anti-Fascist struggle, forming in March, 1942, their national liberation army, the Hukbalahap, which soon numbered 100,000 guerilla fighters. For three and a half years the Huks, supported by the people, continued the struggle against the Japanese invaders, taking part in over 1,200 engagements, accounting for 25,000 Japanese and quislings, and liberating many towns and villages in Central Luzon before the Americans returned.

How did the American rulers treat the Philippine people after their magnificent contribution to the victory over Fascism? Almost immediately after the American landings, MacArthur's Headquarters arrested Luis Taruc, the Commander-in-Chief of the Huks, and Castro Alexandrino, the Vice-Commander. They were later released, but their arrest indicated the policy that the American imperialists intended to take towards the Philippine people, namely, to attempt the destruction of the demo-

cratic movement in order to retain American imperialist control over the Islands, with the aid of the Fascist-minded landlords and big traders who had collaborated with the Japanese and are to-day the main support of the Americans.

America's rulers made no secret of their intentions. In fact, Paul V. McNutt, Ambassador to the Philippines and, together with MacArthur, the most hated man in the Islands, openly stated in an article in "Collier's Magazine," July 6th, 1946:

> "*We are already committed to the maintenance of naval and air bases in the Islands. These are not designed merely for the protection of the Philippines,* nor even for the defence of the United States. *These bases are expected to be secondary supporting installations for supply, repair, and staging activities for all our armed forces in the Far East. . . . Committed as we are to long-time occupation of Japan, to a strong policy in Asia,* the Philippines are destined to play a major rôle in our diplomacy in the Orient."

In another article McNutt emphasised:

> "*Manila, Tokyo, and Shanghai . . . those three cities form a triangle comprising the heartland of the Far East. Within the boundaries of this triangle the future of the Far East will be decided.*"

To achieve this objective the Philippines had to be retained as a tool of American imperialism.

But this was not a simple matter. The Filipino people were determined to secure genuine independence and had built up their unity, political understanding, and organisations during the course of the anti-Fascist struggle, and as a result, President Roosevelt and the United States Congress were obliged to fix July 4th as the date for the independence of the Philippines.

During and after the war American imperialism tried to camouflage its drive for world domination by asserting a pseudo-opposition to "colonialism." This was done in an attempt to allay suspicion of American motives and to erect a smoke-screen behind which American imperialists could dominate nominally independent puppet governments by means of economic exploitation and financial penetration.

American imperialism therefore, decided to go through the motions of inaugurating an independent Philippine Republic—making hypocritical use of this as an example of American "anti-colonialism"—and at the same time reducing the Republic to the status of a puppet. A threefold campaign was launched for this purpose: to crush the forces of the movement, for democracy and national independence to intervene in the Philippine elections in order to secure the "election" of a President and Government that would be pliant tools of the Americans; and to impose legislation on the Philippines that would ensure that the Islands remained economically dependent on and subordinated to American imperialism.

HOW U.S. IMPERIALISM EXPLOITS THE PHILIPPINES

THE first step taken by U.S. imperialism was to establish political control over the Islands. Its nominee for the Presidency was Manual Roxas—protector of the landlords, ally of Franco's personal representative Andres Soriano, and leading member in the Japanese puppet Government, Backed by the 100,000 U.S. troops then stationed in the Philippines, and with a limited suffrage allowing only a minority of the people to vote, the American puppet Roxas was pushed into the Presidency.

Straightaway he began to attack the working class and demoocratic movement. He refused to seat seven elected members of the anti-imperialist Democratic Alliance. He rode roughshod over all democratic procedure in the House and Senate. He sponsored Fascist "labour-corporations" against the genuine trade unions and peasant organisations. Collaborators were appointed to all the most important posts in the Army and Government. America was allowed to establish twenty military, naval and air bases for 99 years. Aided by $50,000,000 worth of military equipment presented him by the U.S. Government, Roxas launched an attack against the Congress of Labour Organisations, the National Peasants' Union, the Democratic Alliance, and the Hukbalahaps.

Iluminade Calonge, 24, raises her fist in the workers' salute as she leaves the Manila courthouse where she was sentenced to death on charges of aiding the Hukbalahap guerillas. She is handcuffed to Josefina Adelan, who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

Workers in a gold mine in the Philippines. As is true of the overwhelming majority of Filipino workers, the product of these miners' labour is exported to swell the profits of the imperialist owners.

One of the first actions of the Roxas Government was to force through legislation to make the Philippines economically subordinate to the United States. And to do this, Roxas illegally unseated senators and representatives who were opposed to him, so as to gain his necessary "legal" majority in support of the Philippine Trade Act.

The Philippine Trade Act, or the Bell Act of 1946 gave America economic control over the Philippines until 1974. Manila newspapers denounced it as an American variant of the Japanese Fascist "Co-Prosperity Sphere." U.S. Senator Tydings, who voted for the Bill, exposed its significance in these words:

> *Will the Philippines be independent if they are forever hooked to our economy? If they get ingrained into our economic system we will hold the whip and they will not be independent, just as sure as you are born.*

The Bell Act became the Parity Amendment to the Philippine Constitution. The degree of American economic control it introduced is revealed in the recent United Nations Report on Foreign Investment Laws and Regulations in Asia and the Far East.

> *Under the Parity Amendment adopted on 18th September, 1946, the disposition, exploitation, development and utilisation of all natural resources . . . . and the operation of public utilities, are open to United States citizens and to all forms of business enterprises owned or controlled by such citizens until 3rd July, 1974. All other aliens are excluded from these privileges. . . . Certain industries are reserved exclusively for the citizens of the Philippines or of the United States. . . . Citizens of the U.S.A. . . enjoy the same rights as Philippine citizens with respect to the acquisition and utilisation of landed property. . . .*

But this means U.S. imperialism assured for itself virtual economic domination over the Philippines. American companies in the Philippines were granted a monopoly over Philippine products, thus obstructing the development of new Filipino enterprises. American companies were given the right to import products into the Philippines free of duty, quotas or price ceilings. In addition, Filipino companies were forbidden to export their major products—sugar, hemp, coconut oil—to countries other than the United States, even though these countries might offer higher prices.

Backed up by U.S. Imperialism, Roxas and his successor, Quirino, have for five years been joined in battle with the forces of Filipino democracy and national liberation. Strikes and picketing have been prohibited. Labour leaders have been persecuted, and several, including Juan Feleo and Manuel Joven, brutally murdered by Government agents.

Company unions and strike-breaking have been supported by the Quirino Government. Freedom of political belief has been denied to all progressive organisations and individuals, while the Falangists and other Fascist groupings have enjoyed full encouragement and support by the Government. The Confederation of Peasants (P.K.M.), with 300,000 members, has been outlawed. And the Congress of Labour Organisations (C.L.O.) with its 70 local or-

ganisations comprising 100,000 industrial workers, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, has been under constant attack.

RICHES FOR THE FEW—POVERTY FOR THE MANY

THE continued U.S. exploitation of the Philippines and the continued violent attacks on the workers and peasants have produced the usual colonial pattern of riches for a few and poverty for the million. One-third of the national income goes into the hands of one per cent. of the population—those landed and trading interests most closely associated with the Americans. The rich go almost tax-free, whilst five-sixths of the State revenue comes from indirect taxation, which mainly falls on the poor.

For the workers and peasants, conditions of life are indescribably wretched. Wages in some districts are as low as one peso a day* despite the fact that this is much less than the sum needed to maintain a family at subsistence level.

At a Press conference given in New York, December 27th, 1948, Amado Hernandez stated:

Our workers who make the renowned Manila cigars are now out of work because American cigars, still with their fifteen cent wrappers, are being sold on the streets of Manila for a nickel. The same situation prevails in our shoe and other industries. We were promised reparations from Japan to help in the rehabilitation of our ruined enonomy. But instead, the Supreme Command Allied Powers (S.C.A.P.) in Tokyo decided that the Philippines must revive its trade relations with Japan by exporting iron and iron ore to feed Hirohito's industrial plants, and these new materials are to be shipped back to Manila in the form of utensils, light equipment and toys. Maybe in the not distant future Japan might yet return our iron to us from the air in the form of bullets, bombs and shells, instead of just utensils and toys.

The much advertised American way of life was only for the privileged few in our country, for its politicians, for its landlords, for its tools of American big business. They own the palatial mansions, the shining automobiles; they have fortunes in the banks and their children attend exclusive colleges. On the other hand, the Filipino labourer, usually a family head of five or six dependents is earning an average of four pesos a day, equivalent to less than two American dollars. For one ganta of rice alone, which is barely enough for a day's consumption of one family, the Filipino worker has to pay two pesos. So one-half of his wage goes to one single item only in the long list of his essential needs. The peasant, traditionally, a share-cropper, is compelled to live a still more miserable existence. Like his work-animal, the carabao, he is hog-tied to hard labour, debt and want. He and his whole family are perpetual serfs to the absentee landlord.

A recent article in the American magazine, "Foreign Affairs," by Mr. Ravenholt, significantly entitled "The Philippines: Where Did We Fail?" admits, in effect, the correctness of Hernandez' indictment of American rule in the Philippines. In addition to the poverty of the workers and peasants, Mr. Ravenholt describes the misery of hundreds of unemployed law graduates. Even the

* At the official exchange rate, one peso equals about 3s. 6d.

Amado V. Hernandez, chairman of the Philippine Congress of Labour Organisations, discusses international labour problems with Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, U.S.A.

universities, he stresses, have become commercialised—and he quotes the example of one university which last year earned a profit of $5,000,000 for its stockholders. No wonder that Mr. Ravenholt comes to the conclusion that " possibly more than anywhere else in the Far East, society in the Philippines is coming apart at the seams."

Other U.S. journalists are compelled to admit that the Quirino Government has no support from the people, and that the national liberation movement has acquired the character of a popular mass upsurge. A "Chicago Daily News" correspondent reports: " Throughout the affected areas of Central and South Central Luzon, peaceful citizens welcome the dissidents with open arms. Hukbalahaps are hailed as friends and heroes." Walter Lippman, well-known supporter of American big business, admits in the " New York Herald Tribune" that "President Quirino is unable to govern the Philippines. . . . . The truth seems to be that, like all successful guerillas, the Huks have widespread popular support."

THE BELL REPORT—BLUEPRINT FOR COMPLETE U.S. CONTROL

THE obvious failure of the Quirino administration to contain the national liberation struggle of the Filipino people has more or less led the United States Government to take over direct control of the Philippines. This is the essence of the Bell Commission Report and the Quirino-Foster agreement, which endorsed the recommendations of the Bell Report.

The Bell Report is both an exposure of the effects of U.S. control in the Philippines and a blue-print for rivetting U.S. control still further.

The Report openly admits that after nearly $2,000 million had been spent on propping up rotten corrupt Governments, economic conditions in the Philippines are shocking; that agriculture and industrial production are still below pre-war levels; that " the inequalities of income in the Philippines, always large, have become even greater during the past few years "; that " real wages in agriculture are lower than before the war," and for many agricultural workers " wholly inadequate "; that government finances have reached a critical point, with school teachers in many areas going without pay; and that receipts for exports are largely "dissipated in imports of luxury and non-essential goods, in the remittance of profits."

In dealing with the intolerable conditions of the peasantry, the Report states that " land-ownership by farmers who work the land has steadily declined. . . . The land problem remains the same or worse than four years ago." According to the Report, only 78,000 workers were engaged in manufacturing industries in 1938, and there has been practically no change since. It admits that a wide variety of goods are imported which could easily be produced locally, and that there is no basic industry, despite the fact that a recent United Nations " Report on World Iron Ore Resources and Their Utilisation " shows that the Philippines have the resources to develop steel mills at Manila and Surigao.

Perhaps the most striking proof of the devastating effects of American control in the Philippines are the figures given for the " outflow of private remittances," i.e., profits, in one form or another. Since being given " independence," the net reserves of the Philippines have declined from $647,000,000 to $260,000,000 at the end of 1949. The reason for this is the enormous drain of profits out of the Islands. The Report shows that the annual drain from the Philippines increased from $33,000,000 per year in 1938-40 to $108,000,000 in 1949. This 1949 figure is equivalent to 216,000,000 pesos of Philippine currency. If one adds to that figure the excessive freight and insurance charges by American shipping and finance companies on imports into the Philippines, the total Wall Street toll from the Philippines in 1949 amounts to 331,000,000 pesos (though this still hides the profit, of unknown dimensions, resulting from the practice, admitted in the Report, of charging the Philippines more than normal prices for goods sold them and paying them less than normal prices for the goods bought from them).

This known toll of 381,000,000 pesos represents 11 per cent. of the total 1949 commodity production, and 75 per cent. of the value of Philippine exports in 1949. In other words, only 27 per cent. of the value of Philippine exports remained in the Islands. The rest went to the big United States corporations.

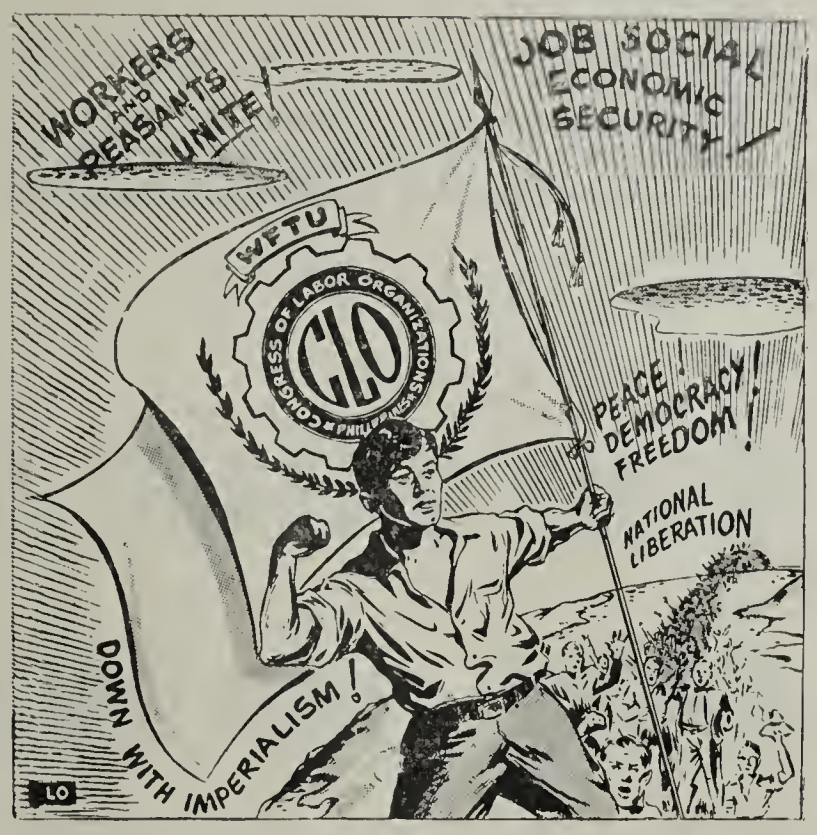
The recommendations of the Report, however, do nothing to solve the problems facing the people of the Philippines. On the contrary, they are designed to strengthen the grip of American big business on the Islands and therefore will inevitably mean still further attacks on the workers and peasants.

The recommendations of the Bell Report clearly reveal that this will be so. They include proposals for increasing military and police expenditure; a "land reform" which merely proposes the re-sale of land to the poverty-stricken peasants, who obviously cannot afford to purchase land; " prompt consideration . . . to the development of production of various strategic minerals for which the United States provides an exceptionally favourable market"—obviously to assist its war policy; the relaxation of exchange controls " to permit the transfer of all current earnings as well as the repatriation of capital"—in other words, to make it easier still for United States companies to extract profits from the Philippines; the adoption of a Treaty of Friend-

ship, Commerce and Navigation to replace the previous Trade Agreement; the formation of "free Trade Unions," not free to fight for higher wages, but "free from Communist domination," to be achieved with the assistance of a "small group of capable American trade unionists."

Finally, the Report recommends that the Philippine Government accept the services for five years of a U.S. Technical Mission. It is quite clear that this Mission will be, in effect, the real Government of the Philippines seeing that it is expected to "assist in the formulation and implementation of changes of policy which must be brought about," and that it will include "Co-ordinators" for Administrative Services, Agricultural Development, Industrial Development, Finance, Labour and Social Welfare. These "Co-ordinators" will, in practice, control the various Ministries as is already done by the Americans in Greece. In return for these sweeping concessions, the Philippines will receive "aid" to the tune of $250 million, which after various debts and counter-claims have been met, boils down to $155 million. This "aid" for five years is less than the U.S. imperialists take out of the Philippines every year in profits.

This shameful document was accepted without murmur by the pitiable puppet Quirino. An Agreement was signed with the Marshall Plan Administrator, William C. Foster, making the Philippines a part of the Marshall Plan and subject to the rule of its Mission. The legislation demanded by the Bell Report will now be enacted by the Philippine Government, and the Americans will take charge of the Ministries. This step has finally ended the pretence of Philippine "independence" granted in 1946; the Philippines reverts once more to direct and open American control.



The cover of the programme of the 4th annual convention of the Congress of Labour Organisations held in Manila in July, 1949. Its progressive and militant policy has won it the hatred of the imperialist exploiters of the Philippines.

The first fruits of this betrayal are already apparent. For the first time the military budget of the Philippines exceeds the education budget. The Philippines are being put under pressure to provide cannon-fodder for the American war in Korea. Amado Hernandez and other Trade Union leaders have been arrested without charge, and held incommunicado in a military camp. And several democratic leaders have been sentenced to death.

FILIPINO WORKERS FIGHT U.S. IMPERIALISM

BUT the Filipino people are not accepting the treachery of their Government. They are strengthening their organisations and fighting to regain their national independence so as to prevent their country being used by the American imperialists for profits and war. The nine-year old Philippine Peoples' Liberation Army—the Huks—has defeated offensive after offensive launched against it by the Quirino puppet troops under American advisers, and has passed over to the counter-offensive. Large areas of the country have been liberated in which land reform has been carried out, democratic administration established, and social and economic advances made.

So strong has been the resistance to the war in Korea that Quirino's promise to the Americans of a large voluntary force had to be abandoned. Then Quirino promised 5,000 regular troops. By sailing day, that had dwindled to 1,200. But after a few weeks in Korea, during which time they took part in no fighting, the entire Philippine battalion was withdrawn.

Despite the arrests of their leaders, the Filipino Trade Unionists are fighting energetically to end U.S. intervention in the Philippines, to repudiate the Quirino-Foster Agreement and the operation of the Bell Report, to secure the withdrawal of American military and economic advisers, to safeguard peace and to regain their democratic rights and their national independence. The Filipino workers are demanding friendship with the People's Democratic Republic of China and are strongly protesting against the re-arming of Japan, and against American aggression in Korea.

The spirit of the Filipino workers today is well expressed in these words of their leader, Amado Hernandez:

We are proud to say that Bernardo Carpio, the mythical Filipino giant, the symbol of the Filipino labourer, has now freed himself of one hand and one foot from centuries of oppression. We shall not rest until he is completely free—free and safe—free to speak his mind, free to worship his God, free from hunger, free from fear, a true Filipino "tao" who is the equal of any man anywhere in the world.

A. GRUENAIS

General Secretary of the French
National Federation of Maritime Unions

SEAMEN UNITE TO DEFEND THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS AND PEACE

Up to 1941-42, there were great differences between the working and living conditions and wages of seamen in the different capitalist countries.

Some of them, for example the French seamen, had fought for and won the 40-hour week, paid holidays, and an advanced social security scheme; other, like the British seamen, were still working 84 hours a week, and did not have paid holidays or any form of social security.

During the war, as a result of closer contact in the performance of the same task and the running of the same risks, the seamen of the allied nations came to recognise that these differences were abnormal and they worked to change this situation which could no longer be tolerated.

This was the background to the issuing of a scheme entitled "The International Seafarers' Charter" fixing minimum international wage rates, allowances, working hours, size of crews, social insurance, living conditions on board ship, labour safety measures, and so on.

The Charter was established by seamen and progressive maritime unions of the allied powers stationed in Britain during the war. They included the Free French seamen's unions, Greek and Polish seamen and Danish stokers.

Immediately after the war, the leaders of the International Transport Federation should have made it their duty to publicise the Charter and to organise a co-ordinated campaign to make the scheme a reality. It would have been easier to obtain results at that time because the governments of capitalist countries and the shipowners were prepared to make concessions. But in fact, the leaders of the ITF came to their rescue by contriving to torpedo all effective action.

How did the ITF leaders and the reactionary leaders of the seamen's unions operate? Instead of determining the forms of militant action to be taken on an international scale, the ITF and the leaders of the organisation still affiliated to it submitted the question to the International Labour Organisation.

It took three international conferences before the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations in Seattle in June 1946. But even when they had been adopted by a majority in the ILO Maritime Conference, we were still a long way from their implementation.

Before conventions can be put into effect they must be ratified by the governments of a certain number of the countries concerned. So far, not one of the conventions has been put into effect.

*
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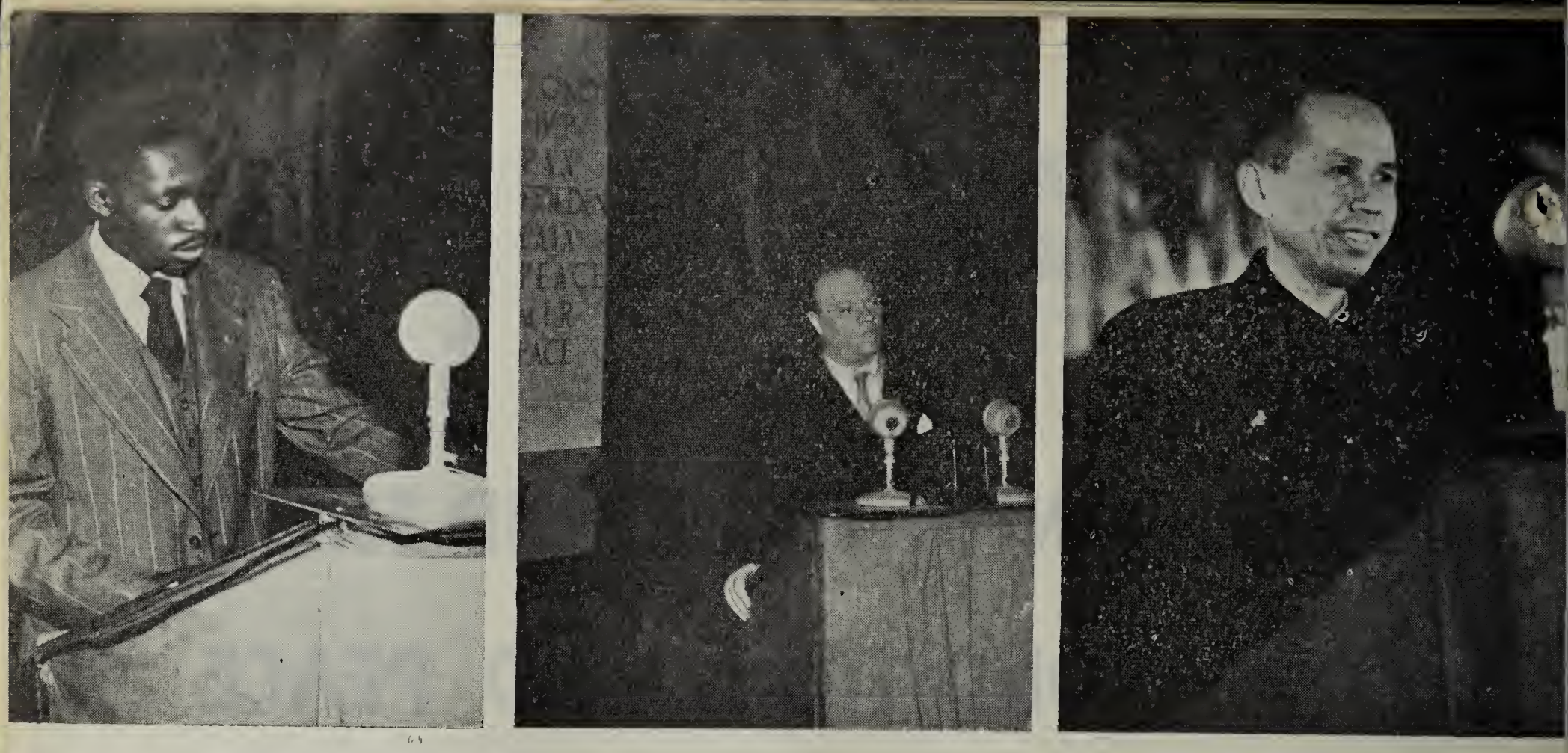
The employers and the leaders of the ITF were forced, immediately after the end of the war, to recognise the important role the seamen had played in the military victory over fascism and the very heavy sacrifices they had made in the conflict. They knew the spirit prevailing among seamen and realised that if the seamen of the whole world formed a united front they would be so strong that no obstacle could prevent them from advancing along the path of progress.



Speakers addressing the Conference of the Administrative Committee of the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Unions International in Warsaw in December, 1950. From l. to r., Jesse Gray, of the New York Rank and File Committee of the National Maritime Union; M. de Stefano, General Secretary of the Italian Dockers' Federation, Vice-President of the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Unions International; Chu Ching, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Seamen's Union, Vice-President of the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Unions International.

This is sufficient to explain why division was carefully maintained among the seamen. (We shall see later that there was another very serious reason for this). Was not Deakin President of the WFTU during this period as well as being an influential leader of the ITF? Under trifling pretexts, he constantly brought ITF policy into conflict with the WFTU, until, with the other splitters, he came out into the open.

In spite of the trade union split, the seamen and dockers have magnificent examples of action and solidarity to their credit demonstrating the immense possibilities which unity can give.

In 1946, during the American seamen's strike, when Truman was preparing to take over the maritime industry and to put US Navy crews on certain cargo ships, it was only as a result of the WFTU's firm stand that he was forced to abandon his intention. The WFTU made it clear that any ships with scab or US Navy crews would be boycotted in all ports of the world. It was as a result of the WFTU's position that this strike was to a large extent victorious.

In November and December 1947, American, British, Dutch and Greek crews who happened to be in foreign ports gave spontaneous solidarity to French seamen and dockers fighting to defend their living conditions.

As support for the American dockers on strike in November 1948, the crew of the great British liner "Queen Elizabeth," on the Southampton-New York run, prevented the ship from being diverted to Halifax (Canada) by refusing to weigh anchor.

Again, there was the solidarity from seamen and dockers of all countries for Canadian seamen during their 4-month strike in 1949 for the maintenance of their wages. The prosecution of Canadian seamen on board ships anchored in British ports gave rise to great solidarity strikes among the dockers of Leith, Liverpool, Bristol, Avonmouth and London.

The right-wing leaders of trade union organisations and of the ITF played an abject role during these movements. At the height of the struggle, the ITF censured its own affiliated organisation, the Canadian Seamen's Union. At the beginning of the strike it issued a resolution declaring that this was not a fight for demands but a conflict between two labour unions. The truth of the matter was that the leaders of the AFL had supplied the Canadian shipowners with scabs to replace the striking crews. This is what the ITF called 'a dispute between two unions' deciding that there were no grounds for workers' organisations to intervene.

There is also the example of the Australian seamen and dockers who organised and maintained a boycott on the transport of war material to Malaya and Indonesia, and that of the Dutch seamen who recently came out on strike in solidarity with the dockers fighting to improve their living conditions.

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In spite of the barriers the splitters are attempting to erect between maritime workers, we are convinced that unity will triumph.

Seamen know how important the great principle of the international application of minimum conditions is for them. They also know that they have a decisive role to play in the preservation of peace. They are therefore turning in increasing numbers towards the WFTU and its Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International.

But there is another point of paramount concern for all seamen—the transfer of ships to other flags. Without going in detail into all the ramifications of shipowning interests in the capitalist countries—it would take too long—it should be stressed that shipowners resort to these transfers to escape taxation in their own country, to use cheap labour and thus to increase their profits.

The seamen are fighting against this policy of transferring ships to other flags. The reactionary leaders of trade union organisations affected, such as Curran, leader of the National Maritime Union (CIO), are being forced, under pressure from the seamen, to protest against these transfers. But they carefully avoid defining an effective method of fighting against them.

There is a further problem confronting all maritime workers. In 1950, the Council of the 12 Deputy Ministers of the Atlantic Pact countries set up a permanent Maritime Council, called the Shipping Board, with headquarters in London. This Board created a North-Atlantic merchant shipping planning bureau, composed of representatives of all the countries concerned and working in close co-operation with the other organisations set up under the Atlantic Pact, to deal with all questions relating to the role of the merchant marine in the West European "defence" programme.

The Shipping Board together with the planning bureaus strangely recalls the Franco-British Maritime Transport Bureau set up in 1939 to meet war requirements, with the characteristic difference as regards the post-war relation of forces that it is directed by an American whereas the Franco-British Bureau was directed by the British.

With the creation of the Shipping Board, the shipowners gave up most of their prerogatives as regards not only the exploitation of their shipping but also shipbuilding, the selection of types of ships and the purchase of second-hand shipping.

It is obvious that such a concession is to be explained only in terms of the shipowners major interests. These are of both a financial and political nature. This latter point is explicitly confirmed in the communique issued by the "Council of 12" in regard to the creation of the Shipping Board, in which it is declared necessary, for the establishment of adequate military "defence" of the member States, to seek the most economic and effective utilisation of the forces and material possessed by the North-Atlantic countries. Therefore the Shipping Board, which is directed by the North-American bosses, is clearly an instrument of war.

But the shipowners have not forgotten the experience of the second world war when so many

The crew of the Greek ship Nedon welcome aboard the strike committee of the seamen of Rouen and pledge their support.

crews refused to serve the cause of fascism and came over with their ships to the Allies. They have not forgotten the post-war experiences of the many refusals of seamen to work for the imperialists' cause, particularly the wars in Korea, Malaya, Indonesia and Viet Nam. It is for this reason that the task of technical co-ordination performed by the shipping Board is being accompanied by increasingly cynical attempts to divide the crews on the political level. The shipowners, with the collusion of reactionary trade union leaders, have no hesitation in resorting to the use of scabs who can, in a given situation, take and enforce certain measures conforming to the political interests of the shipowners and imperialist governments.

While waiting to play the role for which they have been employed, these auxiliaries of the big shipowners everywhere form centres of disruption and discord among the crews in order to prevent them from putting forward and winning success for their just demands.

This strategy led to the "Vigilance Committees" of seamen and dockers set up by the ITF with the aim of forming teams of strike-breakers, as is proved by the examples provided in the past few years in Marseilles, Bordeaux, La Pallice, Antwerp, etc.

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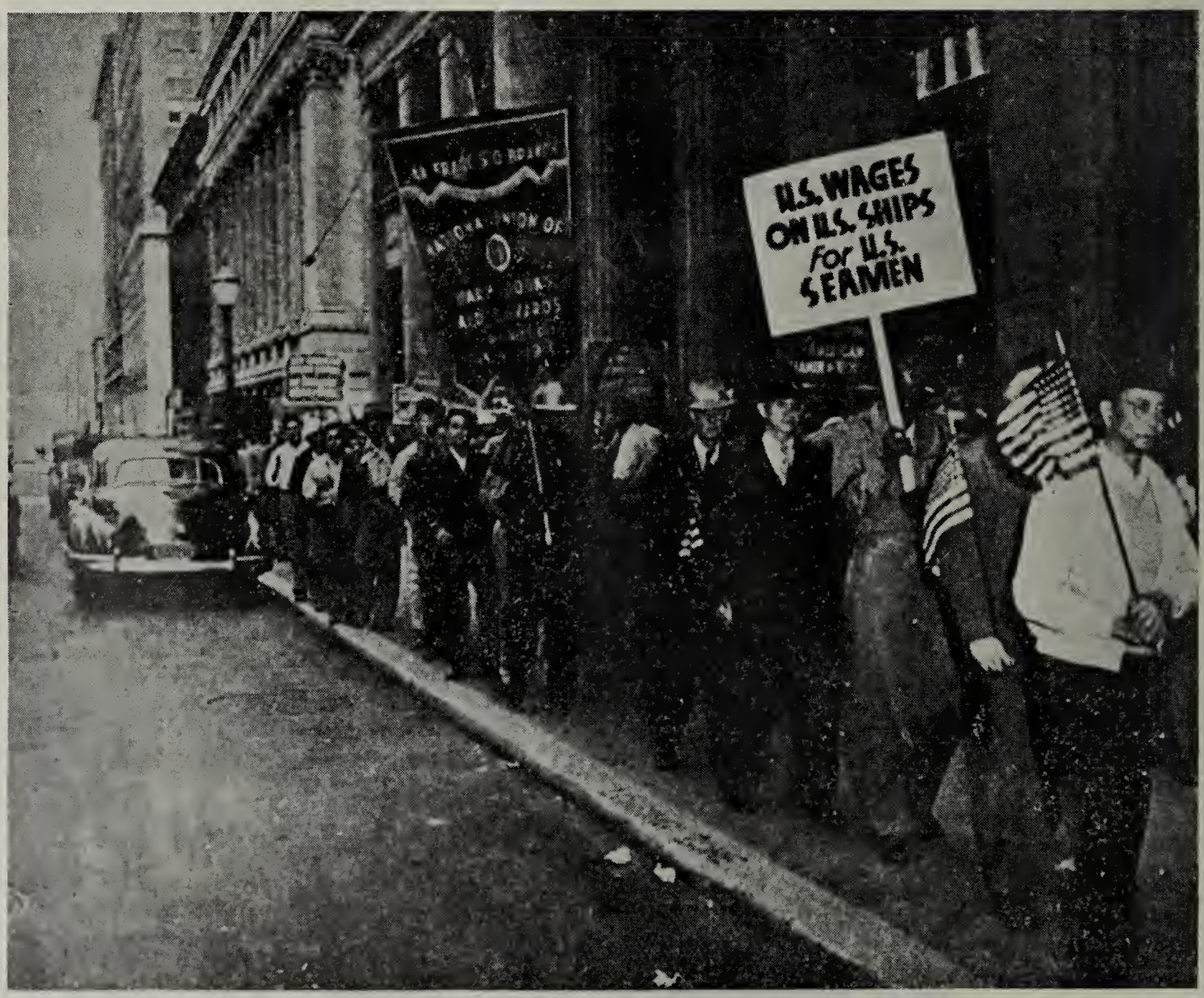
Since its foundation in 1949, the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International has carried on a great deal of explanatory work. Its administrative Committee, meeting in Warsaw in December 1950, drew up a programme for the purpose of



American seamen, members of the National Union of Marine Cocks and Stewards, demonstrate for jobs on American ships and higher wages.

rallying the seamen of all countries and organisations ¶. It also issued an appeal, confirmed in the Seamen and Dockers' TUI manifesto of 15th February 1951, calling on maritime workers to unite. All seamen of all different trade union affiliations and political views must unite on board ship to defeat the splitters' manoeuvres aimed at dividing the seamen so as to leave them defenceless against the greed of the shipowners and dollar imperialism's thirst for war.

The seamen must unite on board to set up and strengthen peace committees and to back the concrete decisions of the World Peace Congress.

They must unite with the broad mass of defenders of peace in demanding an end to the war in Korea and the other South-East Asian countries, in opposing the rearmament of Germany and Japan, in putting an end to the American policy of splitting the world into two camps and in demanding the restoration of trade relations among the different countries under the two economic systems.

It is solely on this condition that the seamen can usefully make their decisive contribution to the defence of world peace and look forward to a world full of promise for the improvement of their living conditions.

¶ See Boleslav Gebert, "Seamen and Dockers Chart Their Course Towards Peace," in World Trade Union Movement, No. 2, January 20th, 1951.

New Zealand Workers Defeat Attempt To Isolate W.F.T.U.

SINCE mid-February the New Zealand working class has been fighting back against the most vicious attempt at union-busting in the country's history. Locked out by the port employers when they banned overtime following the refusal to grant them a wage increase authorised for all other workers, the 8,000-strong Waterside Workers' Union (dockers) was immediately subjected to severe governmental repression through the decreeing of Emergency Regulations which, as the Liberal "New Statesman and Nation" has stated, would have made Mussolini envious. The Union was de-registered, its funds seized, its hospital fund frozen, and the wharves were manned by the Army.

Other industrial unions gave their support to the dockers: hydro-electric and gas workers, drivers and railwaymen, painters and cement workers, freezing workers, miners, seamen and others. Eighteen weeks after the lock-out 20,000 workers were still out, demanding the repeal of the Regulations and settlement of the dockers' claim. Never before in the country's history has such solidarity been manifested; and never before has the support of Australian unions been so strong—dockers, seamen, ironworkers, ships' painters, miners and others have taken vigorous action to back up the struggle of their New Zealand brothers.

In New Zealand itself, wide sections of the population have been drawn into the fight against what may be regarded as the pattern for the introduction of fascism into certain countries. Civil servants, professional people, university staffs and students, and youth organisations, have reacted against the Tory Government's elimination of civil liberties. And this broad popular movement has won through and imposed the right of the workers to put their case to the people. One example is typical, that of Bloody Friday.

On Friday, June 1st, 1,500 workers were conducting a peaceful demonstration in Auckland to advertise a big public meeting on June 3rd. Without warning the procession was savagely attacked by the police who beat up men and women indiscriminately; 22 workers were hospitalised. But the population's answer staggered the Government. On June 3rd, despite the presence nearby of lorry-loads of police and troops, 20,000 people met and demanded a public inquiry into the police violence (the population of Auckland is about 300,000).

This broad popular movement, and the 5,000-odd protest cables from overseas, has led even the right-wing leaders of the New Zealand Labour Party to take up a position against the Tory Government. They have squarely placed the blame for the continuation of the dispute, which the Government has "declared" to be a strike, on the Tory Cabinet, and they have stigmatised the denial of the people's liberties. Their action has placed them in open conflict with the right-wing leaders of the Federation of Labour—affiliated to the Scab International—who have placed themselves at the disposal of the Tory Government and helped it to try and break the unions. The people's answer has been like a thunderbolt.

> **Despite a frenzied smear campaign, despite the wild allegations that the workers' movement is "part of the cold war," that the WFTU, to which the Dockers' Union is affiliated through its seamen and dockers' trade department, has organised the struggle on the orders of "Moscow," the Annual Conference of the Labour Party on June 13th rejected by an overwhelming majority, a motion, proposed by the Federation of Labour secretary, that trade unions affiliated to the WFTU be excluded from the Party.**

The defeat of this resolution proves that the Tory Government's campaign of lies and repression has failed, that the unity the workers have built up and demonstrated in their fight to preserve their organisations has won the admiration and backing of wide sections of the people, and that the smoke screen of calumny destined to cut the WFTU off from the workers cannot prevent them from seeing that it alone among international labour organisations represents their true interests.

The NZ workers' struggle is rich in lessons for our international movement, and the pattern of attack set in motion by the Tories serves as a warning to the workers of social democratic countries. This struggle has seen the growth of a wider consciousness among the workers of the issues at stake: the peace movement has been enormously strengthened, the subservience of the Tories to the plans of US imperialism has been unmasked; the anti-Labour schemes of the splitters leading the Federation of Labour have been defeated; the genuine trade unions have been strengthened through a new unity forged in the struggle; and the workers have gained a juster appreciation of the importance of international solidarity organised by the W.F.T.U.

A MILITANT RANK-AND-FILE HAMMERS OUT ITS PROGRAMME

by EDDIE TANGEN

Secretary-Treasurer, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards

THE rank and file of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union held a convention, May 1st to May 5th, 1951, in San Francisco.

Although the officers of the Union were there, as were Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Revels Cayton of the Distributive Workers, Gale Sondergaard, Hollywood Academy Award winner, Eugene Burke, past president and a founder of the Union, Richard Gladstein, nationally known attorney, and others, and although they all spoke, the voices that "hit the mike" most frequently, the men who from the convention floor formed M.C.S. policy for the next two years, were the men who had come from the point of production, from the ships and from the branches.

More than 150 delegates attended. All but twelve spoke on issues facing the Union. These men formed their programme in committees and carried it through in convention sessions. The programme they formulated was a true rank and file programme, a programme of and for working men and women, a programme of pork chops, not pork chops just for M.C.S. members, but pork chops for all people everywhere, a programme of unity with all people and a programme for peace.

"If we're called 'red' when we speak for peace we've been called this before. Without peace we will all perish from the earth," E. O. Harmon, delegate from the *Wayne Victory* told the convention.

Ten other rank and file delegates hit the floor on peace and with but two dissenting votes a resolution was passed for negotiations with the Soviet Union, a cease-fire in Korea, trade with China, reduction of armaments and outlawing of the atom bomb. This resolution also urged that war or peace be determined by the American people in a referendum vote, unless we are attacked first.

"You can break a union or a country by red-baiting," said Ted Rolfs, delegate from San Francisco, and a score of other delegates followed him to the mike and demanded an end to the blacklisting of seamen on false "security" reasons, repeal of the McCarran law, abolition of the House un-American Activities Committee, an end to F.B.I. intimidation, repeal of thought control legislation, freedom of thought and political views and other civil rights measures. The resolution was passed unanimously.

"The 'lesser of two evils' is much too evil for us," said Joe Taylor of the *Purdue Victory*, and, in different words, other delegates agreed and passed a resolution condemning the "corrupt Democratic party" and called for an independent political party "rooted among the workers, the minority people, small farmers and other groups who are for peace and progress."

Leroy Johnson, *SS Sonoma* delegate, calling for unity among all maritime workers, said, "We are closer together with members of the other unions than we realize." And the delegates passed resolutions calling for continued unity with M.C.S.' strongest ally, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, with the 78 million workers in the World Federation of Trade Unions,

Paul Robeson, great American Negro artist and leader, addresses the M.C.S. convention. At Robeson's right is President Hugh Bryson and at his left is Secretary-Treasurer Eddie Tangen.

with minority, church, fraternal and other organisations, with independent unions and with the rank and file of the maritime unions whose leadership is trying to raid and destroy the M.C.S.

Rank-and-file delegates as the M.C.S. convention, where Negro and white workers unite to defend their common interests.

Convention delegates also called for strict maintenance of the hiring hall, a 25 per cent. wage increase, an extra man on freighters and other gains.

Because the greatest achievement of this Union has been its constant fight to eliminate all discrimination from its ranks, perhaps the most inspiring session for the visitors to the convention was the one on Negro-white unity. The convention was held in the Negro community. As a consequence an enlarged auditorium was needed to seat the thousand added visitors. "We have come a long way since we were a predominantly white union but we have just laid the foundations," said James Herman, San Francisco delegate. "In the white members' hands to-day lies the responsibility for achieving Negro-white unity. The pace has already been set by the brilliant leadership of our Negro brothers." And as Paul Robeson listened, other delegates spoke on this important issue, stressing that in M.C.S. now it is the Negro brothers who are leading the way and that the white brothers must keep pace in the fight to preserve and strengthen the Union.

Unity behind the struggles of all working people found M.C.S. members helping a General Electric workers' picket in their strike in Oakland, California, against the speed-up.

Then Paul Robeson in his speech said, "If 15 million Negro people speak for peace there will be peace. If 15 million Negro people support their brothers, labour will never have to bend the knee. If 15 million people say no anti-Semitism, there will be no anti-Semitism. If they say stop the persecution of the Mexican people, the Puerto Ricans, the Filipinos, the persecution will stop. And behind these 15 million," added Robeson, "stand 200 million in the continent of Africa pressing in the same direction as the people of China."

Resolutions were also passed pledging unity with the Latin-American and Asian peoples. "Anyone who wants to separate one group from another wants to rule them all," said Joe Johnson of the Wilmington Branch.

Action marking the entire convention included a protest demonstration against screening when the delegates paraded for an hour in front of the Coast Guard building on Sansome Street. On another day the delegates held a street meeting in protest against the scheduled execution of Willie McGee.

And when the convention ended, the delegates knew their job was not over and they said so. Speaker after speaker pledged to return to the ships and to the branches and to work unstintingly to carry out the many resolutions for peace, for equality, for civil liberties. A working rank and file convention had ended but this working rank and file knew their job had just begun.

Exploitation of Immigrant Labour in Australia

WE publish herewith a letter from the Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia which describes the poverty and bad conditions imposed on European workers recruited under contract to erect pre-fab housing in Australia. It contains the demands which the Union is making on behalf of these workers together with a plea for co-operation and unity with the appropriate European unions for improving the conditions of these workers:

European building contractors are contracting to supply and erect pre-fab houses in Australia.

The contract stipulates that Australian labour can only be used with Commonwealth Government approval.

The result of this is that European building contractors are recruiting labour in Europe for work in Australia and without agreement with the Unions here or in Europe as to the terms and conditions of employment.

To give an example: the French firm Le Corche Frers and Schroth have contracted to erect some 300 pre-fab houses at Zillmere Brisbane for the Queensland State Government.

Some 200 Germans and other nationals are employed on the project. These workers who left their wives and families in Europe signed up to work for one year.

The employer agreed to pay the shipping fares but in order to keep the workers in his employ deducts an instalment of £2.10.0 from the workers' pay each week as repayment of the fares. This deduction is to be refunded after the completion of one year's work.

A further £2.14.0 is deducted each week to pay for food and lodging provided by the employer. Workers who have families and dependants in Europe are required to provide for them, so a further £5 is deducted. In addition the weekly taxation deduction is the same as for an unmarried man and is about £1.2.0. From a weekly wage rate of about £12 there is very little left for the worker to live on.

To further add to the poverty and discomfort of these workers the firm now proposes that the fare deductions continue until the total fare has been repaid and is attempting to introduce an incentive bonus system of work. Efforts to alleviate the plight of these workers have in the main failed, firstly because of the immigration laws and secondly because of the large sums of money held by the firm in respect to deductions for fares. We tried to have the Queensland Arbitration Court grant a living away from home allowance but the Court held that it was not capable of making such a grant It said it had no jurisdiction. The Minister for Immigration has been asked to assist to bring out the families of the workers who make the necessary application but this is being investigated.

We are at the moment endeavouring to meet the Minister for Immigration with a view to securing a review of the whole position. However, while we may endeavour to improve the position of workers who have signed contracts and are already here, both by way of publicity, representations to the Government and by organising the workers themselves to fight for standards, we feel that the co-operation and assistance of the Unions in the countries of Europe is a first essential.

We would therefore be pleased if these Unions were advised of the policy of the Australian Government, the actions of the contractors and the demands raised on behalf of building workers, whether European or Australian.

Our demands are:

1. That each worker recruited for work in Australia be a financial member of the appropriate Union in his home country at the time of engagement and that he be provided with papers to prove his Union standing.

2. That each worker when engaged for work in Australia undertake to join the appropriate Australian Union on arrival.

3. That Australian workers be permitted to work on the same projects as European workers.

4. That the passage of European labour to and from Australia be paid by the contractor and that there be no weekly deductions from the workers' wages.

5. That board and lodging be provided free of cost to the European worker.

6. That not less than the Australian Award rates and conditions and Australian trade practices be observed.

7. That the period of employment should not

be increased beyond twelve months without the consent of the employee.

Because the Australian Government is an anti-worker Government it does not co-operate with the Trade Unions and in consequence we cannot secure prior information of proposed contracts.

This makes it imperative that the Unions in Europe give the widest publicity to this matter.

F. Purse,
Federal Secretary,
Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia.

The W.F.T.U. recalls the Resolution of the Second World Congress on the Problem of Migration of Labour, in particular the following relevant sections:

. . . The recruitment of labour must be carried out solely by means of the conclusion of individual agreements with the migrant workers, with the participation of the trade union organisations, and the immigrant workers must be fully informed on the working conditions in the country which they are entering and on the legislation enforced in these countries regarding labour and social insurance;

The organisations which are concerned with labour questions should be charged with the drawing up of individual agreements and with the supervision of their application; they should also ensure that no false information is supplied to the workers;

The conclusion of bilateral agreements should provide for:

—the guarantee of the economic and social rights of the immigrant workers, including the right to join trade unions and the right to social insurance;

—the guarantee that no discrimination based on nationality, race, language, religion or sex will be applied to the immigrants, and consequently the guarantee to all immigrants without exception of the full enjoyment of all civil rights;

—the guarantee of the interests of the immigrant workers should the employer not implement the conditions of the individual agreement, and the guarantee against any deterioration in working conditions in relation to the conditions fixed in the country in question by legislation and collective agreements;

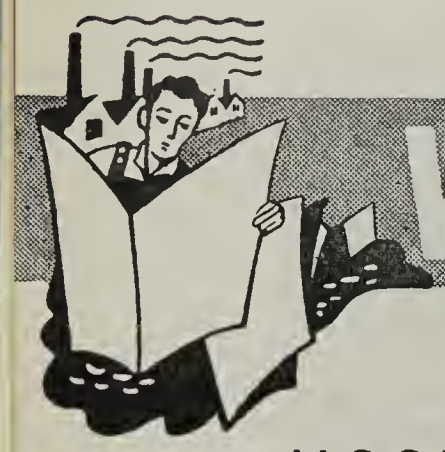
—the right to return to their own countries, both for the immigrants themselves and for the members

—the reimbursement of the costs of the outward of their families;

—the reimbursement of the cost of the outward and return journey to their countries, should this be motivated by the failure to execute the conditions of the individual agreement or contract.

The W.F.T.U. calls on all the National Trade Union Centres to render the maximum assistance to immigrant workers and to adopt measures to prevent all violations of their rights and interests.

We invite trade union organisations to express their opinions as to how the problem posed concerning European workers in Australia can best be solved.



WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

Soviet Workers Increase Their Technical Knowledge

Technical progress in our country is inextricably linked to the expansion of the workers' technical and economic knowledge. The difference between manual and intellectual work is progressively disappearing in the process of building communism. Even now, the work performed by workers in certain enterprises is hardly distinguishable from that of engineers and technicians. Work in the automatic piston factory requires people with a high level of knowledge and technical training, and represents one of the aspects of the work of an engineer or technician. The work of a powerful moving excavator which replaces 10,000 labourers, is regulated by a group of five people, directed by an engineer-mechanic with advanced technical training.

Under conditions of socialist production, the widest possibilities are created for acquiring technical knowledge and for raising the workers' cultural and technical level. "In the West," Comrade Stalin has said, "the workers produce only to earn wages and are indifferent to everything else. In our country, production is regarded as a public matter, the concern of the State and a point of honour. This is why new techniques are assimilated so quickly in our country."

In the capitalist countries, technical training and the improvement of qualifications are the worker's personal problem. In the Soviet Union, the training of skilled workers is carried out by the State on a tremendous scale. It is only necessary to mention that *six to seven million people pass annually* through the labour reserve system, as well as directly into the factories *for training and the learning of new skills.*

The citizens of the U.S.S.R. possess great opportunities for obtaining secondary and advanced technical education without leaving their jobs. *Seventeen Correspondence Course Institutes and* 459 *correspondence courses from higher education institutions have a total of* 400,000 *students or half the total number of ordinary students in higher education institutions.*

The Soviet worker's cultural level is extremely high. Hundreds of thousands of Stakhanovites are fully versed in modern technique and use it with creative spirit. Production innovators work in collaboration with scientific research and help to enrich it themselves. *It is no longer a rare phenomenon for Stakhanovites to lecture in the universities, to be members of councils of scientific institutes and to write general scientific works on their achievements.*

Hundreds of thousands of workers contribute to technical progress. In the last two years, more than a million inventions and suggestions for rationalisation in industry have been made.

The raising of general education and the technical and economic knowledge of the Soviet people is a task of enormous national importance.

Izvestia, 16.6.51.

FRANCE

Support Even the Smallest Demands

The metalworkers of Citröen-Saint-Ouen first won a 5-franc increase. This certainly represented an advance but they said: "That's not enough," so they won 3 francs more.

Gains are sometimes made in little bits. The employers are greedy. Everything we win in each factory goes to swell the drive towards our big demands which, although just ones, are nevertheless difficult to get out of the tight-fisted employers. Little streams make big rivers.

* * *

You may say that one might just as well put forward an immediate demand for 40 francs. Undoubtedly this can be done if you are strong enough; but it is sometimes preferable to have everyone demanding 20 francs than to have a few demanding 40 francs which they will not win. It is better to have 20 francs than nothing at all. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, as they say.

Claims must therefore be determined in the workshops and on the building sites, *as long as the wages situation and the workers' strength varies from place to place.* Don't wait for anyone else to formulate this demand—not even Benoit Frachon, You alone, you and the other workers, can know what the demand is to be.

So, fellow trade unionists, get together to determine the demands Monmousseau, Hénaff or anyone else. which will achieve unity because everyone wants them satisfied, decide on the methods of action to be undertaken, and call on all workers to express their views and attitude on the proposals made by the C.G.T. trade union branch.

Then the employers will be forced to give way.

Andre Tollet, in
La Vie Ouvrière, 20.6.51.

Unity Against Poverty and War

"Their election swindle is aimed precisely at imposing a fresh cut in living standards while they (the planners of disasters) ceaselessly chatter about their desire to improve the workers' conditions.

"They are seeking to speed up the preparation for war and to increase war budgets, they want to accelerate the transformation of our economy into a war economy."

These are the words used by Benoit Frachon in his report to the 28th Congress of our C.G.T., stressing that we were independent but not neutral.

The election swindle was hardly over when "Le Monde" of Wednesday, 20th June, revealed that following after Mr. Wilson and General Bradley, Mr. Harriman was coming to Paris to find out:

1. The extent to which war production can be speeded up;
2. What progress had been achieved in the formation of new units, and what were the new war material requirements;
3. The situation as regards West German participation in "European defence."
4. The possibility of holding a conference of Foreign and "Defence" Ministers of the Atlantic Pact nations.

This confirms the dangers explained by our 28th Congress and justifies the C.G.T.'s position which was so clearly defined in the report made by Brother A. Le Leap, General Secretary of the C.G.T.

But the people are needed in making war. Therefore, they need our consent.

By their united action, the workers

have already replied "No" to poverty and "No" to war.

Olga Tournade,
Secretary of the C.G.T., in
Le Peuple, 21.6.51.

ITALY

A Common Struggle

Examining the similarities existing between the trade union political situation in France and Italy, Renato Bitossi, member of the C.G.I.L. Secretariat, writes:

We in Italy also have a Christian trade union organisation and a social-democratic organisation, but the trade union political leadership of the Italian working masses has remained and will continue to remain in the hands of the great C.G.I.L.

Italian working-class unity finds its highest expression in the C.G.I.L. As a result of workers' pressure, the divisionists have so far been forced, in the struggle, to follow the basic lines of policy laid down by the C.G.I.L.

Having won back its freedom by the fight waged during the war of liberation, the Italian labour movement found in the General Confederation of Labour the trade union organisation which knows how to lead and guide it to victories which will gradually bring Italy to the achievement of a regime of peace, freedom and work.

In the defence of the workers' social rights and its fight for better living conditions for the people, the C.G.I.L. is in no way acting on behalf of selfish class interests; on the contrary, it is identifying itself with the general interests of the country. It was on this basis that the C.G.I.L. issued its constructive Plan of Work at its Genoa Congress.

A policy of national indepcndence and the application of the Plan of Work would provide the Italian workers with the certainty that by raising production, and using all national resources, the foundation could be laid of a new economic situation guaranteeing peace, work and freedom.

Italian and French workers are united in the battle because they are fighting a common enemy. They both desire freedom and peace and are united in the fight against their respective governments enslaved to American imperialism.

Lavoro (Rome), 23.6.51.

SPAIN

From a Letter from Madrid

On the same day as the great anti-Franco demonstrations in Madrid (May 22), an inhabitant of Madrid wrote a significant letter to one of his relatives at present living in Mexico, from which the following paragraphs are taken:

This morning I came out of the house at 8.20 a.m. to walk to work and, at the same time, to see what was going on. Looking from la Glorieta de Bilbao towards Fuencarral Street, one could see an interesting scene—a human river coming down the street. I walked along the street to the Castellana. All the workers were on foot, their lunch-tins in their hands; others who looked like office workers were also carrying snacks or even their lunch.

The trams were out on the streets but carried very few passengers. I imagine that these people were plain clothes policemen or guards who had been ordered to spend their entire day travelling on the trams and busses. But the trams in the suburban districts of Ventas-Moncloa and Diege de Leon-Puente de Toledo were completely empty.

No one entered or left any of the underground railway stations. The bars and cafes, usually full at that hour, were empty. The shops sold nothing today.

Madrid was chock-full of police and guards who had come in from all over the country, some even by plane. At every underground railway exit, every tram stop and cross-roads, there were small groups of 3 to 5 guards armed to the teeth.

In offices where employees do not usually have to sign on, today they were required to do so. Felipe the tailor was walking down Bravo Murillo Street on his way to work in Cuatro Caminos when he and other passers-by were forced by the police to get on a tram. There were policemen on the front and back platforms all the way to Cuatro Caminos.

Everyone found carrying leaflets was arrested. Yesterday I was given one and I typed several copies which I distributed in the afternoon and evening.

Espana Republicana, 16.6.51.

AUSTRALIA

Solidarity and Unity

The Communist bogey is a gigantic confidence trick. The lunatic fringe of extreme right-wing Labour is vying with Menzies and Fadden in their crazy efforts to dam the floodgates of twentieth century social progress.

Misleading the people is part and parcel of the plans of social criminals who are attempting to drive Australia into a war against peoples who have dumped capitalists, bankers and landlords off their backs.

In the struggle to defend and extend democracy—the 40-hour working week, higher living standards, increased social service payment rates—in fighting back anv attempt by the shipowners to smash our Waterside Workers' Federation, and slash the hourly rate, worsen working conditions and abolish our social rights, attendance money, annual holidays, would we travel the road of the shipowners simply because Communists are on the other road—the road of resisting the shipowners' plans to make us work harder and eat less? Would we refuse to act in common if the shipowners, in a shipping slump, used the redundancy of labour clause to drive off the waterfront our "ageing" members because their tired and aching bodies were no longer an exploitable asset to the greedy, profit-hungry shipowners? Would we stand idly by and allow the shipowners wilfully to victimise good unionists who refuse to be cheated out of award conditions? The history of our glorious Waterside Workers' Federation is one of militant trade unionism. The pioneers of our Federation fought as a single, united trade union organisation—where an injury to one became the concern of all.

United we win—divided we lose. External vigilance and solidarity are essential if we are to stave off the return of mankilling working hours and slave tonnage hourly rates.

Spurn the redbaiter—he is an agent of the shipowners.

Maritime Worker, 26.5.51.

SOUTH AFRICA

What's Dr. Malan Afraid Of?

In the last war the Nationalists (Malan party), as we know, opposed the participation of South Africa in the crusade against Hitlerism. In particular they opposed the sending of South African troops outside of Africa. The Nationalists never admitted in so many words that it was their love of Hitler and his works which prompted them to adopt this "neutral" attitude. Today, however, Malan is prepared to send South African troops to the end of the world to "defend" South Africa.

One would like to ask, how South Africa is threatened today, in the Middle East or in Africa, or indeed elsewhere? Where is the evidence that the "enemy" is on the march or even contemplating an attack on Africa?

South Africans are being called upon to bear the burdens of rearmament, to face future hardships and sacrifices, all because of some mythical war threat which is self-evident to nobody except the leading writers of the daily press and the politicians of the Pentagon.

It is Dr. Malan's conception of the "communist menace" that is leading

this country into the mire. For him, any threat to white supremacy in South Africa, any movement for the emancipation of the 100 million people of Africa, represents "communism." It is paranoic fear of social change and reform which is leading him to make enemies, not only of the majority of the people of this country, but of the people of all Africa.

If the South African Government were to establish a true democracy, to extend the franchise to all, to promote the interests of the whole population instead of one small section, it would have nothing to fear either from its own people or from any other people of Africa. Bread and butter for African school children, instead of guns for the Defence Force, would be the best guarantee of peace.

Guardian, 24.5.51.

SIERRA LEONE

Imperialist "Democracy" and Press "Freedom"

The British Governor of Nigeria has placed a ban on the importation into Nigeria of the publication entitled "For a Pan-African Trade Union Conference" issued by the World Federation of Trade Unions and has declared it a criminal offence —liable to prosecution and certain penalties if found in possession of such a document or any extract therefrom.

We are aware of the fact that the Government of Nigeria, like many other colonial governments, is hostile to the W.F.T.U., and this for no other reason than that the W.F.T.U. grants absolute autonomy to colonial trade unions and maintains that the principles, outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should be made applicable to the people of Colonies and Dependent Territories, in the same manner as they are applicable to those of European Metropolitan Countries.

This attitude of positive stand which the W.F.T.U. has taken to defend the rights and privileges of colonial workers has been declared by those who desire the colonial people bound fast in the chains of perpetual serfdom as "communist propaganda." and they therefore seek to disrupt the relationship between colonial trade unions and the W.F.T.U. We can see no justifiable reason to ban the importation of a publication into any colonial territory simply because it is published by the Colonial Trade Unions and the W.F.T.U.

This action which the Governor of Nigeria has taken is not only despotic and repressive but cuts right through the principles of human rights and should by no means be tolerated. We are pleased to learn that the Executive of the Sierra Leone Section of the Youth League has lodged a protest against this arbitrary action to deprive the workers of the right of reading such publications as they would like to read.

The African Standard, May 1951

BRAZIL

Demagogic Promises and Police Violence

Roberto Morena, General Secretary of the Brazilian General Confederation of Labour and member of Parliament, spoke in the Parliamentary debate on the creation of a Conciliation and Arbitration Institution in Londrina. The speaker said that the activity of a body of this type could give satisfaction to working-class interests only if there was trade union liberty in the country and if the trade unions could take effective action.

But this is not the case. Only a few months previously, the trade unions had been called on to elect advisers to the bodies responsible for arbitration in trade disputes. The apparent indifference on the part of the mass of organised workers was justified by the actual situation of working-class fighting organisations which are subject to control by the repressive agencies of the government.

The Minister of Labour had made declarations on the subject of the growth of the trade union movement in Brazil, but anyone who makes a close examination of trade union activity in the country can see that the movement is not growing in the governmental unions. The Minister says the opposite but he is unable to back these assertions with figures. It is to be noted that workers are leaving the official trade unions where they are always obliged to deal with police and official agents differing very little from the police.

Morena backed the accusation made by the Rio de Janeiro representative, Breno da Silvestra, on the undemocratic measures taken by the Ministry of Justice on 9th May 1951, ordering, on the basis of police reports, the closing down of various trade union and democratic organisations, including the Barretos Workers' Association.

During the refrigeration workers' struggle in that town, the Association came out in defence of the workers The Government, which claims that it is being harried by financial sharks, closed down the Workers' Association and has gone over to the side of foreign sharks.

Morena denounced other examples of government demagogy. Its asserted desire to combat the high cost of living is followed by fresh rises in the cost of living. At the same time, when the peasants of Canapolis organised to defend their agricultural output with the aim of bringing down the cost of widely consumed foodstuffs, the police brutally machine-gunned the peasants in order to serve the interests of the big landowners.

The brutal repression against the workers in the towns and countryside is by no means sporadic. It is the general line of the Dutra and Getulio Vargas Governments. Morena went on to say that the issue was raised today because there was talk of using violence to break the strike of the Riogradense railwaymen who are merely demanding a 300-cruzeiros increase and the payment of a bonus.

Imprensa Popular
(Rio de Janeiro), 19.5.51.

CEYLON

U.S. Labour Agency

Both Mr. Goonesinha (Minister of State) and Mr. Jayatilleke (right-wing trade union leader) are off to Karachi to attend the First Asian Regional Conference of the so-called "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" (I.C.F.T.U.). This so-called labour body, which came into existence after the unsuccessful attempt, on American orders, to split the World Federation of Trade Unions, is nothing but an agency of the U.S. State Department in the field of labour.

Some time ago, on the invitation of the American Embassy, three representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. visited Ceylon. They were boycotted by the entire trade union movement and did not meet even a single worker. The only "representatives" of the toiling masses with whom they hob-nobbed were the U.S. Ambassador and the Governor-General who wined and dined them lavishly.

Trade Unionists in Ceylon, who know so well Mr. Goonesinha's record of strike-breaking, political gangsterism and stooging for the bosses, can imagine what sort of an organisation the I.C.F.T.U. is, if it so willingly accepts Mr. Goonesinha, the representative of the United National Party Government, as the nominee of the Ceylon working class.

Among the proposals for chaining the Asian workers to the American war machine which this conference will discuss is one of setting up, under Government sponsorship, a Trade Union College at Kandy to teach the Ceylon trade unionists the American methods of running trade unions.

Mr. Hudson, the trade union advisor whom the Government imported some time ago to inculcate a "responsible" and "co-operative" spirit among Ceylon trade unionists, was quickly kicked out by the very people who imported him because he was not prepared entirely to forget his trade union principles. Now the Yanks are to take over and give lessons in trade union democracy.

It would be far better for the I.C.F.T.U., before it tries to preach

sermons to Ceylon workers and clerical employees to take steps to introduce some democracy into American trade unions. Even the American Press does not conceal the gangsterism and corruption that exist in them.

Ceylon does not want trade unions on the line of the Taft-Hartley and MacCarran Acts, so dear to the hearts of Wall Street and its labour lieutenants. Our trade unionists will continue to tell the American agents of the I.C.F.T.U., in their own inelegant but forcible language: "Scram the hell out of here."

People's Voice, 25.5.51.

UNITED STATES

Blacklisting of American Maritime Workers

Currently there is before Federal District Judge Edward P. Murphy in San Francisco the matter of whether or not the punishment inflicted upon seamen and longshoremen—namely, deprival of their livelihood—is justified under the blacklisting programme of the Coast Guard.

The argument made by the government is, at least to my way of thinking, the most cold-blooded argument ever made in an American courtroom.

The attorney for ten screened longshoremen and seamen, who are seeking injunctive relief against the Coast Guard blacklisting, has made a full showing that the clients were blacklisted on the basis of beliefs and suppositions of unnamed stool-pigeons. It has been shown that these men were jerked oft their jobs by the Coast Guard with no specific charge of any kind being made against them. It has been shown that their right of appeal is farcical, that is, that they are told when they appear for appeal: "We will not reveal the nature of the charges against you. We will not reveal the witnesses against you. It is up to you to convince us that you are not guilty of what we think you are guilty of."

The Federal Attorney argues further that in these cases the government need not expose the accusers, or name them or submit them to cross examination.

If this is true and the courts uphold such a contention, it would then certainly seem proper that in all other cases, such as even murder, the District Attorney could properly come before a court with a prisoner in chains and say to the court:

"Your Honour, this man is a murderer. We know he is a murderer because we have been told he is a murderer by someone whom I shall not name. We do not want to embarrass the witnesses against him and you must take our word for it that he is guilty."

It takes no investigation now to know that the screening deal is a dirty rotten thing and that its sole purpose is to company-unionize the waterfront. If it is allowed to go on it will mean the end of our union as we know it now and as we have known it in the past. It also has the purpose of eliminating Negroes. Nine out of ten persons blacklisted have been Negroes.

Let us face the fact that if the courts of the United States uphold this system of secret accusations by unnamed stool-pigeons, paid agents and union-busters in our ranks, and punishment without trial and due process of law, then the constitutional protections are gone for everybody and we are in the grip of a military dictatorship and a police state.

Harry Bridges in
The Dispatcher
(Organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union), 25.5.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

June 18

WEST AFRICA. — Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, Leader of Government Business in the Gold Coast, on a visit to London, condemns Dr. Malan's undisguised fascism in South Africa and the British Labour Government's plans to establish a British Central Africa Federation as two kinds of imperialism. Speaking of the African people, he says, "Our struggle is not against any race, creed or religion. It is against imperialism, wherever it is found."

UNITED STATES. — The strike of three CIO maritime unions, the National Maritime Union, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the American Radio Association continues as U.S. government mediators fail to arrange discussions between the unions and the shipowners. The walkout began when negotiations for renewal of national contracts broke down.

AUSTRALIA. — The Sydney Arbitration Court rejects the Waterside Workers' application for an increase in the basic wage. The judge, in a typical employer-type argument states that if the watersiders substantially reduced industrial stoppages in general and political stoppages in particular, and substantially increased the turnround of ships, he would be justified in granting some addition to wages.

— Frank Hardy, Australian writer of "Power Without Glory" is found not guilty of criminal libel against the wife of a Melbourne financier. This is a victory for democratic forces which so effectively organised Hardy's defence.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Musicians Organisation for Peace, under the presidency of Sir Adrian Boult, conductor of the London Philharmonc Orchestra, and including the leading musicians of Britain, calls upon musicians in all branches of the profession, regardless of political convictions, to assert their rights and responsibilities as citizens to do all in their power to halt the drift to war. They urge the Great Powers to settle their differences by peaceful negotiation as an alternative to degradation and horror.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — In a referendum held from May 26th to June 17th, 9,020,522 people, 99.33% of all having the right to vote, voted in favour of the Five Powers Peace Pact, against the remilitarisation of Germany and against the treachery of emigrés.

June 19

UNITED STATES. — Nine hundred pilots and co-pilots go on strike against United Air Lines, halting all flights from the Atlantic Coast of the U.S. as far as Honolulu. The pilots are demanding that their pay be based on a mileage basis rather than on the present hourly basis. They contend that modern planes capable of longer and faster flights make necessary the new basis for payment.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The national conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union instructs its Executive to put forward a claim for £1 per week wage increase through the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. If a satisfactory settlement is not obtained within three months, further action is to be considered.

CHILE. — Fifteen thousand workers in American-owned copper mines strike for higher wages. The government proclaims a state of emergency in the mining area and declares the strike illegal on the grounds that it is part of a cold war against the United States. Employees of the American firm Roel and Brothers stop work for 24 hours in solidarity with the striking miners.

June 20

UNITED STATES. — As a result of the Supreme Court recently upholding the government's right to convict communists for their ideas and not just their actions, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrests 17 Communist Party leaders for trial on the charge of teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the U.S. government. The government announces that many more arrests may be expected as the attempt to stifle all opinion contrary to U.S. government policy gains momentum.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The conference of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers unanimously passes a resolution "welcoming any negotiations which aim at removing the major causes of suspicion and fear and thereby lessening the dangers of a third world war." The conference of the Fire Brigades Union calls for negotiations among the Great Powers and condemns the arms drive of the government.

June 21

GREAT BRITAIN. — The conference of the Amalgamated Unions of Foundry Workers demands the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Britain and from all other countries. It urges that differences be solved at the conference table and in the interests of peace requests the government to support the Soviet proposal to include the Atlantic Pact in the agenda of the proposed Four Power conference.

WESTERN GERMANY. — At Dusseldorf the General Council of the DGB (German Federation of Trade Unions) refuses the invitation of the FDGB (Free German Federation of Trade Unions) to have joint discussions against the remilitarisation of Western Germany, for a peace treaty, for the unity of Germany, for abolition of interzonal trade restrictions, against the Schuman Plan, for relations with European trade union organisations, and against rearmament in France and Germany. At the same time the Berlin committee of the DGB refuses the affiliation of members of the Socialist Unity Party who work in the western sectors of Berlin.

ITALY. — After a two-month nationwide struggle led by the three trade union centres, tram and bus employees succeed in obtaining a new calculation of the sliding scale as well as substantial increases in indemnities for high cost of living. They also obtain the opening of negotiations on their demands for higher wages.

ARGENTINA. — The solidarity and protests of students of the University of Buenos Aires and of the people of Buenos Aires force the Peron government

to free the student, Ernesto Mario Bravo, who was illegally confined by the police on May 18th.

June 22

ITALY. — More than a million employees throughout Italy call a 24-hour strike with complete unity of action among all the trade union organisations. This is the second strike within two and a half months to force the government to satisfy their demands for a 12% wage increase, and for the application of the sliding scale already in force throughout industry.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Leaders of the Civil Service unions request an immediate interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hugh Gaitskell, on his refusal to apply the principle of equal pay for equal work. They also decide to raise the question with the TUC General Council in view of the overwhelming decision of the TUC last year to demand that the government lead the way by applying the principle to its own employees.

IRAN. — The Iranian Government orders the immediate taking over of all the properties of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The company's information service is closed by the police and the Iranian National Oil Company is installed in the headquarters of the British trust.

USSR. — The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions announces the allocation of a further 8 million roubles from the budget of the State Social Insurance for the purchase of equipment for sanatoria and rest homes of the AUCCTU. Some of the funds are to be used for the Tourism and Excursion Department of the AUCCTU.

June 23

GREAT BRITAIN. — The official cost of living index increases 3 points in May, the largest monthly increase since 1947. This means that wages are lagging further behind living costs than at any time since then. The May index is 124 compared with 121 in April at which time the wages index was 118. The real gap is much larger. Trade Unions condemn the official index for playing down the actual rise in living costs.

ITALY. — As a result of the strike of public employees for 12% wage increases and for the application of the sliding scale the Italian cabinet approves, in violation of the constitution, a draft law depriving government employees of the right to strike. A unanimous wave of indignation sweeps through all workers and the three trade union organisations. The Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL), the Christian-Democratic Unions (CISL) and the Right Socialist unions (UIL), publish a statement of protest declaring that they will oppose every attempt to destroy this fundamental right guaranteed by the Italian constitution.

UNITED NATIONS. — Mr. Malik, Soviet delegate to the UN calls for a cease-fire in Korea. He says, " . . . as a first step, discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the 38th parallel. Can such a step be taken? I think it can, provided there is a sincere desire to put an end to the bloody fighting in Korea. I think that, surely, is not too great a price to pay in order to achieve peace in Korea."

WESTERN GERMANY. — The (Western) German Federation of Trade Unions, (DGB) ends a two-day congress in Essen. The congress favoured German participation in "western defence." Playing the employers' game, the congress also called for "a vigorous wage policy," a rapid "reorganisation" of heavy industry (iron and coal), a "fair division of social charges," and a "genuine application" of the right to joint administration in industry. A proposal to include on the agenda the struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany was defeated by the right-wing leaders in control.

UNITED STATES. — The Detroit local union of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) at the Ford Motor Company, with 60,000 members, condemns the rightwing policy of the UAW Executive Board, including President Walter Reuther's support of the rearmament programme because it leads to higher prices and a worsening of the workers' living standards. President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, addressing the Ford union, calls for a single national centre representing all American unions for a concerted fight against monopoly control and the Taft-Hartley anti-labour law, and for the creation of a $50 million fund for this purpose.

DENMARK. — The Dockers' Union decides to boycott all ships with cargo for the Greek fascist regime if the proceedings against Ambatielos, General Secretary of the Greek Maritime Union, are reopened. The Greek Government is trying to reopen the cases against Greek maritime leaders now under detention, without making it possible for them to be present for their defence.

AUSTRIA. — The All-Austrian Conference of the League of Democratic Women appeals for support in the collection of clothing, blankets, food, bandages and medical supplies for the people of Korea who have been mercilessly ravaged by American bombs.

BULGARIA. — The Executive of the Women's International Democratic Federation meeting in Sofia sends an appeal to the United Nations calling for an end to the bombarding of Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem along the lines suggested by the World Peace Council. The Appeal is received in New York by Soviet delegate Malik, president of the Security Council.

The Executive also decides to hold an international conference for the protection of children in Vienna from September 19th to 23rd.

June 24

U.S.S.R.—The first group of a United States trade union delegation arrives in Moscow at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

June 25

INDONESIA. — An outbreak of strikes for improved wages and conditions is rocking Indonesia, notably in the Caruda Indonesian Airways, Jakarta street transport, and Dutch Shell. This latter strike is in its eighth week and already Jakarta petrol stations are dry.

KOREA. — Anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean war.

June 26

USSR. — Following an invitation of the Printers' Union, a delegation of Finnish printers arrives in Moscow.

June 27

UNITED STATES. — The maritime strike involving three CIO maritime unions ends as the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association agrees with the shipowners on contract provisions. The National Maritime Union and American Radio Association negotiated contracts on June 24th. The NMU 2-year contract provides an 8% wage increase, vacation fund plan, and increase in lodging and boarding allowances of 33.3%. Contracts are subject to rank and file ratification and to review by the Wage Stabilisation Board.

ALGERIA. — Forty thousand public employees go on a 24-hour strike for higher wages and better working conditions, particularly for parity with similar employees in France. The strike is supported by the three trade union organisations, the Central Confederation of Labour (CGT), the Christian trade unions and Force Ouvriere, the breakaway socialist organisation. It is supported by more than 90%

of the workers, and in certain cities by 100% of the workers.

FRANCE. — The government forbids the holding of a peace rally which had been called for July 15 in Paris. The permanent committee for the Peace Movement vigorously protests against the government action and asks for the support of all friends of peace.

BELGIUM. — About 45,000 postal, telephone and telegraph employees strike for 24 hours to enforce their demands, despite governmental intimidation. Against the wishes of their leaders many members of the Christian trade union support the strike.

CYPRUS. — More than 87,000 people in Cyprus sign an appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact, demand that the British government abandon the conversion of Cyprus into a war base, and condemn the war preparations on the island.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — The first groups of trade unionists from Sweden, Norway and Denmark arrive to spend their holidays with the Czechoslovakian working people in the rest centre of the Czechoslovak Central Trade Union at Marianske Lazny.

June 28

GREECE. — More than 70,000 government employees strike for 24 hours in support of their demands for a 50% wage increase.

CUBA. — Juan Marinello, president of the People's Socialist Party, who was arrested while attending a peace meeting, is freed following widespread protests.

UNITED STATES. — The Transport Workers Union (CIO) accepts a proposal to reduce working hours from 48 to 40 per week for 36,000 New York subway, bus and elevated transport workers by July 1, 1952. The eight hour's reduction is to be inaugurated by stages during the next year, and is not to involve wage cuts. The strike proposed for July 1 is cancelled.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Delegates of the 800,000 strong Amalgamated Engineering Union instruct their Executive to urge government support for a peace conference between the USSR, China, USA, France, India and Britain. The union also strongly protests against, and refuses to tolerate the rearming of German and Japanese fascist armies responsible for the mass murder of the people of Europe and Asia.

June 29

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Executive of the Amalgamated Engineering Union reports that it had requested the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress (TUC) to support the demand to send American forces in Britain back home as their presence could be construed as a threat to peace. The sites and buildings occupied by the troops could also be more usefully employed in the service of Britain.

AUSTRIA. — Trade union militants and shop stewards from various industries in Salzburger Province, including the Hallein salt mines, Hallein cellulose plant, Solvay chemical plant, the Ford plant, brewery workers, cement workers, railwaymen, and others, send greetings to the WFTU and best wishes for a successful session of the WFTU Executive Bureau, scheduled to meet July 2.

NEW ZEALAND. — Mr. Nash, Leader of the Opposition states in the parliamentary debates on the waterfront dispute that the government was responsible for its continuation. He said that they had had four opportunities to reach a settlement since the lockout began on April 19. Minister of Labour Sullivan, forgetting that the dockers are still solid and united in face of unprecedented government-employer attacks on their rights, hopes to have "the matter cleaned up shortly."

FINLAND. — At the Congress of the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions, the Building Workers' delegate charges that false and undemocratic elections of delegates, engineered by rightwing socialist leaders contrary to the statutes of the Federation and to the decisions of the last Congress, make the present Congress' actions illegal. He is upheld by many delegates including members of the Executive Board who gave many examples of election swindles. Although unable to refute these accusations the rightwing president declared that the Congress was legal, whereupon it voted to disaffiliate from the WFTU.

July 1

ITALY. — The General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) launches a great national appeal for solidarity with the 5000 workers in the tractor factories of Reggio Emilia, who, for nine months, have struggled and worked without wages to protect their industry. The CGIL requests trade union organisations to participate enthusiastically in a collection for these workers, giving 5 million lire itself. Within 48 hours trade union federations and workers had contributed 11 million lire and the democratic women's organisations had promised to send 204 children of the Reggio Emilia workers to holiday camps at the seashore and the mountains.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Miners' delegates at the Divisional Labour Party conference at Aberdare, Glamorgan (Wales), urge the government to take action to reduce the cost of living.

UNITED STATES. — The American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, sponsored by the American Peace Crusade, ends its session in Chicago expressing satisfaction at the impending cease-fire in Korea, and calling for negotiations among the five major powers — the United States, USSR, Great Britain, China, and France — "to settle the tension between east and west by achieving a long term peace settlement."

July 2

ITALY. — The National Peace Committee announces that the Soviet proposal for ending the fighting in Korea has given a great stimulus to the campaign for a meeting of the 5 great powers. During the past 10 days many firms have had a 100% record in signing the Appeal. In Milan (including the province) 301,118 have signed, in Cagliari 150,000, in Naples 400,000, in Leghorn Livourna 150,000, in Catanzaro 80,000, in Reggia Emilia 250,000, Sardinia 223,000, Rome 452,602, and in Florence 500,000.

CHINA & KOREA. — Military officials of the People's Republic of Korea and the Chinese volunteer forces agree to discuss cease-fire proposals at Kaesong between July 10 and 15, thus agreeing to the suggestions made by the Soviet Union's U.N. delegate Mr. Malik.

VIENNA. — The Executive Bureau of the WFTU holds a five-day session at which resolutions are adopted on: Strengthening of Workers' United Action and Development of Demands in Defence of their Economic and Social Interests; the Struggle for Peace and Against the Remilitarisation of Germany and Japan; Social Security; the Trade Departments, and in particular on the Activity of the Miners' TUI and of the Textile and Clothing Workers' TUI.

The Bureau sent a proposal to the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, inviting them to hold a joint conference "to examine the methods to be adopted to defend the workers' vital interests."

Protests were sent to the President of the Human Rights Commission of UNO and to the Prime Minister of Japan, against "the inhuman and illegal sentencing of 20 Japanese workers in the frame-up known as the Matsukawa incident."

The Executive Bureau accepted the affiliation of the Burma TUC and decided to hold the 1951 session of the WFTU General Council in Berlin, beginning on November 15, to be preceded by meetings of the Executive Bureau and Executive Committee.

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EXECUTIVE BUREAU

OF THE

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

VIENNA, July 2–6, 1951

Resolutions on:

- **The strengthening of workers' united action and the development of the fight for economic and social demands, with the text of a cable to the I.C.F.T.U. and I.C.C.T.U.**
- **The fight for peace and against the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan, with an Appeal to the workers of the world.**
- **Social Security.**
- **The trade departments, particularly the Miners' and Textile Workers' Trade Union Internationals.**
- **Two letters of protest concerning the 20 Japanese trade unionists sentenced in connection with the Matsukawa "incident."**

SUPPLEMENT

to No. 14 of

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Resolution of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau on

The Strengthening of Workers' United Action

And the Development of the Fight to Defend their Economic and Social Interests

1. The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau notes that the intensification of the rearmament policy in all capitalist countries being carried out under the direction of the United States imperialists, is resulting in the extensive impoverishment of the working masses who are bearing the crushing burden of war budgets.

The proportion of military expenditure in the Atlantic Pact countries' budgets rose still further in 1951. In the United States, military appropriations, which in 1939 amounted to 1,206 million dollars, today amount to 60,500 million dollars. In Great Britain, military expenditure is to be increased by 74 per cent. in 1951-52 as compared with the preceding year. In France, military expenditure has been tripled by comparison with 1949. The same applies to the other capitalist countries.

2. But in the Soviet Union, People's China, the People's Democracies, war expenditure represents a minor part of State budget expenditure; the greater part of the resources of these countries is devoted to raising the material and cultural living standards of the workers and to the development of peace economy.

The successes achieved by the workers in these countries, which are making constant progress in their peaceful labour for the creation of new wealth, are a source of strength and confidence for workers in capitalist and colonial countries who have been able to see more clearly the possibilities and perspectives of their action and the invincible force of the working class on a world scale.

3. In capitalist countries, the effects of the arms race are being felt. The workers' living standards are falling sharply, the purchasing power of wages is on the down grade, prices and taxes are rising, and the already low expenditure on social security is being cut. In spite of increased war-production, unemployment is rising in a number of countries. Capitalists are making extensive use of methods of intensified exploitation by means of speed-up and increased working hours.

The war economy also hits workers in colonial and dependent countries which are being turned into suppliers of raw materials and military bases for the imperialist powers.

Capitalist profits are rising continuously. In the United States, the profits of 550 big companies rose by 30 per cent. during the first quarter of 1951 in comparison with the same period in the previous year. In Great Britain, capitalist profits rose by 15 per cent. during the same period. In France, the income of capitalist companies has risen from 124,000 million francs in 1947 to 500,000 million in 1949 and 800,000 million in 1950.

In order to protect their interests, the monopolies have got the governments under their control to launch a violent offensive against the workers' trade union rights and liberties.

4. In spite of this, the workers in capitalist and colonial countries have intensified their struggle to defend their economic and social demands.

In France, the mass strikes of Paris transport workers in March 1951, railwaymen, and gas and electricity workers, brought about united action between workers belonging to all trade union organisations as well as unorganised workers. Workers in other industries also organised united actions for demands by which they won wage increases.

In Italy, the movement for the revaluation of wages, for the improvement of the sliding scale, and the strikes for the extension of the sliding scale to civil servants were sufficiently powerful to impose united action between the three Trade Union Centres on a national scale. The common front against the closing down of factories and against dismissals represents a new and very effective form of workers' struggle.

In Latin America, the most outstanding example is that of Guatemala, where united action was first of all achieved in the victorious railwaymen's strike, then during the May Day demonstrations, culminating in organisational unity between all the trade union organisations.

United workers' action has also developed in African and Asian countries.

In India, unity has made progress in the railways and the Bombay textile industry.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau notes with satisfaction that in all these countries, united action in defence of the workers' vital demands is developing on the initiative and under the leadership of trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. United action is also developing in countries where the Trade Union Centre is not affiliated to the Federation.

In Great Britain, the railwaymen, building workers, miners, civil servants, dockers, gas workers and engineers have developed united action at the place of work on wage demands.

In the United States, many strikes, particularly among the railwaymen, seamen, textile and automobile industry workers, have proved that the working class of the United States is, in spite of the state of emergency and anti-labour laws, taking a broad part in the fight against the capitalist monopolies' offensive.

In Spain, in spite of fascist dictatorship and terrorism, the mass movements led by the working class show the existence of possibilities for waging a successful struggle even in the most difficult circumstances.

In New Zealand, 8,000 dockers have been waging a very bitter struggle for more than 4 months against violent fascist-type repression, and have maintained unity.

5. The Executive Bureau greets the workers who are uniting in the fight for their economic and social rights. It notes that these successes correspond to the correct application of the W.F.T.U.'s unity principles. Every time the workers achieve united action, they are victorious.

The Executive Bureau recommends that trade union organisations work untiringly for the achievement of united action among the workers, particularly:

—by taking more resolute action in defence of the workers' demands, and the improvement of their material situation, by giving them timely aid and by gaining support for them from the broadest masses of workers, whether they belong to trade unions or not.

—by putting forward and supporting demands capable of achieving agreement between all workers in a given country, area, industry or factory.

—by creating, on the basis of such demands, unity committees at work places capable of leading the fight. In these committees, workers belonging to different trade unions and unorganised workers, should take an active part.

—by eliminating manifestations of sectarianism which too often divide the workers and benefit no one but their enemies; the eradication of sectarianism in the trade union movement is the essntial condition for the successful development of united workers' action.

—by developing unity between manual, intellectual and technical workers, and between the workers of town and countryside, by fighting all propaganda of hatred and division which is of benefit only to the common enemies of all the workers.

—by undertaking joint campaigns with women's and youth organisations in defence of the rights of young workers and women workers.

—by striving untiringly for the expansion and strengthening of united action in order to advance towards organisational unity in countries where several Trade Union Centres exist.

6. The Executive Bureau considers that united workers' action, irrespective of political and religious beliefs, can be successfully developed on the basis of the following main demands:

—the fixing of a wage guaranteeing under all circumstances decent living conditions for workers and their families;

—the right to work by the implementation of a full employment policy; the fight against unemployment, aid to the unemployed;

—the reduction of war expenditure and the utilisation of the sums freed in this way to satisfy the workers' social and cultural needs;

—the right to a minimum of two weeks paid holidays per year;

—the fight against speed-up;

—the improvement of health and safety measures at work;

—the banning and abolition of racial discrimination in access to jobs, wages, education and social legislation;

—the banning and abolition of all forms of forced labour;

—for women and young workers, the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, access to all jobs and the improvement of working conditions;

—for agricultural workers, the winning and respect of collective agreements and social legislation, the guarantee of employment the whole year round.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau stresses that these demands must be enlarged upon and added to by all methods, in relation to the particular conditions existing in different countries, areas, industries and factories.

7. The Executive Bureau appeals to trade union organisations and all workers, resolutely and with concrete examples, to denounce the enemies of the working class and to expose trade union leaders who refuse to defend the workers' interests and who side with the monopolies and capitalist governments.

The World Federation of Trade Unions considers that its own duty and that of all trade union organisations is actively to develop solidarity, mutual assistance, friendship and brotherhood between the workers of all lands in their fight against the capitalist exploiters, and to strengthen international united action in defence of the right of all workers to a better and freer life and of peace.

TELEGRAM ***sent by the W.F.T.U., by decision of its Executive Bureau, to the***

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions

The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, at present meeting in Vienna, has mandated us to send you the following proposal which was adopted unanimously.

It is an undeniable fact that the material situation of workers in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries is deteriorating daily.

In all these countries, the purchasing power of manual and intellectual workers is falling, prices are rising, the already inadequate expenditure on social security is being cut; millions of people are without work and, with their families, are forced to live in dire poverty, privation and hunger.

The continuous reduction of the workers' standard of living is counterbalanced by a steady rise in the incomes of big businessmen who are making tremendous profits and are intensifying exploitation of the workers and attacking their rights.

The outcome of this is the extension of strikes in capitalist and colonial countries. These strikes prove that the workers can no longer endure such intolerable living conditions. They are being forced to fight for the improvement of their material situation and for their children's bread. They realise that by unity, and by unity alone, will they succeed in improving their conditions. In these circumstances, the workers expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. The trade union organisations cannot stand aloof from the actions undertaken by the workers.

In support of the workers' aspirations and demands, the World Federation is approaching you and your organisations with a proposal for a joint meeting to examine the methods to be adopted to defend the workers' vital interests. Whatever may be the differences between us as regards political or religious beliefs, we can and must take common action on issues concerning the improvement of the workers' living and working conditions; we can, by our united effort, defend their rights against the attacks of monopoly capitalism.

At the World Trade Union Conference in London in 1945, trade unions of every political and religious outlook drew up a united programme of economic and social demands of workers of all lands. The demands put forward in this programme are of particular urgency today when the capitalists are developing their offensive against the basic rights of the working class.

This programme provides a basis upon which we could reach agreement.

If you agree with our proposals, we would ask you to inform us of the place and date for a joint conference on this question.

Vienna, 6th July, 1951.

G. DI VITTORIO
President of the WFTU

LOUIS SAILLANT
General Secretary of the WFTU

Resolution of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau on

The Fight for Peace and against the Remilitarisation of Germany and Japan

THE W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau records the fact that the bloc of imperialist States is intensifying and speeding up its preparations for another world war. It is stepping up its campaign of lies and provocation for the purpose of deceiving the peoples and dragging them into another slaughter. The American imperialists, striving for world domination, and using the pretext of "defence against communism," are desperately accelerating the production of war materials, establishing military bases in all parts of the world and obliging the countries under their control to accept ruinous military expenditure. Government circles in the United States, Britain and France, have sabotaged the calling of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the four Great Powers, in an attempt to prevent an examination of problems relating to the aggressive Atlantic Pact and United States military bases throughout the world.

The remilitarisation of Western Germany and Japan is being speeded up in order to hasten the outbreak of another world war.

As a result of the change-over to war economy, the workers' living standards are daily being reduced. In all countries, the workers' struggle against the inhuman exploitation enforced upon them is growing stronger and achieving increasingly broad unity.

The Executive Bureau at the same time records with satisfaction the fact that the peace movement has been strengthened in all parts of the world, and that new millions of defenders of peace have risen from the workers' ranks in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Despite the arrests and persecution of defenders of peace, great successes in the fight for peace have been achieved; millions of signatures have been collected for the World Peace Council Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact. The European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany constitutes a step forward in consolidating the forces of peace. The referendum against the remilitarisation of Western Germany is being successfully carried out. In all the lands of Asia, the protest of the workers and peoples against the remilitarisation of Japan and the conclusion of a unilateral Japanese peace treaty, is daily growing stronger.

In the front ranks of the peace movement are the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the Chinese People's Republic who are victoriously carrying out tremendous plans for peaceful construction and are thus continually improving the living standards and welfare of the workers.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. calls on trade union organisations and workers in all countries to step up the fight for peace and to draw into it all working men and women, by hand and by brain, and all sections of the people.

It asks all workers in trade union organisations not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. to achieve the broadest possible united action with their brother workers in defence of their rights and demands, to join the vast world peace front whose vanguard is formed by the workers of all lands, and to mercilessly denounce those among their leaders who, through their opposition to action in defence of peace, expose themselves as accomplices of the war planners and as traitors to the workers' cause.

By waging a vigorous fight against the manufacture, handling and transport of war materials in the countries preparing for war, the working class strikes a powerful blow against the aggressive schemes and activities of the imperialists.

By widening its struggle and making it more effective, the working class will win decisive victories in defence of peace.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. appeals to National Centres and their members to consider as imperative the organisation and development of the struggle against the manufacture, handling and transport of war materials based on the widest unity of the working class, and seeking support from all sections of the population.

One of the essential conditions for the prevention of war is the signing of a Peace Pact by the five Great Powers which have the main responsibility in safeguarding peace.

The National Trade Union Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade union organisations must take an active part in the collection of signatures for a Peace Pact. It is essential to ensure that all workers sign the Appeal for this Pact.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of 78 million workers, endorses the decisions of the European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany. The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. recommends that trade union organisations develop the fight of the working peoples for the signing of a peace treaty in 1951 and against the remilitarisation of Western Germany which means the rebirth of Fascism in that country. Trade union organisations must continue to develop the widest participation of the workers in the campaign against the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan, and in the international conferences and regional conferences in Asia, Africa and Scandinavia convened by the World Peace Council.

The W.F.T.U. invites all trade union organisations and all workers in Asian countries to take an active part in preparing the conference of Asian and Pacific countries convened by the World Peace Council to protest against the remilitarisation of Japan and the signing of a separate peace treaty, and to demand the conclusion in 1951 of a peace treaty between Japan and all the United Nations members which were at war with that country.

The World Federation of Trade Unions acclaims the initiative taken by the Soviet Union which has enabled negotiations to be opened for an armistice in Korea, and calls on the workers of all lands to wage a struggle to ensure that these negotiations lead to the establishment of real peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls on the working class and all working men and women to close up their ranks and to strengthen international working class solidarity in order to make the great cause of peace victorious.

Vienna, 6th July, 1951.

APPEAL

from the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the Workers of the World

WORKERS of all lands!

The threat of another world war is growing. In Korea, the terrible destruction and the death of hundreds of thousands of human beings have already shown the disasters brought by war. The great initiative taken by the Soviet Union which, speaking for all peace-loving men and women, has proposed the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, will therefore receive the support of all workers. We must now intensify our efforts to ensure that the armistice proposals will lead to peace.

The peoples do not want any more barbaric slaughter and every decent person is concerned for the preservation of peace.

The World Peace Council expressed their sentiments and aspirations in declaring in its Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact:

"Responding to the hopes cherished by millions of peoples throughout the world, whatever may be their opinion of the causes giving rise to the danger of a world war,

And in order to strengthen peace and safeguard international security,

We demand the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers: the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France.

We shall consider a refusal by the government of any of the Great Powers to meet for the conclusion of such a Pact as evidence of aggressive designs on the part of that government.

We call upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for a Pact of Peace, which should be open to all countries.

We set our names to this Appeal and we invite all men and women of goodwill and all organisations striving for peace to add their names to it."

The members of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions sign this appeal from the World Peace Council and call on the working men and women of all lands to ratify and sign it themselves. Let millions of your signatures hasten the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers: this will be a valuable contribution to the preservation and strengthening of the peace longed for by all labouring mankind, and by the ordinary people of all lands and all parts of the world.

Vienna, 6th July, 1951.

The members of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.:

G. DI VITTORIO, President (Italy)
L. SAILLANT, General Secretary (France)
V. V. KUZNETSOV, Vice-President (U.S.S.R.)
LIU NING-I, substitute to LIU SHAO-CHI, Vice-President (Chinese People's Republic)
V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, Vice-President (Latin-America)
A. LE LEAP, Vice-President (France)
F. ZUPKA, Vice-President (Czechoslovakia)
L. PENA, Vice-President (Cuba)
A. DIALLO, Vice-President (West Africa)
B. FRACHON, General Secretary of the C.G.T. (France) member of the Executive Committee
H. WARNKE, President of the F.D.G.B. (German People's Republic) member of the Executive Committee
E. THORNTON, member of the Executive Committee (Australia).

Resolution of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau on

SOCIAL SECURITY

1.—The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau notes the inadequacy of social security systems in force in capitalist countries and the fact of their absence in a large number of semi-colonial and colonial territories. It also notes that social expenditure is being cut in these countries and that far-reaching attacks are being made on the social gains won by the working class, particularly social security.

2.—The Executive Bureau endorses the W.F.T.U.'s efforts within the United Nations for the reduction of arms expenditure and the use of the funds freed in this way in the interests of the working masses.

3.—The Executive Bureau considers that those efforts should be pursued with a view to:

—developing the exchange of experiences of the functioning of social security systems in different countries;

—proposing measures to raise the workers' living standards through the utilisation of the resources freed by the reduction of arms expenditure, particularly by the introduction and application of a satisfactory system of Social Security.

4.—The Executive Bureau therefore resolves:

1) to endorse the principle of the calling of an International Conference on Social Security, organised by the W.F.T.U.;

2) to instruct the Secretariat to begin work on preparing this Conference, and in particular:

a) to organise the preparation of the Conference on the widest possible basis, securing the participation of workers' representatives without any discrimination, as well as of social security experts, scientists, representatives of social security organisations and international specialised agencies, and of all national and international trade union organisations. The Executive deems it indispensable to obtain the close association of the W.F.T.U. Trade Departments in the preparation of this Conference and in the Conference itself, with regard to their own particular trades. This work corresponds to one of the main spheres of the Trade Departments' activity;

b) to obtain written reports from delegates to the Conference for submission to the assembly; such reports should deal in particular with:

—the different hazards covered by the social security system, the number and social category of beneficiaries under each section;

—the amount of benefits paid in each branch and the conditions on which they are paid;

—the methods of financing the social security system, the contributions paid and their influence on the distribution of the national income;

—administration of the social security system and the role of the trade unions in this administration;

—a survey of the countries which do not have social security schemes and proposals for the adoption of minimum programmes drawn up on the basis of the demands put forward by the workers of these countries.

c) to draw up, on the basis of these reports and all other information obtainable, an overall report which will be submitted to the Conference by the W.F.T.U. and which shall contain a programme of demands and a guide to national and international action to be undertaken by the workers, their organisations and the W.F.T.U. in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

d) to give the widest possible advance publicity to the aims and objectives of the Conference, through the W.F.T.U.'s publications, the trade union press and other suitable media.

Vienna, 6th July, 1951.

The Matsukawa Case

Letter addressed by the W.F.T.U. to Mr. Malik

President of the Human Rights Commission
UNITED NATIONS
New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir, Vienna, July, 6, 1951.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has learned with indignation of the unjust persecution of twenty active Japanese trade unionists, sentenced for the so-called Matsukawa incident. Although a long trial had proved that the accused were completely innocent of the railway accident which they were accused of having organised at Matsukawa station, the court sentenced five of the accused to death, five to life imprisonment and the others to sentences totalling 95 years and 5 months imprisonment. The Japanese authorities are thus using the legal apparatus to eliminate such active and devoted trade unionists as the accused, hoping thereby to halt the people's movement and to stifle the trade union rights and democratic liberties of the workers fighting for their just demands.

This arbitrary and inhuman verdict has aroused the indignation of the workers of the whole world; it serves to confirm that, under pressure from the American occupation forces, persecution of the Japanese labour movement continues, in violation of the principles recognised and solemnly accepted by the Allied Nations at Potsdam.

The World Federation of Trade Unions cannot remain indifferent in face of such infringements of trade union rights and of human rights in general. It voices the protest of the workers of all lands against this inadmissible action by the Japanese Government and legal authorities.

In view of the authority attached to your post and on the basis of the mandate of the Commission over which you preside, the W.F.T.U. appeals to you to demand that the Japanese Government and American military authorities cancel the verdict and proceed to a re-examination of the case of the twenty sentenced trade unionists. The W.F.T.U. ardently hopes that, in the very interests of the prestige of the United Nations and in order to obtain the observance of the basic principles of the Charter, you will intervene in the most energetic manner possible to ensure that justice is done, that innocent lives are spared, and the aims of the United Nations carried into effect in Japan.

Yours truly,

G. DI VITTORIO L. SAILLANT

Letter addressed by the W.F.T.U. to Mr. Yoshida

Prime Minister,
TOKYO
Japan.

Dear Sir, Vienna, July 6, 1951.

In the name of 78 million organised workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions resolutely protests against the illegal and inhuman sentencing of twenty Japanese workers in the frame-up known as the Matsukawa incident.

The W.F.T.U. draws your attention to the fact that the sentenced workers are active trade unionists. Consequently, it becomes perfectly obvious that the unfounded accusation made against them, i.e. of having organised a railway accident, and the cruel verdict of the Japanese court, do not exclusively affect the twenty arrested workers, but also the entire Japanese working class and trade unions. This act of summary "justice" cannot be described in any other way than as an attempt to crush the labour movement, whose growing strength is daily asserting itself; by isolating and exterminating its most active elements.

The W.F.T.U. insists upon the immediate reversal of this shameful verdict by the Japanese Government and a new examination of the case, observing all procedural guarantees and taking measures to ensure the prevention of such a flagrant violation of the universally accepted principles of justice in the future.

G. DI VITTORIO L. SAILLANT
President of the WFTU General Secretary of the WFTU

Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. on

The Trade Departments

and in particular on the Reports of Activity of the

Mine-Workers' and Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions Internationals

THE Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. notes that in the present situation of feverish preparation for war by the capitalist governments, which are seriously undermining the standard of living of the workers in capitalist and colonial countries, the importance of the role which the Trade Unions Internationals must play in the fight to defend working unity, the workers' living standards and peace, has greatly increased.

In order to carry out unhindered their policy of war, the capitalist governments have accentuated their repression of national and international organisations which defend the workers' interests. In this general attack on workers' organisations, the Executive Bureau notes that the Trade Unions Internationals are having every obstacle put in the way of their work, and in some cases have been expelled from the countries where they had set up their headquarters.

However, despite all the measures taken against them, the Trade Unions Internationals have continued to develop their work, expressing the real desires of the workers and fighting for their demands.

The Executive Bureau, having examined the reports submitted to it by the Mineworkers' Trade Unions International and the Trade Unions International of Textile and Clothing Workers, notes that in the *mining industry* capitalist rationalisation and the application of the Schuman Plan and the Atlantic Pact, aimed at creating an international coal and steel cartel, has led to the closing down of mines and to the forced emigration of thousands of workers, speed-up, excessive exploitation, attempts to extend the working day and the culpable ignoring of the most elementary safety and health measures and regulations.

In colonial countries, where safety and health regulations are often non-existent and wages are on a starvation level, the situation of the miners is even worse.

The general result of these conditions which operate in the capitalist and colonial countries is a mounting accident rate, an increase in the number of victims of industrial disease (silicosis, pneumoconiosis, etc.) and recurrent catastrophes with long lists of dead and injured workers.

In the *textile industry* also, exploitation is becoming more intense with workers being forced to take over an increased number of looms. Discrimination in the wages paid to men and women workers continues to be widely practised, while, with the drive for war production, working conditions often remain primitive, leading to increases in diseases such as tuberculosis.

In many countries the affect of the Marshall Plan has been to close textile factories and to create large pockets of unemployed in the industry at the same time as the standard of living of those workers in employment diminishes.

Due to the stocking of raw materials for war purposes and to the flooding of local markets by finished goods manufactured in metropolitan countries, the situation of the textile and clothing workers in many colonies is becoming desperate.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., on the basis of its examination of the two Trade Unions Internationals' reports, notes the successes obtained in certain fields by both these Internationals, and in particular the increases in membership over the past year, the solidarity actions carried out, and the organisation of the fight against the Schuman and Marshall Plans. It nevertheless registers certain weaknesses in their work which make it necessary for the Trade Unions Internationals to have closer contacts with trade unions not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and with unions in colonial countries, and to study and inform themselves more fully on the conditions in their industries in capitalist and colonial countries.

In the belief that the examination of these two reports has been of value to all the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.), and noting that those Internationals which have based their activities on the decisions of the Conference of Trade Unions Internationals held in Budapest and on those of the Bucharest session of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. have made certain progress in their work and have won a number of successes, the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. recommends the Trade Unions Internationals:

1) To study carefully the decisions of these meetings in conjunction with the resolution of the Vienna session of the Executive Bureau on the strengthening of workers' united action and the development of the fight to defend their demands and their economic and social interests, and to consider how they can be applied concretely to the situation in their particular industry.

2) To examine with close and detailed attention the demands of the workers, resolutely taking up their defence on such questions as wages, safety, health amenities, sanitary conditions, social security and pensions to be paid for by governments and employers, speed-up, etc., to strengthen their activities in this connection, and to rally large masses of workers and employees of all political, religious and trade union tendencies, as well as unorganised workers, around concrete demands.

3) To organise much closer contact with the workers of colonial countries to bring a constant help to these young organisations, and to take up seriously the struggle to defend their living conditions, on the basis of improved study and knowledge of conditions in these territories.

4) To take measures to link and defend the demands of workers employed or unemployed and to co-ordinate their struggles in united action.

5) Particularly in industries where there is a large proportion of youth and female labour to put the demand for equal pay for equal work and the improvement of protective measures for women, children and young workers in the fore-front of the International's programme.

6) To pay special attention to the demands of youth in industry, particularly in regard to trade training, access to jobs and protection at work.

7) To broaden their activity in defence of peace by paying particular attention to the collection of signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers and by sup-

porting and assisting in the organisation of Peace Committees in places of work.

8) To seize every opportunity to organise the fight against the Schuman Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the other manifestations of war preparations, which apart from having a disastrous effect upon the workers' living standards are key parts of the imperialists' war plans. The international day of struggle against the Schuman Plan organised jointly by the Miners' and Metalworkers' Trade Unions Internationals shows the possibilities open for other similar international actions.

Experience has shown that, since these various plans are international in their scope, workers must, in addition to their struggle against the national manifestations of them in their own countries, co-ordinate their activity on the international field.

9) To seek to establish closer contacts and co-operation with the trade unions which are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., to improve their knowledge of conditions in capitalist and colonial countries and so to conduct their activities and campaigns that the programme of the Internationals penetrates through to the masses of the workers and to their social and cultural organisations.

10) To take an active part in the preparation of the W.F.T.U. Conference on Social Security, encouraging interest in it in the different industries, collecting information as to how the Social Security system affects their particular field of activity and examining and putting forward proposals on the basis of the Conference's agenda.

11) To strengthen propaganda work denouncing and exposing the harmful activities of the splitters within the trade union movement.

12) To publicise the obvious contrast between the conditions of the workers in capitalist countries and those of the workers of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies where living and cultural standards are steadily rising.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., furthermore, instructs the Secretariat to consider convening the Secretaries and Presidents of the Trade Unions Internationals to a meeting to be held in connection with the convening of the General Council. Amongst other questions this meeting should discuss the convening of the different Trade Unions Internationals Conferences.

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THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS OF LATIN AMERICA

GUATEMALA

May 10-13, 1951

RESOLUTIONS

- transport workers' claims
- the development and improvement of transport systems
- the tasks of transport workers in the fight for peace
- organisational problems facing transport workers

Supplement to No. 14 of World Trade Union Movement
July 20, 1951

Resolutions of the Regional Conference of Land and Air Transport Workers of Latin-America, May 10th—13th, 1951, in Guatemala

Resolution Dealing with Transport Workers' Claims

THE Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America, called by the W.F.T.U., the C.T.A.L., and the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) examined the conditions of the workers in the various branches of the transport industry, their wages, working conditions, and the claims they put forward for improving their standard of living.

The railways, in the main under the control of United States monopoly capital, and goods and passenger road transport services, which in many countries are a monopoly owned by national capital, intensively exploit the workers they employ.

Low wages, insufficient by reason of the high cost of living, worsened by the war policy of the imperialists, the dreadful working conditions prevalent in some sectors, the breaking of collective agreements in some places and the complete absence of work contracts regulating worker-employer relationships in others, are some of the characteristics of the overall situation of transport workers in Latin-America. There is also a complete lack of any progressive social legislation in many countries; exploitation is coupled with complete disregard for the most elementary rights of the workers in the many large foreign undertakings without strong trade union movements. There is no effective co-ordination or scientific planning of the various means of transport so that chaos and anarchy prevail in certain sectors, especially among the taxi and road transport drivers. This makes life even more difficult for the workers and small business men in these spheres of industry.

Taking into account the above-mentioned facts, this Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America adopts the following programme of demands:

Wages

1. A general wage increase for transport workers in every sector and particular department, the percentage increase to be determined by the respective workers' organisations in each country. Work for the general raising of wages must be closely linked to the struggle against the high cost of living and for the reduction of prices of essential goods.

2. The application of the principle of equal pay for equal work in all places of work and in all undertakings where there is a wage differential for similar work.

3. The fixing of minimum wages for various classes of transport at a level sufficient to meet the needs of the workers and their families, including provision for periodic increases in line with the cost of living.

4. Double time for overtime in excess of the normal working day even when wages are calculated on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis.

5. The introduction of a seniority bonus for railway and other transport workers.

6. The equalisation of wages of workers on privately-owned railways with those in public service.

7. The bringing of wages of national air transport workers into line with those paid by international services.

Collective Agreements and Working Conditions

1. The right to collective agreements for transport workers which will fully meet their needs, and guarantee their rights and established conditions.

2. The revision of collective agreements already in force so as to improve conditions of work, cutting out clauses prejudicial to the workers and improving employer-worker relations.

3. The introduction of the 40-hour maximum working week for transport workers, with payment for 56 hours.

4. In the special case of town 'bus workers, owing to their special conditions of work, the introduction of the six-hour working day, with payment for eight hours.

5. The monthly calculation of work hours with a maximum of 192 hours to be introduced for road goods transport workers, with the alternative of time off for overtime worked.

6. Goods train and long-distance road transport workers to be provided with sleeping accommodation and food on the journey at the employers' expense.

7. Respect for seniority and promotion rights in all undertakings so that promotion shall not be unilaterally decided by the employers.

8. Fair contract conditions for taxi drivers to be laid down between the "renters" and "garagemen" and the taxi proprietors who hire out vehicles, recognising the workers as wage-earners and thus cutting out the present civil contract and putting an end to the exploitation to which they are at present subject.

9. The modernisation of omnibuses and the use of diesel locomotives on the railways must not at any time be the cause of staff reductions, wage cutting or changes in the conditions laid down in collective agreements.

10. The obligation to employ double staff on road goods transport when trailers are hauled by a single truck.

11. Opposition to undercutting by the railways, omnibus and truck companies, who urge workers to undertake a grade of work higher than their usual work, or that laid down in the contracts.

Right to Strike and Trade Union Freedom

1. To claim the full right to strike and the cancellation of all legal provisions or administrative measures which limit, restrict or prohibit under various pretexts the exercise of this right by transport workers.

2. To demand the withdrawal of all repressive or emergency legislation in force in certain countries against action in support of trade union claims, strike movements or transport workers' trade union leaders.

3. To struggle against governmental intervention in the internal affairs of trade unions, to defend freedom of association, thus allowing workers to elect their leaders freely and democratically; to fight against compulsory trade union membership, the compulsory deduction of trade union dues; to promote the independence of trade unions as class organisations which must be freed of all governmental and employer control.

4. To defend the right of pilots employed by national or international undertakings to organise themselves into trade unions for the defence of their rights and interests.

Industrial Risks

1. To demand the passage of laws and legal provisos effectively protecting workers from accidents and other dangers during the carrying out of their normal work.

2. The transport workers' trade unions must introduce into all collective agreements rules and norms covering workers against all industrial risks.

3. In all countries where accident insurance is handled by private insurance companies, laws and regulations must be modified to guarantee workers' rights; all delaying clauses which frequently oblige workers to take legal action to obtain payment of indemnities must be cut and simplified.

4. The cessation of payment for damage done to vehicles during the carrying out of their duties by workers—habitually deducted from wages by employers without the consent of the workers concerned.

Social Security

1. To fight for the setting up of Social Security for all workers in all sectors of the transport industry, covering workers and their families in case of total or partial physical incapacity, sickness, unemployment, maternity, old age or death.

2. To see that the Social Security is maintained by governmental and employer contributions so that wages are not affected.

3. To fight governmental interference with social security and pension funds by asking that worker representatives to the governing bodies be elected by the workers and that the government make immediate restitution of funds in countries where it has confiscated or converted them.

Paid Holidays

1. To claim the right to the enjoyment of leisure and paid holidays in all countries where this right is not recognised, and where it is, to increase it to a minimum of a month's rest for eleven months' work, or the proportional equivalent for the time worked.

2. The right of transport workers to paid public holidays. When work is essential to meet public needs double time is to be paid for these days.

Housing

1. To ask for the construction of low-cost housing for workers and their families.

2. To struggle for an immediate reduction in rents and against any attempt to increase them.

3. When, to meet public needs, railwaymen, particularly level-crossing keepers, permament staff and so on, must permanently live away from their normal home, the management shall be obliged to allocate them adequate housing free of charge.

Education

1. To demand that employers and the government provide primary evening schools for illiterate transport workers.

2. To request the setting up of secondary and high schools for workers wishing to continue their education and improve their general cultural level.

3. The establishment of elementary schools for the children of transport workers in towns and rural areas at the employers' expense.

4. The obligation on the part of the undertaking to set up technical trade schools giving workers the theoretical and practical understanding necessary in following their trades.

5. The setting up of trade union schools for both leaders and rank and file members by the transport workers' trade unions.

Other Claims

1. Co-ordination of the various transport systems with a view to cutting out competition based on inequalities in wages and conditions of work, and the establishment of working areas for each system.

2. The scientific regulation of traffic, promoting ease of travel for all vehicles in town areas and on highways and cutting out the majority of accidents as well as the trials, fines and unfair sentences to which taxi, 'bus and truck drivers are subject.

3. To ask that firms making cars, omnibuses and trucks equip these with mechanical brakes in addition to hydraulic brakes on all four wheels and that both back and front axles be reinforced so as to avoid accidents.

4. To reduce the price of accessories, tyres, lubricants, petrol and so on; to promote the installation of oil refineries in the countries where these are non-existent so as to reduce fuel prices and the inland taxes kept high by this commodity.

5. To demand the lowering of the tax on licences of number plates on hire cars, omnibuses and trucks used exclusively in the public service.

Resolution on the Development and Improvement of Transport Systems

THE Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America, called by the W.F.T.U., the C.T.A.L. (Confederation of Latin-America Workers) and by the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), confirmed, in the light of the delegates' reports, the backwardness, inefficiency and inadequacy of the transport industry and services found practically throughout Latin-America.

It was also stated by the Transport Workers' Conference that these so-called transport systems of Latin-America are dominated by foreign monopoly capital and have been conceived and organised in such a way as to serve first and foremost the commercial, political and strategic interests of the United States and Great Britain. Thus, far from contributing to the independent national development of the Latin-American countries, they represent an inadmissible intrusion into the domestic economic structure of these countries, as well as a heavy burden on national finance and an unbounded exploitation of the workers and the people.

Consequently, and in conformity with the plan drawn up for the working class movement of Latin-America by the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., the Conference declares that a resolute and unflinching struggle should be carried on so that the land and air transport systems be organised or reorganised in such a manner that they become an important and decisive factor in the development of the national economy in each country, for the maintenance and consolidation of internal and international peace, for the improvement of the living standards of the people and the satisfaction of the workers' fair demands.

Basing itself on these principles, the Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America decides:

1. The Transport Workers' Trade Unions and the trade union movement allied with other democratic and patriotic popular forces within each country will carry on the struggle for the nationalisation of all transport undertakings at present governed by foreign capital.

2. The nationalisation of foreign transport services should be effected in such a manner as is most favourable and advantageous to the Latin-American nations; in particular, the payment of compensation for nationalisation must neither be allowed to become a further burden on the country nor a source of further profit for foreign capital to the detriment of the established conditions and rights of the workers.

3. The transport workers' trade unions and the trade union movement will require that the nationalisation of foreign undertakings contribute to the effective improvement of the organisation of the transport system, their contribution to the public service and the economic development of the country, to the improvement of the living standards and working conditions of the transport workers. They will know how to stop any attempt to damage or cut them down against the interests of the workers on the pretext that these same undertakings have become an integral part of the national heritage.

4. The transport workers' trade unions, while protecting the interests of the workers along with their class independence, will support all measures leading to the protection, encouragement and development of land and air transport systems under the control of local capital in each country—measures such as tax reduction, the elimination of financial impediments, the reduction of purchase tax on equipment, technical advice, the lowering of the price of accessories, spare parts, fuel, and so on, on condition that these undertakings do not take the form of monopolies harmful to the nation, the public and the interests of their workers.

5. Should these transport undertakings in the hands of national capitalists acquire the harmful characteristics listed above, the trade union movement and the transport workers' organisations would, in the public interest, demand their nationalisation.

6. The transport workers' trade unions forcefully declare their opposition to so-called "workers' management or participation" in the transport services. This is nothing more nor less than a misleading method of throwing back on to the workers the responsibility for the exploitation of which they themselves are victims under the capitalist régime.

7. The transport workers' trade unions are in favour of the development and improvement of such land communications as railways and roads, always with a view to the speeding up of the growth of an independent national economy, an improvement in public transport services, the smoother exchange of goods and the raising of the living standards of the people.

8. The trade unions interested in the improvement and growth of the transport industry in each country will, in alliance with the small business men and local industrialists, fight for measures facilitating the purchase of machines, tools, repair equipment, accessories, tyres and in general all the equipment and fuel necessary to keep these services functioning beyond the range of pressure from foreign capital. This is on condition that these undertakings do not have the structure of monopolies, and assure better services and lower fares to the benefit of the people and the national economy and the raising of the standard of living of their workers.

9. The trade unions will resolutely oppose any direct or indirect grant, subsidy or other financial assistance, on the part of the State, to foreign transport undertakings.

10. In so far as foreign transport undertakings have not been nationalised, the trade union movement will require Latin-American governments to bring pressure on these undertakings to improve their establishments, equipment and services, even though this would only represent a tiny and insufficient part of the fabulous profits they make to the detriment of the national interests. At the same time, any increase for the public in passenger or goods transport rates on the part of these undertakings should be prohibited.

11. The trade unions are opposed to all classes of transport whose services are primarily or exclusively destined to serve one particular industry, as is the case with the railways in Central Latin-America which belong to the United States' fruit companies and which are like private railways. The unions demand that these communication lines become public services, subject to the national laws regulating these services.

12. The trade unions will fight for the nationalisation of quays and port installations which link maritime and river transport to the railway lines and which are at present in the hands of foreign capital, which is thus able to block completely the commercial movements of certain nations.

13. The trade unions will oppose any increase in rates, whether for the transport of certain popular consumer goods or passenger transport. On the other hand, they demand an increase in rates for goods which are bringing high profits to foreign companies, such as minerals.

14. The trade unions demand that the governments of the Latin-American countries follow a policy hostile to the U.S. land and air transport monopolies.

They energetically oppose the situation in which these same monopolies not only exploit our countries, this being their prime object, but also engage in espionage and censorship, and interfere with freedom of movement, privacy of correspondence and freedom of communication.

Resolution on the Tasks of Transport Workers in the Fight for Peace

THE Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America called by the W.F.T.U., the C.T.A.L., and the Land and Air Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) considers that the struggle for peace is to-day the basic aim of the workers. It draws the attention of the workers in this important sector to their responsibilities in this struggle.

Unless peace is assured, it is impossible to ensure the fulfilment of the demands made by this Conference or to maintain the economic and social gains already made.

The threat of another war overwhelms the people and particularly the working class, who have already suffered the economic effects of war in the capitalist countries. The reduction of the output of consumer goods, the lengthening of the working day, the constant increase in the cost of living and heavy war budgets weigh particularly heavily on the workers. While the standard of living is falling, trade union rights are denied, democratic freedom is limited, the working class and its trade unions are persecuted in an attempt to prevent them from struggling for their rights and demands.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers recently held in Washington speeded up and increased the Yankee imperialist preparations to drag our countries into their adventurous and criminal wars, adapt our countries' economies to their military plans, intensify the repression of democratic and trade union rights, and force our people to pay their bloody tribute to the aggressive war against the Korean people fighting for their independence.

Peace can only be won by the fighting unity of all men and all peoples, since all men and all peoples, without distinction of their social position, their political opinions, religious beliefs, race or nationality, suffer from war.

Workers are particularly interested in assuring peaceful development and well-being for mankind.

War is a signal for the abandonment of all possibility of economic, social and cultural improvement, and a better life in general.

The tasks of the working class movement in the fight for peace were drawn up and stated by the World Federation of Trade Unions during the meeting of the Executive Bureau in December, 1950.

The application of the resolutions of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and the accomplishment of the neccssary work in the worldwide struggle for peace sets specific tasks for the working-class movement, which it is the duty of transport workers to accomplish.

The Conference, bearing in mind the great importance of the transport systems in Latin-America, and the necessity for workers in this industry to reinforce the peace movement effectively, decides:

1. The transport workers' trade unions should go ahead with the setting up of peace committees in all trade union organisations, and most particularly in the workshops.

2. They should organise teams for the collection of signatures supporting the resolution adopted at the Berlin meeting of the World Peace Council asking for the negotiation of a Peace Pact among the five Great Powers (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the Peoples' Republic of China, and France). These teams should work particularly in the transport workshops as well as in the streets, cinemas, theatres, clubs and so on.

3. The transport workers' trade unions should make specific targets and set time limits for the number of signatures to be collected.

4. Plebiscites should be carried out, on ballot papers with ballot boxes, in all transport workshops so that the workers may vote for peace.

5. Efforts should be made to bring the transport workers' families into the Peace Committees.

6. Make efforts to set up Committees of Young Workers in transport undertakings who will struggle against war and for peace.

7. Firmly establish the struggle for peace and against war preparations and against the despatch of Latin-American troops to Korea in all trade unions, meetings and workshops in the transport industry, while denouncing the war plans imposed on the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington.

8. Undertake a propaganda drive for a Peace Pact among the five Great Powers by means of posters and all other kinds of printed material, manifestos, leaflets, public declarations, as well as in the trade union Press and the transport workers' organisations.

9. Popularise the idea that Latin-American countries which have differences with other countries and other continents should settle these peacefully.

Resolution on the Organisational Problems Facing Transport Workers

THE Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America, called by the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. and the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Union International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) has carefully studied the organisational problems of the various branches of the transport industry in the light of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. at its meeting on the tasks of the Trade Union Movement of Latin-America on December 7th, 1950.

The Conference calls the attention of the whole trade union movement to the basic importance of the transport industry in the economy of each country, to the organisational weakness of the existing trade unions, to the considerable pockets of unorganised workers, and to the necessity to strengthen, expand and consolidate the transport workers' trade unions in each and every one of our countries.

The Executive Bureau's resolutions stress that it is essential for trade unions to struggle for united action around the immediate claims uniting all workers independent of their political, religious or trade union affiliations in all undertakings and sectors of production, and to develop a united front doing specific work for their common interests.

The Conference also states that affiliates of the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. should be the most resolute and convinced protagonists of trade union unity, showing by deeds rather than words that they are earnestly and daily working to this end, driving out the sectarianism which is the chief obstacle to the achievement of the workers' united action and trade union unity.

On the other hand, the evil splitting policy promoted by the large American monopolies controlling the economy and the transport systems in our countries, and taken up by the reactionary leaders of the Scab International, can only serve to weaken the trade union movement, hinder the struggles of the masses, and help the employers' offensive on wages and living conditions, assisting them in their economic exploitation, political oppression and plans for world war.

The Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America decides in relation to organisational problems:

1. To recommend and urge all leaders and workers to develop united action in each undertaking and sector within the transport industry for the fulfilment of short-term demands by taking the initiative, making definite proposals, and calling on all workers in all unions to overcome trade union, political, religious and any other differences, to fight for the granting of their demands and the carrying out of specific tasks, backing up these demands within a united front.

The programme of demands adopted by the Conference should be put into action in each country and each sector. National conferences comprising workers from all sectors of the transport industry should be called, and wherever possible, by branch or sector.

2. In each transport undertaking, region, or sector where there is more than one union of the same type, we must fight for the accomplishment of the unity of all workers in a single union of land and air transport workers on the basis of a definite programme, including claims for the guarantee of trade union democracy and class independence, by maintaining a trade union organisation free from all employer and governmental influence.

So far as the organisation of taxi-drivers and owner-drivers is concerned, we recommend that they form a single union to put forward claims covering both workers and owner-drivers, uniting them in the defence of common interests.

3. In every country we should work for trade union unity of all transport workers into one national organisation or federation of all rail, road, and air transport workers, and all drivers; in short, all those who in one way or another are directly dependent on land and air transport. This organisation must be democratic and guarantee proportional representation for each sector in the leadership.

4. The transport unions must pay particular attention to the improvement of their organisational methods, ensuring co-operation among the leadership by calling regular meetings of trade union branches and general meetings; by issuing periodic management accounts; by direct dues collection and increasing the number of dues collectors; by organising financial administration and issuing the usual balance sheets; by improving propaganda methods and by a class-conscious supervision of the education of the masses with a view to the establishment of broad trade union democracy from top to bottom, allowing members to take part in trade union life actively and consciously, thus keeping the leadership in effective control.

5. The trade unions must assist with the organisation of the thousands of non-union workers in the various sectors of the transport industry. It is particularly necessary to bring in all railway workers, whether in public or private service, and road and air transport workers. We must discover the forms of organisation suitable to each sector, taking into account their peculiarities and different methods of work. At the same time, we must try to establish greater solidarity with other workers and in particular with sea and river transport workers by co-ordinating the work and activity of the two sectors.

6. The fight for trade union unity should be the principal task of the transport trade unions. A single trade union in each undertaking or sphere of production, a single national federation for each industry and a single national centre in each country should be the daily preoccupation and the aim of each and every transport union.

7. It is essential to cut out from the transport unions all narrow conceptions and methods of work and all sectarian obstacles to united action and trade union unity.

In countries where the unions are under governmental control and where Fascist methods are imposed or where independent trade unions are illegal, we must work wherever the masses are, even within the official unions, fighting at their centre, putting forward and supporting even the most elementary claims of the workers and creating special types of organisations allowing the use of all existing possibilities, in such a way as to protect our militants from the reprisals and attacks of the governments, the employers and the leaders who have been forced on the trade union movement.

8. So that relations with international trade union organisations may be established and improved, the transport unions of Latin-America should ask affiliation to the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) as soon as possible, and arrange for the exchange of news

and experiences, keep up regular correspondence with that International, putting their problems, paying their dues, helping with the Bulletin, and seeing to its distribution among the transport workers and keeping in lively and direct contact with the International Union, which will serve as a co-ordinating centre.

9. The Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America strongly appeals to all rail, road and air workers, to all drivers and other transport workers without exception to fight for the claims programme adopted by this Conference, for the development of united action in each undertaking, sector or branch of the transport industry, and for determined work for trade union unity on the national, continental and world level, ranging themselves with growing solidarity beneath the fighting banner of the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International, the W.F.T.U., and the C.T.A.L.

10. The Conference calls on all workers to unite in the struggle for their claims and rights, laying aside differences in political opinions, religious beliefs and trade union affiliation, to denounce and fight the divisionist policy imposed by American imperialism and the yielding governments through their agents in the Brussels Scab International and their subsidiaries, the so-called International Transport Federation and O.R.I.T. The only function of these organisations is to hold up the achievement of working-class unity, to facilitate the employers' offensive and justify government attacks against trade union freedom and democratic rights; they are the tools of imperialist monopoly war policy, and the exploitation and oppression of the workers and the peoples of Latin-America.

11. The Regional Conference of Transport Workers reminds all trade union leaders and all workers that a good programme and a correct line of work are not enough; in addition, each organisation in each country must take the necessary measures for the implementation of Conference decisions, making the resolutions known to all unionists, to the thousands of Latin-American transport workers, working enthusiastically and decisively for their practical application.

Other Resolutions

Solidarity with the People of San Salvador

THE Conference decided to send its most sincere condolences to the people of San Salvador on the occasion of the catastrophe they suffered and to ask all transport workers' organisations to call on their respective governments to bring the necessary first aid to the victims of the last earthquake.

Congratulations to the Government and People of Guatemala

THE Plenary Session of the Regional Conference of Transport Workers of Latin-America wishes respectfully to express its very great appreciation to His Excellency, President of the Republic, Lt.-Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, and his Council of Ministers, particularly to the Minister of Health and Public Assistance, for all the facilities they granted for the holding of the Conference, thus showing their respect for democracy and the rights of the working class. The Assembly warmly congratulated the people and workers of Guatemala on their democratic government and thanked them for their courteous hospitality.

The Unity of the People of Guatemala

THE Conference enthusiastically greeted the firm resolution shown to the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. by the leaders of all the trade union organisations of Guatemala to work for trade union unity and to set up a Preparatory Committee for the calling of a Congress on Trade Union Unity from which should arise a single national centre representing all the workers and peasants of Guatemala.

Gratitude to the Guatemalan Trade Unions

THE Conference expressed its deep and sincere gratitude to the Confederation of Labour of Guatemala, to the Trade Union Federation of Guatemala, to the Railway Trade Union, to the transport unions and to all other Guatemalan organisations for their help to the Conference, the kindnesses with which they overwhelmed the delegates, and for their support and enthusiastic help which assured the success of the Conference.

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Our Main Strength

UNITY BETWEEN MEN OF DIFFERENT VIEWS

On the assignment of their superiors, several priests, including Father Barreau, put aside their clerical garb, to become workers and to participate fully in the day-to-day life of the French workers—hence the designation worker-priest.

Worker-priest Barreau went to work after the war in the big engineering works in the Paris area, "Compteurs de Montrouge." In the foundry, where the work is particularly heavy, he rapidly came to realise the meaning of capitalist exploitation. Until then he belonged to no trade union organisation, but in 1946 he joined the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) and took an active part in the strikes of 1947 and 1950.

In 1949, he was elected to the Secretariat of the factory trade union branch and then to the Executive Committee and later to the Secretariat of the Seine District Metalworkers' Union.

THE General Confederation of Labour, the C.G.T., is the workers' true fighting organisation. It was created when the capitalist regime was in full expansion, in response to the firm determination of the entire French working class to defend, in the factories, workshops and offices, the working people's right to life. It makes no distinction between the socialist and communist, between the believer and the athcist. For the C.G.T. they are simply workers exploited by big capital, in a society where the economy is dominated by the profit motive, where private fortunes are still the best way of gaining admission to what is called the elite, where the mass of poor people, the workers and the exploited are held in bondage by a bourgeoisie jealous of its material and spiritual privileges and convinced that it is the sole custodian of truth, order and justice, in short, of civilisation.

Under these fallacious pretexts, which are increasingly contradicted by the facts, an entire economic, political and police apparatus has been

The photograph at the top was taken at the 28th Congress of the C.G.T. L. to r. **Turc, former Secretary of the Force Ouvriere in the Department of Vaucluse, Benoit Frachon, General-Secretary of the C.G.T., Worker-Priest Barreau, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union, Seine District.**

built up to preserve the power of money and the face of the multi-millionaires of all lands, corrupted by the savage exploitation they daily exert over millions of human beings, and periodically compromised in political, military or financial scandals; in France, for example, the wine scandal involving Felix Gouin, former Prime Minister, and the affair of the cheques with Generals Revers and Mast and all the politicians who had been the guests of Van Cô, agent of the Viet-Namese "Emperor," Bao Dai; in the United States, the scandal of military supplies, the sale of merchant shipping, the millions of dollars paid out by gangsters and gamblers to the police to buy its indulgence, etc.

Therefore, six years after the liberation, after so many sacrifices made in all lands by the best of mankind, particularly by the workers, the attitude of the forces of reaction is becoming more rigid and they are exploiting the workers more severely than ever. In our factories, mines and workshops, the workers are producing at a faster rate for a purchasing power half its pre-war level.

The Workers Fight the Policy of War and Poverty

BUT the workers are not taking things lying down; they are fighting back just as they did during the most difficult and heroic periods in the

For too many workers in France life begins amidst poverty and insanitary conditions—

—And ends the same way. Only the united efforts of the working class can abolish these intolerable conditions.

history of the labour movement. There were the magnificent strikes of 1947 when millions of French workers fought for a month to save their wages threatened by soaring prices, and to defeat our rulers' policy of poverty. They resolutely struggled against uncompromising employers full of contemptuous hostility, against the police and mobile guards (C.R.S.), the repressive militia mobilised against the factories by a treacherous government. They fought on in spite of the sell-out by Jouhaux, Bouzanquet and company at the height of the battle. It was this betrayal which finally allowed the big employers and the politicians in their service to snatch a great victory away from the French working class.

There was the battle waged by the French miners with the backing and active solidarity of all workers in our country. Here again, it proved necessary to use thousands of C.R.S., and sell-outs similar to those in 1947 to prevent the break-down of the policy of poverty and to take away from the miners the gains won on the morrow of the victory over the Nazis. The fight goes on because neither the miners nor other French workers will ever agree to poverty for themselves and their families.

There were the solid strikes of February and March 1950, a magnificent struggle for our 3,000 francs, a first instalment of the demanded wage increase which had the same aim of countering the steady fall in purchasing power resulting from new preparations for war.

For the first time, the united front of French workers made breaches in the employers' bloc. Many employers, and not only small ones, were forced to agree to substantial increases. The only factors which limited our victories were the duplicity of the leaders of the F.O.[1] metal workers' union and the treachery or carelessness of the leaders of the F.O., C.F.T.C.[2] and independent transport workers' unions.

But severe blows had been struck against the employers, and the workers began to realise what was at stake in the battle. Those 3,000 francs which they defended with such intelligent energy represented the halting of the policy of poverty, the determination to protect their wages against the high cost of living, a step towards defeating the war policy, a categorical refusal to maintain, in the interests of this policy, the immoral privileges of the trusts, and fierce opposition to the right assumed by the employers to increase their profits and super-profits without a stop and to dominate the world market at the expense of wages which are steadily losing their value and are without any guarantees.

The fight is going on, and the workers will never again allow themselves to be disarmed by the reactionaries' deceitful propaganda. However much it is asserted that their strikes are political manoeuvres, they know that this is not true, just as

1 Force Ouvrière: Breakaway organisation led by right-wing socialists.
2 French Confederation of Christian Workers.

they now know, from the unequalled school of experience, that the Marshall Plan, and its counterpart, the Atlantic Pact, are merely methods designed on an international scale to prolong the capitalist regime which is the origin of their poverty, in the same way as, on the national level, the employers exercise their economic and political dictatorship and mobilise the police and C.R.S.

The Need for Unity

IN the course of these great battles against their exploiters, the workers have above all understood both what is at stake and the *imperative need for unity.* In the continuous conflict with the employer-government alliance, they felt the need to create a solid bloc themselves, and this need led them to understand more clearly that all workers are brothers in struggle, because they are brothers in hardship. Faced with repeated betrayals by disruptive leaders, they created unity in the workshops, yards and offices and at the bench. They found in their hearts and minds the simple but extremely effective weapon of unity between all fellow workers around their most immediate and simplest demands; and they are going into battle now with fresh courage and new hopes, already justified by the magnificent fight of the Paris transport workers.[1]

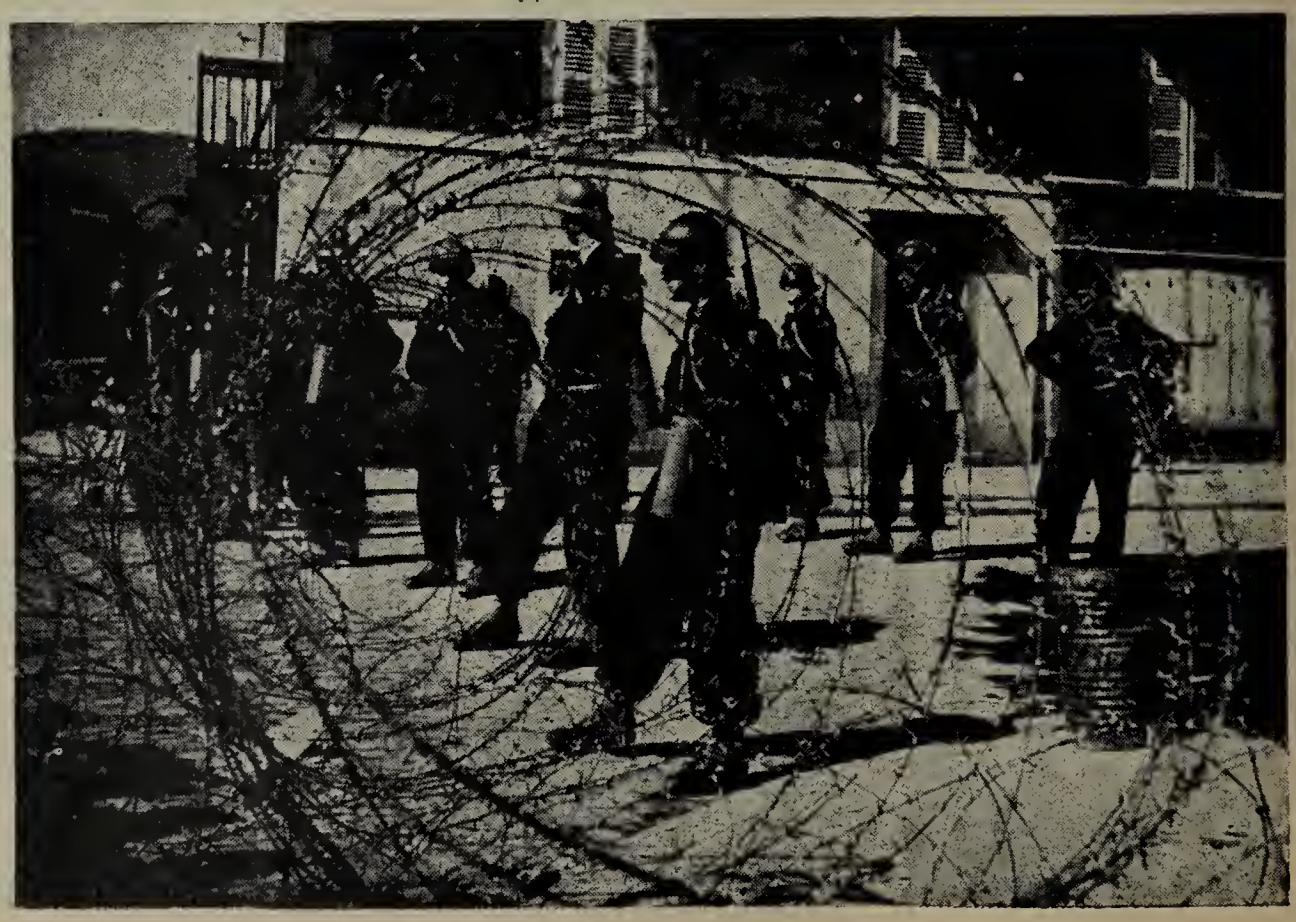
1 See Henri Raynaud's article, "United Action Wins Big Victory in France," in No. 8 (1951) of this Review.

The C.G.T. deserves credit for guiding the workers' struggle, for seeking out with them the forms and needs of the daily struggle, and for encouraging with unflagging determination that unity which augurs so well for the future. None of the difficulties or obstacles shook the conviction of the leaders and active members of the C.G.T. that they were acting in line with the fundamental aspirations of the working class, with its will to unite and fight, and with its ardent desire for total liberation.

The leaders of the F.O., C.F.T.C., and independent unions, and other splitters tried their utmost, twice signing separate agreements just when the workers were on the point of winning big victories; but none of the manoeuvres or sell-outs diverted the leaders and members of the C.G.T. from united action, because they know that the workers need it, that it is their greatest strength and also because they have unfaltering confidence in the working class, in its militancy and spirit of initiative in its day-to-day struggles just as in the big battles. This is because the man who is fighting for his own life and that of his dear ones is full of understanding and love and this love makes him lucid, inventive and courageous.

Because our leaders and members understand all this and because neither they nor the workers have ever abandoned the fight for complete liberation from the capitalist yoke, they believe in the unity of the working class to which they belong body and soul.

This reminder of the last few years' struggle



In their repressive actions in the service of the employers, the Republican Security Guards make no distinctions between workers of different political views.

The Unity Action Committee of the workers of the Renault Automobile plant at St. Denys. In this struggle for wage increases there was unity between the C.G.T., the Christian trade unionists, the Force Ouvriere and unorganised workers.

is useful in explaining why unity is growing in the ranks of the C.G.T. between workers of differing outlooks, between socialists and communists, believers and atheists. There is, in fact, a common denominator strongly uniting all members of this great workers' Trade Union Centre; this common denominator, or rather this very close bond, is the interests of all workers, their immediate interests in the present situation, never separated from the permanent goal of the complete liberation of the working class.

One Policy Only —A Workers' Policy

THIS, in a word, is the essential character and strength of our C.G.T. It is an organisation forged by the workers themselves to serve their daily interests, big or small, right in the factories, and to meet the fundamental desire of the entire working class—complete and final liberation from the exploitation of labour by capital, of the man who produces by the man who has money. Therefore, the C.G.T. has neither a communist label nor a socialist nor any other label. There may be many communists in its ranks, but, as the General Secretary, Benoit Frachon has said, it has more socialist members than Force Ouvrière and more Christians than the C.F.T.C.

This is proof of the fact that many socialists and Christians have come into the C.G.T. for the sole reason that they are workers who are resolved at all times to defend all demands put forward in the factories and workshops and to work wholeheartedly for the complete liberation of the working class, without being bound by ideological preoccupations, and with the sole intent of most effectively defending the interests of all workers. In so doing, the sole policy they pursue is a workers' policy of fighting for wages and trade union liberties and for peace, without which their conditions cannot be improved and through which their hopes for a better future are consolidated and their achievements made more certain and closer at hand.

I would even say that in the ranks of the C.G.T., the socialist is more freely socialist than inside Force Ouvrière, and the Christian more freely

Christian than inside the C.F.T.C. Recent events prove this. When in March 1950, and recently, in March 1951, the leaders of the F.O. and C.F.T.C. signed separate agreements with the employers, they gave their support to a considerable reduction in purchasing power and, in so doing, to the entire policy which had led from the Marshall Plan to the Atlantic Pact, from the costly rearmament of Europe to today's difficult situation. They agreed to the poverty of a large number of their brothers, and, under the pretext of not wishing to indulge in politics, they gave their approval to the politics of the existing rulers.

This *a priori* policy is like a millstone around their necks, immobilising them when the workers are struggling hard for their bread and for peace, which is necessary for the improvement of their conditions. Even worse, since they refuse to wage battles which might prove to be decisive, they are led to making separate agreements which cheat the workers of bigger increases and improvements, and at the same time, they betray the fundamental hopes of the working class, which has never given up its aim of completely shaking off the yoke imposed on it by the capitalist trusts and governments.

In other words, rather than winning alongside the C.G.T., they prefer, under the pretext that the C.G.T.'s members and leaders are communists, to come to terms with the representatives of the big employers, whose privileged interests are in direct conflict with the desire for liberation and radical justice on the part of the exploited.

During the magnificent strike of Paris transport workers, a general mobilisation of the workers would have brought us victory, or at least, well-founded hopes of more effectively improving the living conditions of the French working class. By signing, at the height of battle, separate agreements, bringing little or nothing to relieve the poverty of the poorest or the difficulties of all wage-earners, the leaders of the so-called free trade unions finally exposed their dependence on an economic and political system which has been rejected by the working masses in France and throughout the world.

For my part, I refuse to believe that faith in Christ and in His gospel of love can lead a Christian to sacrifice the interests and hopes of millions of men, cynically exploited for centuries. On the contrary, I believe that it must make us freer in our solidarity and activity and give us courage to go right to the end with greater boldness and joy. In this unselfish battle there is, indeed, such brotherhood among all free men who give themselves wholeheartedly and without preconceived ideas, that we may hope for great things in the future.

Building Unity is the Job of the Workers Themselves

IN short, today we stand at a turning point in the history of the working class. The question is how many workers in our country will resign themselves to poverty for a large number of people and will accept the burden of more war preparations by a civilisation which has unceasingly flouted their basic rights. The question is whether some people, opposed, like their comrades, to the exploitation which they suffer, will be bound in conscience to this civilisation because they are Christians or socialists, and whether they will keep out of the great battle for wages and peace being carried on today by the great majority of organised workers.

This is the problem which thousands of Christian workers have to examine in their consciences. Benoit Frachon said at the 28th Congress of the C.G.T. that united action was the job of the workers themselves, that it could be achieved in the factories, in the workshops, at the bench, on the basis of simple demands put forward by the workers in line with the needs of the moment, and that neither the C.G.T. nor the workers would would ever forget the ultimate goal, and that it would fight, as the workers themselves fight, against fascism and war which delay the liberation of the workers and tighten the grip of capitalism.

We can see with our own eyes this unity growing and this daily collaboration developing, in the interests of all and against the dangers which threaten all the workers. Why should we be timid? This mutual understanding we have gained in the day-to-day struggle and in our common hopes helps us to respect each other more. The interests of all, the anxieties of all our comrades, the desire to serve all our fellow workers, is the best guarantee that nothing will be allowed to come between us in the end to jeopardise our unity.

"WE ACCUSE!"

WE ACCUSE! is the report of the Commission of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Korea from May 16th to 27th 1951. The Commission consisted of twenty members and one observer from seventeen countries in Europe, America, Asia and Africa. They were selected by women's organisations in their home countries—some were affiliated to the W.I.D.F., and some were not. These women, of different countries, different nationalities, different religious beliefs, different political views and affiliations, some with no political party affiliations, united in the task of reporting conscientiously and truthfully the results of their observations on atrocities in Korea.

It is impossible in a short review to impart the cumulative feeling of horror which emerges from the documenting of instance after horrible instance of brutality, torture and death. As the introduction to the booklet says:

> "Every page of this document is a grim indictment. Every fact speaks of the mass exterminating character of this war. More homes have been destroyed than military objectives, more grain than ammunition, more women, children and aged people than soldiers. This war is war on life itself."

The twelve days in Korea were spent in making a thorough examination, collecting evidence from Koreans, taking photographs, and assembling a mass of data which leaves no doubt as to the character of the savage war being waged against the Korean people. The members of the Commission were divided into smaller groups charged with gathering the evidence from different parts of Korea. In this way all of Korea north of the battle lines was fully covered. Only scattered instances can be given here of their findings which are embodied in the 47-page pamphlet.

The Commission visited Sinyju, a town on the Korean-Chinese border, a town of 126,000 inhabitants before the war. Although this town had no war industries, but only such light industries as soya bean processing, shoe manufacture, matches and chop-sticks, air raids in November 1950 destroyed 2,100 state and municipal buildings, 6,800 private dwellings, 16 out of 17 primary schools, 12 of the town's 19 secondary schools, 15 churches, two municipal hospitals. More than 5,000 inhabitants were killed, of whom approximately 4,000 were women and children.

Pyongyang, temporary capital of the Korean

At Pyongyang. American bombers killed this lad's mother and destroyed his home. He and his father are now forced to live in a hole in the ground.

People's Democratic Republic, has been left a total ruin. Before the war it was a city of 400,000 people.

> "Kang Bok Sen's daughter, living in a dug-out, told the Commission that the Americans made the Opera and the remains of the adjoining house into an army brothel. To this brothel they took by force women and young girls they caught in the streets. As she feared a similar fate she did not leave her dugout for 40 days . . . An inhabitant of Pyongyang, Kwon Son Don, a 66-year old worker from another part of the town, confirmed this statement."

In the provinces of Whang-Hai 120,000 had been killed by the occupying armies in addition to those killed by air raids. The Commission was shown a prison where there was no room for the prisoners either to sit or to lie down. They were shown an instrument used to beat the prisoners and identified it as a U.S. army baseball bat. The bat was taken as evidence.

> "The members spent some time in the town of Sinchen in Whang-Hai province. In this city, 23,359 people were said to have been killed. Members were shown a building which had originally been a school and which had been used by the U.S. army as its regional headquarters. Outside this building were two natural caves. Members were told that 30

Brutal bombing leaves death and destruction in its wake making no distinction between the aged, women, children or the able-bodied.

RIGHT: **Near Pyongyang after a bombardment.**

BELOW: **A mass grave is opened for the Women's Commission at Anak.**

women and children had been imprisoned in the first, and then shot. In the second cave 104 people had been confined. Petrol had been thrown over them and then ignited. Not all of them were burned to death. Those who were not reached by the flames were asphyxiated by the fumes. The members noticed that there were blood stains on the walls of the first cave, and that the interior of the second cave still showed marks of burning."

One elderly woman, Chai Chun-Ok, said that seven of her eight sons and daughters had been shot in the cave. She said:

> "The Americans are wild beasts. They came into our town and killed everyone here." Another woman, Pak Yo-Suk, said: "We thought that Americans were Christians, gentlemen. We did not think that they would kill people with such brutality."

In these visits the members of the Commission noticed everywhere the strong odour of decaying human flesh.

On one hillside the Commission examined two mass graves, which were opened for their inspection. In one were the remains of 70 children and in the other of about 200 women. All the bodies had been badly charred. Song Chun-Ok said that all her family had been killed. Her young children had been killed with axes and knives. She said:

> "I will go to the front and do anything until the whole of Korea is free from Americans. It was not only the American soldiers who did these things. It was English soldiers too.
>
> "Based on the accounts of the many witnesses we heard during the day, we can state that the Americans arrested people for the following 'crimes': for being patriots, for having relatives in the army, for belonging to the Peasants' Union or other democratic organisations, such as the Consumers' Co-operative, or for having relatives who belonged to these. (A man who had worked in the co-operative store showed us numerous scars on both legs which had been burnt by the Americans with red-hot iron rods.)"

The Commission asked the people in one district whether the torture and murder had been committed by Americans only or if there had been Syngman Rhee troops among them. The answer:

"In this district there were only Americans. They did it."

The pamphlet lists many instances of sadistic torture by persons who had sunk to the depths of degeneracy as a consequence of their training as soldiers. Only one or two examples can be given here. A 23-year old woman, eight months pregnant, was undressed, tied to a tree and publicly exposed by American troops. Her abdomen was cut open and the baby taken out. Three other women tried to defend themselves from being raped by American soldiers. They were murdered by having their breasts cut off and red-hot irons thrust into their vaginas.

Although the foregoing is a small and random selection of instances, a full reading of this document leaves one with the feeling that Korea and the Korean people have been deliberately subjected to the most brutal, most thoroughgoing and most devastating destruction of life and property of any people in modern times. This is the conclusion to which the Commission came on the completion of its mission. The Commission's conclusions are:

This was once a city. Now it is an empty shell of ruins and rubble.

"The people of Korea are subjected by American occupants to a merciless and methodical campaign of extermination which is in contradiction not only to the principles of humanity, but also to the rules of warfare

Another grim monument to American barbarism.

as laid down, for instance, in the Hague and the Geneva Conventions. This is being done in the following ways:

"(a) by the systematic destruction of food, food-stores and food factories. Forests and ripe harvests are systematically burned by incendiary bombs, fruit trees are destroyed and peasants working in their fields with their animals are killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes. By these means the whole people of Korea is doomed to starvation.

"(b) by the systematic destruction of town after town, of village after village, many of which by no stretch of imagination could be considered to be military objectives or even industrial centres. The aim of this systematic destruction is clearly, in the first place, to break the morale of the Korean population and, secondly, to wear them out physically. In these never-ceasing raids, dwellings, hospitals, schools, etc., are destroyed deliberately. Even towns which have already been turned into heaps of ashes and in which the surviving inhabitants are reduced to living in dug-outs, continue to be bombed.

"(c) by systematically employing against the peaceful inhabitants weapons banned by international convention, i.e., incendiaries, petrol bombs, napalm bombs, time-bombs, and by constantly machine-gunning civilians from low-flying planes.

"(d) by atrociously exterminating the Korean population. In the districts temporarily occupied by American and Syngman Rhee forces, in the period of occupation hundreds of thousands of civilians, entire families from old men to little children, have been tortured, beaten to death, burned and buried alive. Thousands of others have perished from hunger and cold in over-crowded prisons in which they were thrown without charges being levelled against them, without investigation, trial or sentence.

"These mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by Hitler's Nazis in temporarily occupied Europe.

"Evidence given by all civilians questioned points to the fact that nearly all these crimes were either perpetrated by U.S. soldiers and officers or else on the order of U.S. officers.

The Women's International Commission for the investigation of war atrocities committed in Korea. Fifth from the left in the front row is Nora K. Rodd of Canada, Chairman of the Commission. On her left is Pak Den Ai, president of the Korean Women's Democratic Union, and a Stalin Peace Prize Winner.

Therefore the full responsibility for these atrocities falls on the U.S. Supreme Command in Korea, i.e., General MacArthur, General Ridgeway and other commanders of the invading forces who call themselves the Forces of UNO. Although these atrocities have been performed under the command of Generals in the field, the full responsibility for them must also rest with the governments who sent their troops to Korea and whose representatives at UNO gave their votes in favour of the war in Korea.

"The Commission expresses its belief that those responsible for the crimes committed against the Korean people must be charged as war criminals as defined by the Allied Declaration of 1943 and must be brought to trial by the peoples of the world as was defined by the same Declaration."

Upon the examination of this document presented by its Commission to Korea, the Women's International Democratic Federation presented a protest to the United Nations, submitting the report of the Commission and calling upon the U.N.:

"(1) to immediately stop bombardments of Korean towns and villages.

"(2) to withdraw all foreign troops from Korea and to allow the Korean people to decide their own destiny and to settle their internal affairs.

"(3) to hasten the peaceful settlement of the Korean problems in accordance with the proposal of the World Peace Council."

World Trade Union Movement stresses the importance of the widest distribution of this report[1] and urges that activities be organised to support the demands of the W.I.D.F. to the United Nations.

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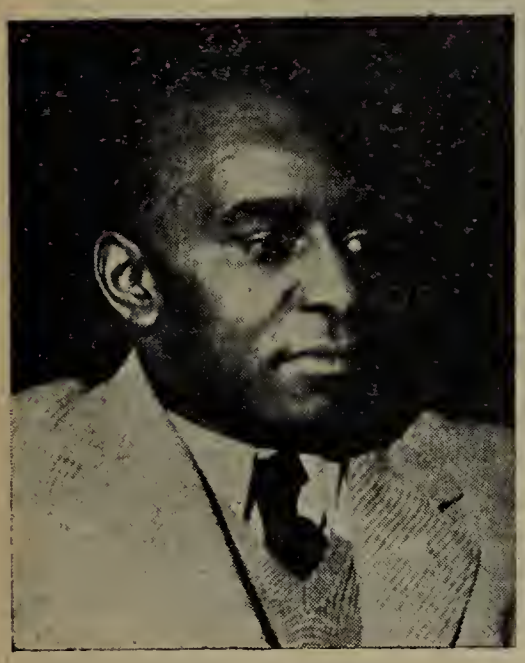
1 The booklet "WE ACCUSE" is published by the Women's International Democratic Federation at Berlin W.8, Unter den Linden 13, in French, English, Russian and Spanish.

South African Workers Fight Drive To Fascism

By DESMOND BUCKLE



THE working people of South Africa are now engaged in one of the most profound struggles in their history. In its drive towards fascism, the Malan Government is attempting to rob the majority of the people of South Africa of any vestige of democratic rights. But the South African people—and above all, the workers—are rising to the challenge.

As the tide of repressive legislation sweeps into a full flood threatening to submerge completely all their remaining civil rights, the people of South Africa—African, Boer, Indian, Coloured (people of mixed European and non-European origin), and English—are finding the means to unite in their struggle for freedom, for peace and against fascist obscurantism.

A stern struggle is being waged around immediate issues such as the bill to remove the Coloured voters of the Cape from the common voters' roll; the operation of the Group Areas Act by which "ghettos" for the non-European peoples are being established throughout the Union, and the bill by which the Nationalist government seeks to amend the infamous Suppression of Communism Act, making all relevant sections of it retrospective to any time. However, it is generally realised that the task of effectively checking fascism in South Africa —or, indeed, anywhere else,—is bound up with the fight for world peace.

People Robbed of their Franchise

BUT first let us consider the struggle of the South African peoples in connection with the Coloured Voters' Bill.

From its very foundation in 1910, the rulers of the Union of South Africa have attempted, in one form or another, to limit the democratic rights of the majority of the people—i.e., of the Africans and Coloured working people. Even before the Act of Union, uniting the British colonies (Cape Colony and Natal) and the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, there had been, in effect though not openly in law, a colour discrimination in the franchise rights of the Cape Colony. The right to vote was limited to adult males who earned £50 a year, or occupied a house and land with a combined value of £75, and could pass a simple literacy test. These qualifications meant, in fact, that a large number of African and Coloured working people were debarred from voting. When the South Africa Act was framed, the Cape franchise was linked with equality for the two languages of the European conquerors, English and Dutch (Afrikaans), to form an "entrenched clause," which could be altered only by the vote of a two-thirds majority of the House of Assembly and the Senate sitting together.

Following the enfranchisement of European women in 1930 all qualifications for people of European race were abolished in 1931. The non-Europeans alone had to satisfy the qualifications in force during the colonial period. The number of non-Europeans on the common voters' roll was small, but it soon became evident that increase in education amongst the Africans meant that soon they could considerably increase their voting power.

African workers forced by exploitation and poverty to live in mud holes, in homes constructed of scraps of lumber, tin, etc.

★

Therefore, in 1936, the United Party, which then formed the government under the late General Smuts, secured the necessary two-thirds majority to pass an Act to remove all Cape Africans from the common electoral roll. This left the Cape Coloured people as the only non-white persons on the roll. And they represented a mere 9% of the voters.

But even this undemocratic act of the wholesale disfranchisement of a people who constituted the vast majority of the population did not satisfy the extreme Afrikaner (Boer) nationalists. They regarded the presence of any except those of "pure" European race on the voters' roll an affront to their national pride and inimical to their policy of white supremacy or **baaskap.** Promises to abolish all forms of African representation and the removal of the Cape Coloureds from the common electoral roll were therefore included in their election programme in 1948.

Malan Government Increases Race Segregation

ON winning power in the elections held in May that year, the Nationalists under Dr. D. F. Malan immediately set about dealing with the obstacles that stood in the way of their aims to apply the policy of **apartheid** (rigid segregation of the races) in all aspects of the life of the country. The most important of these obstacles was the fact that they did not command a two-thirds majority and, indeed, for even a simple majority which entitled them to form the government they had to rely on the support of Mr. Havenga and his small Afrikaner Party. Their support gave the Malan government a bare majority of 7 in the House of Assembly. In order to add to this number Malan defied the United Nations on the question of the future of the Mandated territory of South West Africa, annexed it and staged elections there which gave him six new Nationalist members to double his majority. Then last autumn Mr. Havenga, who had resisted a change in the constitution involving the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll, suddenly gave way and withdrew his opposition.

Thus the Malan Government was able to go ahead with its plans in regard to the Coloured people's vote. In this it is following the pattern laid down by the United Party in 1936 in the Native Representation Act. The Coloured people, like the Africans, will be placed on a separate voters' roll to elect a small number of Europeans to represent them (the Africans on their separate roll elect three European members); a Coloured Affairs Department and a Coloured Advisory Council (whose advice will not be obligatory on the Government) will be set up and there will be separate representation of the Coloured people in the Cape Provincial Council.

This means that the Coloured vote of about 50,000 which was almost solidly pro-United Party will be lost to that party. More important still, it means the almost certain loss of six seats to the

United Party and a gain of that number to the Nationalists. The vigorous protests of the United Party are in the circumstances understandable, but the claim now being made on its behalf that it is the champion of democracy is almost pathetic in its hypocrisy and opportunism. Did not that party lay the basis for the present undemocratic acts of legislation when in 1936 it used its two-thirds majority to remove the Africans from the common roll? Now that its own vote is being endangered it hypocritically makes a pledge to repeal the Coloured Voters Bill when returned to power and to introduce nothing less than a Bill of Rights, including a guarantee of freedom of the Press, conscience, religion and speech for the whole of the population.

The United Party's own poor record in the past in regard to the defence of these same rights enabled Dr. Malan to retort that because of the "Communist danger" and of the large numbers of Indians and Africans in the country, the establishment of freedom of speech, movement and association in South Africa would be disastrous. Freedom of association, said Dr. Malan, would simply mean that the African trade unions would have to be recognised. And since it was a United Party Government which passed the Industrial Conciliation Act, under which recognition is withheld from African trade unions and contract and bargaining rights are denied to African workers, Malan knew he was on sure ground.

The People Fight Back

IN the circumstances it is obvious that the real fighters for liberty in South Africa cannot be the so-called liberals of the United Party but the working people themselves, united in taking necessary action in self-defence against both the Nationalists and the United Party imperialists.

A conference in Cape Town during February elected a Franchise Action Committee of 33 (later extended to 50 and the Committee renamed the Franchise Action Council) to organise the people of the Cape to hold days of protest commencing on March 8th. And on that day Cape Town saw the biggest demonstration and procession in its history. A resolution was adopted pledging the Council to continue the struggle "with determination and courage." The militant mood of the people was further emphasised by one of their leaders, Mr. Sam Kahn, M.P., whose election as the only Communist member of Parliament in November, 1948, infuriated the Nationalists. "If the Government is not prepared to call a halt to punitive legislation, then the people equally are not prepared to call a halt to their resistance," said Mr. Kahn, addressing a conference attended by the representatives of 59 organisations, embracing political, trade union, teachers', religious, sporting and social activities. The conference decided to hold a one-day political general strike on May 7th in defence of the Coloured vote.

On that day mighty demonstrations were held throughout South Africa. In Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Worcester, Paarl and other towns in the Cape Province, tens of thousands of non-European workers stayed away from work in protest against the Bill to remove them from the common voters' roll. It has been estimated that the strike was 75 per cent. effective. In Capetown alone, 22 enterprises were compelled to close down. Early morning 'buses travelled empty from the working class districts. Non-European shops were closed and children stayed away from school. In Port Elizabeth 14 out of the 17 textile factories had to shut down.

Though the strike was called only in the Cape, mass demonstrations took place in other centres,

LEFT: The outskirts of an African shanty-town, Moroka, renamed "Johannesburg's Shame." RIGHT: This, believe it or not, is a school. This picture shows the conditions under which African children have to study. And even these facilities are only for a restricted few.

too. In Johannesburg thousands of ex-servicemen marched in a mighty torchlight procession through the streets. All nationalities were represented.

The spirit of the May 7th actions clearly shows that the working people of South Africa are determined to resist Malan's pro-fascist legislation.

Meanwhile the promulgation of the Group Areas Act at the end of March—once again in defiance of a United Nations recommendation—has plunged thousands of non-European people, property-owners and small shopkeepers, into a state of imminent ruin and enshrouds their future in uncertainty and insecurity. Opinion in the outside world, particularly in India, has been outraged by this action of the South African Government. "The United Nations is on trial in South Africa in a truer sense than in Korea," said the Indian journal "Amrita Bazar Patrika." The "Hindustani Standard" wrote:

"It seems inconceivable, after all, that had the Anglo-American Powers assumed an appropriately stern attitude to South Africa, she would have dared to go on merrily with her policy of unmasked racialism, amounting in effect to a reckless challenge to all that humanity and civilisation stand for."

But is it really conceivable that the American imperialists, who pursue such a racialist lynch-law policy at home towards their own Negro people and who, in Korea, are trying to destroy a whole nation, are likely to be opposed to Malan's pro-fascist policy?

It is not difficult to imagine the social tensions and hardships that the operation of the Group Areas Act involves in cities like Capetown, where for nearly 300 years people of all the races have lived together without segregation and with little strife, and Durban, where the Indian population has a vast amount of capital invested in landed property in areas which will be proclaimed "European."

The African National Congress voiced the feelings of all the non-European peoples when, in reply to the proposal of the Minister of Native Affairs to

Demonstrations against repressive measures of the Malan government.

ABOVE: **Not only Africans, but white South Africans demonstrate against Malan's nazi-like legislation.**

LEFT: **Coloured factory workers at a huge meeting in Capetown protesting against the Bill to put Coloured men on separate communal rolls. (Coloured women are already debarred from voting.)**

LEFT: A view of a huge demonstration of African, Indian, Coloured and white workers protesting against the Bill for separate voters' rolls.

BELOW: This African was walking across a square in Alexandria when the police charged a peaceful meeting. Their clubs bruised and cut his face before he was able to get away. Scores of Africans were injured by police violence.

remove the "black spots" of western Johannesburg, it said:

"We will resist the mass removal of our people as if they were cattle in the ranches of the Wild West of America."

Battle is joined also on the issue of the Suppression of Communism Act, its Amending Bill and the Bill to prohibit gatherings and processions "which are likely to lead to the serious dislocation of any trade or industry."

These measures are clearly aimed at the democratic rights of all South African people, but in the first place it is the trade union and working class movement which is increasingly playing the leading rôle in the general struggle for democratic rights and for peace.

A Personal Liberties Defence Committee has been formed in Johannesburg to oppose these Bills, and the Civil Rights League, trade unions, political bodies and organisations of students, ex-servicemen and of women are represented on the Committee.

As so often happens in such cases, the "liberals" at the eleventh hour are coming to realise that it is not only Communism that is to be suppressed, but that in fact every shade of opinion inconvenient to the fascist Malan Government is to be given short shrift.

The Act and its amendment define a "Communist" as anyone who has at any time, either before or after the promulgation of the Act, advocated the achievement of any of the objects of Communism. Once a person has been thus labelled the Minister of Justice has the power to require him to resign from his organisation and to relinquish any public office he may hold. There is no appeal against the Minister's decision.

It is noticeable that amongst those already "named" by the Minister of Justice are some of the outstanding militant trade union leaders of South Africa.

The power of the Government thus to control the number and the activities of its political opponents is obvious. Here, indeed, is the prime reason for the anxiety sweeping the ranks of the United Party and the "liberal" demagogues.

South Africans Support Peace Movement

THE struggle of those who genuinely seek the true interests of South Africa is linked with the worldwide struggle for peace and against the warmongers. And as more and more of the people realise this fact, the peace movement in the country grows in strength. The Transvaal Peace Conference held in Johannesburg at the end of April, and attended by 396 delegates from all parts of the province, among whom were African chiefs, trade unionists, churchmen and professional workers, provided an indication of this development. The Conference, which was sponsored by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation, and the Provisional Committee for a South African Peace Movement, set up a Transvaal Peace Council to which is affiliated organisations with nearly 10,000 members. The Council will immediately conduct a Union-wide peace ballot based on the appeal of the Berlin meeting of the World Peace Council for a peace pact between the five Great Powers—Great Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France and the Chinese People's Republic.

In the face of the Malan peril all who value democracy, freedom and peace in South Africa are uniting in a matter unprecedented in the country's turbulent history. And they will triumph, for defeat for Malan and his fascist Government means victory for the forces of decency the whole world over.

What are They Afraid Of?

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

No 1189] [9 May 1951.

CUSTOMS ACT, 1944.—OBJECTIONABLE LITERATURE.

LIST No. 74.

In terms of sub-section (2) of section *twenty-one* of the Customs Act, 1944 (Act No. 35 of 1944), I, THEOPHILLIS EBENHAEZER DONGES, Minister of the Interior, declare the undermentioned publications to be indecent, obscene or objectionable:—

(1) "Information Bulletin of the Trade Union International of Leather, Shoe, Fur and Leather products Workers (Trade Department of the World Federation of Trade Unions)" (all issues).

(2) "Czechoslovakia Information Bulletin (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement)" (all issues).

(3) "Information Bulletin of the World Federation of Trade Unions." (all issues).

(4) "Czechoslovak Life" (all issues).

(5) "Prague News Letter" (all issues).

(6) "Monthly Bulletin of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions." (all issues).

(7) "Africa News Letter" (all issues).

In terms of sub-section (2) of section *twenty-one* of the Customs Act, 1944, all issues of the said publications are, therefore, prohibited from importation into the Union and any person who sells, offers or keeps for sale or distributes or exhibits any copy of the above-mentioned publications shall, in terms of section *one hundred and thirty-three* of the said Act, be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding two hundred pounds or to imprisonment without the option of a fine fo a period not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

T. E. DONGES,
Minister of the Interior.

The W.F.T.U. pamphlet *For a Pan-American Trade Union Conference* dealing with trade union organisation and unity of African workers, together with a draft charter of their economic and social demands, was cleared by the customs of the Union of South Africa and delivered to the trade unions. The authorities, however, raided the trade union offices and demanded the return of the pamphlets and refused any explanation for this arbitrary action.

Similar action against W.F.T.U. publications has been taken in other parts of Africa. The 'Pan Africa' pamphlet has also been banned in Southern Rhodesia, and in Nigeria where African workers are under severe penalties if they care to think for themselves or dare to assert their fundamental rights to choose their own books and other reading material.

From the "Government Gazette," May 25, 1951, official publication of the government of the Union of South Africa.

The Struggle For Unity In ICELAND

By BJORN BJARNASON

President, Factory Workers' Union

WITH the fall of the government in which the Socialist Party (a unity party of Communists, left-wing Socialists and other progressive elements) participated in 1944-46, all the bourgeois parties of Iceland united to form a conservative government in 1947, a government headed by the right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party.

One of the chief aims of this coalition was to capture control of the Trade Union Federation (Althidusamband) which had been under progressive leadership since 1942. In the 1948 elections for the congress of the Trade Union Federation the three governmental parties united their efforts to fight the Socialists. The result of this effort was that the reactionary bloc, with the aid of widespread propaganda, puppet unions, etc., succeeded in getting 138 delegates whereas the socialists and their supporters got 109, although the government parties received about 4,800 votes altogether against a Socialist vote of about 4,500. In the city of Reykjavik the Socialists retained control of the Board of Representatives.

At the beginning of 1949, after the parliament of Iceland (Althing) had adopted new measures which increased the cost of living, the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation began a struggle for higher wages and presented a demand for a 3 per cent wage increase.

Dissatisfied with this small demand, and after requesting a trade union conference to discuss the problem, the General Workers' Union (Dagsbruin), the largest trade union in Iceland with 3,500 members, assumed the leadership, and together with the Factory Workers' Union (Idiya), and other trade unions, in effect pushed the Trade Union Federation aside and secured a wage increase of about 10 per cent for workers throughout the country.

Right-Wing Socialists to the Aid of The Government

IN the spring of 1950 the government devalued the Icelandic currency, the *krona,* by 42 per cent. As a consequence of this the Social Democrats thought it necessary for practical reasons to quit the government.

On the initiative of the General Workers' Union, the Factory Workers' Union and other trade unions, a Trade Union Conference was held in Reykjavik in March 1950. This Conference condemned the devaluation and adopted a policy of joint struggle against it. In the summer of the same year when it was time to elect delegates for the 22nd Congress of the Trade Union Federation, its right-wing-led Central Committee considered it necessary for tactical reasons to stage a struggle for wages before the Congress met. This was done in the following way: first, the government put forward a draft of a law whereby wages would be reduced even below the level which followed the devaluation of the krona. Then the Central Committee urged all the trade unions to discard their agreements and begin a struggle for higher wages. As a result the government withdrew the draft law without any strike having been started. Thus nothing was changed.

The elections to the congress resulted in the Socialists winning back delegates in some areas from the reactionary bloc, but on the other hand they lost one of the most important unions in Reykjavik, the Factory Workers' Union, as well as the majority on the Board of Representatives. Although the Socialists got a higher number of votes than the right-wing bloc, they had fewer delegates.

At the 22nd Congress of the Trade Union Federation the Socialists won important victories particularly in the struggle

A huge demonstration in Reykjavik against the arrival in Iceland of American occupation troops.

against the rising cost of living, against unemployment and dismissals, and others. On the other hand, it was at this Congress that the Trade Union Federation voted to leave the W.F.T.U. and to join the Scab International. The Socialists also succeeded in preventing attacks on workers' organisations, as for example in the trawlers' dispute for higher wages, in the summer of 1950. However, in a manoeuvre to defeat their demands, the right-wing Social Democrats organised a strike among the trawlers, a strike which lasted three months, at a time chosen for the benefit of the bosses.

This Congress marked an increase in vigour for the Socialists despite the fact that they were in a minority. Since the devaluation of the krona in March 1950 the cost of living has risen steadily and greatly. At the same time Iceland has become increasingly chained to the United States through Marshall Plan "aid," loans, bribes and presents. At the beginning of this year another law was passed which permitted the owners of fishing boats to charge higher prices. This law caused a large general price increase and was in fact a veiled form of devaluation. A year after the passage of the devaluation law the cost of living index had increased by 32 per cent.

American Interference

IN February the Central Committee tried a new stratagem in trying to appear to be fighting for higher wages for the workers without doing anything. They asked the trade unions to discard their agreements and the Committee put forward a demand for a monthly wage increase to bring wages into parity with the cost of living index, which had risen 23 per cent by January 1951. This meant in fact that wages were to be frozen after a small rise in accordance with a new law whereby the cost of living index figure for purposes of computing wages would remain unchanged throughout the year 1951, although the cost of living had already risen more than 23 per cent, and in the spring of 1951 stood at 32 per cent. This demand was the final item in the business of the Central Committee and when asked about the matter the Committee replied that it was its intention to let each trade union fight separately for its wage increases, and that there would be no concerted action.

In contrast the progressive forces led by the Socialist Party considered the position to be such that to win the struggle would require the unity of the working class throughout the country; that the trade unions would have to work together closely; that they could not afford to fight separately.

The government had received tens of millions of dollars of American "aid" and it became

evident that it would initiate long-lasting disputes with the workers in an attempt to crush the trade unions, in the interests of American imperialists.

The plan of action drawn up by the General Workers' Union, the Factory Workers' Union and other trade unions called for organising wide-scale co-operation among as many trade unions as possible throughout the country under a joint command which would direct the struggle and take all possible measures to ensure victory. It soon became obvious that the right-wing Social Democrats ardently wished a speedy end to this struggle, particularly before the beginning of May. Since Iceland was occupied by U.S. military forces on May 7th, it appears obvious that the Social Democrats knew in advance of the coming of American troops. The landing of American occupation forces was greeted by widespread protests from many trade unions and other organisations. As a result of the growing struggle against the rising cost of living, and American occupation, the co-operation among the trade unions took a more complete form in May.

Meantime the Social Democratic forces had organised a few isolated strikes, which either gradually subsided without important result or were abandoned after two or three days. It became increasingly clear to the workers as a whole that the unity of the workers throughout the country was more urgent than ever before, and that the anarchistic strikes called by the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation under its right-wing Social Democratic leadership should be considered as sabotage of the unity programme.

The Struggle for Unity

THE co-operation among the trade unions was so successful that more than 20 trade unions in Reykjavik and the surrounding area, among them many under conservative Social Democratic leadership, developed a close alliance. A committee was chosen, consisting of representatives of all the trade unions, whose function was to lead the struggle. In order to develop unity to the utmost and to prevent sabotage by the Central Committee, the Central Committee was offered one representative on the commission. This offer was accepted. In addition, another committee of seven members to act as an executive-and-negotiations' committee was set up. This development had a two-fold effect: the Central Committee with its tendencies to delay action and to play the bosses' game was pushed into the background; and the unity of all workers from all political parties was created from below. It was unity of the rank and file.

With this strong organisation established, a strike was called on May 18th. During this strike the Central Committee held secret meetings with the representatives of the government and the employers. After the strike had lasted only two and a half days, a wage increase of

7.3 per cent was won, together with a cost of living increase to be granted every three months depending on the cost of living index. The overwhelming majority, if not all, of the trade unions have by now obtained this wage increase without further difficulty.

This was a great victory for the workers and for the Socialist leadership, for this struggle was completely under their direction. This is an especially significant victory for the Socialist leadership since this was the most extensive struggle that had ever been made in Iceland for wage increases. At the same time it was a defeat for the Central Committee and its right-wing Social Democratic leadership. Soon after this struggle most of the members of the Central Committee went to the United States on the invitation of the Economic Co-operation Administration, the Marshall Plan Agency. Their last act against the interests of the workers before leaving was to expel the Factory Workers' Union from the Trade Union Federation. This was one of the unions in which the Socialists had won the elections in February 1951, having regained their position which had been lost in the summer of 1950. This expulsion was widely protested against.

This action of the Central Committee heralds a new danger which threatens the workers' movement, the danger of an organised splitting campaign on behalf of the Marshall clique which still holds power in the Trade Union Federation, although nominally the Social Democrats are in opposition to the government. In fact they play the government's game.

A great and violent struggle for unity of the trade unions is at hand. This struggle is closely connected with the struggle for jobs, against the tremendous increase in the cost of living, and against the Marshall policy which is breaking down the economic life of the Icelanders. This Marshallized policy being followed by the government and its Social Democratic collaborators means that the economic and financial life of the country is organised for the profit of a small number of individuals and companies of exploiters. In this policy, a certain amount of unemployment is regarded as desirable in order to have a base for further inroads on the workers' living standards by playing the unemployed against the employed.

The lessons of the last few years, particularly those of the wage struggles last spring, show that the road to success stems from the unity of the working people of all political parties and beliefs to protect their common interests and urgent needs—a unity for the protection of workers' organisations. The next step is to go on and build upon the common front of struggle organised last spring which proved to be so successful.

ABOVE: **May Day 1951 in Reykjavik. On the placard is a demand by civil servants for the same right to strike that other unions have.** RIGHT: **Another view of the demonstration against American occupation. Here the demonstrators are holding up their hands in favour of a resolution condemning the occupation by the American troops.**

I. KOSLOV

Head of the Housing and Welfare Department of the All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

And the Role of the Trade Unions

BEFORE us stretches a spacious avenue in the suburbs of Moscow. On both sides of the street stand attractive large buildings. Two years ago, this place was a vacant lot, but today, thousands of manual and office workers employed in Moscow firms live in the houses on Novo-Peschanaya Street.

In 1950, building workers provided the population of Moscow with 5,778,000 sq. ft. more housing space, or 35% more than in the pre-war year of 1940. The 1951 programme provides for more than 7,560,000 sq. ft. of new housing, with the target of one million square metres a year in the following years.

It is impossible to talk about house-building in Moscow without mentioning the sky-scrapers which are under construction, a number of which will be used for dwellings. These sky-scrapers form part of an urban plan and are being built according to the most up-to-date technique, with high-speed lifts and every possible comfort.

Not only in Moscow, but in all towns and areas of the Soviet Union house-building is going on at a tremendous speed.

Stalingrad, completely destroyed during the war, has risen again from the ruins and rubble. New spacious buildings line the broad avenues bordered by trees and foliage. In 1950 alone, 1,331,694 sq. ft. of housing space were provided for the population, and more than 5,400,000 sq. ft. over the last five years.

Building is going on at the same rate everywhere. In Kemaravo, for example, 178 dwellings for miners were built in only nine months in 1950.

In Rostov-on-Don, nearly 200 apartment houses and other buildings were put up in 1950.

During the period covered by the post-war Stalin Five-Year Plan, the total area of housing space built or re-built in workers' towns and estates in the U.S.S.R. amounts to more than 1,080,000,000 sq. ft. In addition, 2.7 million houses were constructed or reconstructed in rural areas.

A Miner Speaks

KULAGIN, timberer in the No. 9 Capitalnaya mine in the Stalino area, told us:

"I have just moved my family into a new house provided for us by the management of the mine in the Zhdanov estate. There are three of us, and the apartment is very comfortable. It has two fine rooms, a big glass-panelled veranda, a kitchen, a bathroom,, and a larder. There is also some ground where I can plant about a dozen fruit trees and flower-beds. All the time, the workers employed in our mine are moving into the new apartments built for them.

"I worked in Mine No. 9 before the war as well, and after the victory, I went back to work there. I am a long-standing inhabitant of the Zhdanov estate and have seen it grow and become more and more beautiful. Over the last three years, three blocks of apartments have been built there for young miners and six one-storey houses each containing 17 apartments.

"I invited all my friends to the house-warming, and at one point in the conversation we recalled the visit made by a group of Scots miners two years ago. The visitors asked us a flood of questions about our life and were extremely surprised to learn that the Soviet State provides miners with

homes with every modern convenience and at a very low rent. They had very good reason to be surprised, because they told us that, in the best cases, they had to pay the capitalist estate owners one-fifth of their wages for drab and comfortless houses.

"We calculated the percentage of our wages which goes in the rent we pay for our apartments. It wasn't difficult to calculate. I spend on my apartment, including gas, electricity, etc., one sixtieth of my monthly wage!"

Soviet Citizens Build their Own Homes

SPECIAL care is given to building dwellings on the basis of a rational overall plan and to providing them with the maximum comfort. Building is carried on mainly by the city Soviets and by the factories.

But there is also wide-spread house-building by individual Soviet citizens. Every worker is entitled to build his own home. The Soviet State gives extensive aid to workers desirous of building a private house. It provides them with free land and gives them a loan on favourable conditions.

One year before the end of the war—in May 1944—the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decree on the measures to be taken for the restoration of the individual property fund in the liberated areas and on the promotion of individual building activity in the workers' towns and estates. Among the benefits, this decree raised the loan to workers building their own homes to 10,000 rubles

TOP: New construction in the Street of the Soviets in Bryansk. RIGHT: A new block of flats in Plekhanov Avenue in Tiflis.

and extended the repayment period to 7 years.

Trade union organisations also give all possible assistance to every worker wishing to build a house—well-situated land and timber, on particularly favourable conditions for war invalids and members of soldiers' families. They contact the management of firms and ask them to help by supplying material and transport and by providing labour to assist the person concerned.

The area of land provided is big enough not only for the house with all amenities but also for fruit trees or a kitchen garden. In general, the houses belonging to individual persons contain several rooms, a kitchen, a hallway, a larder and a bathroom.

Private house-building is being developed above all in the Don basin, in the industrial areas of the Urals and Siberia—in other words, in the country's industrial centres. In the Moscow mining area, miners have built more than 3,000 houses over the past few years out of their personal savings.

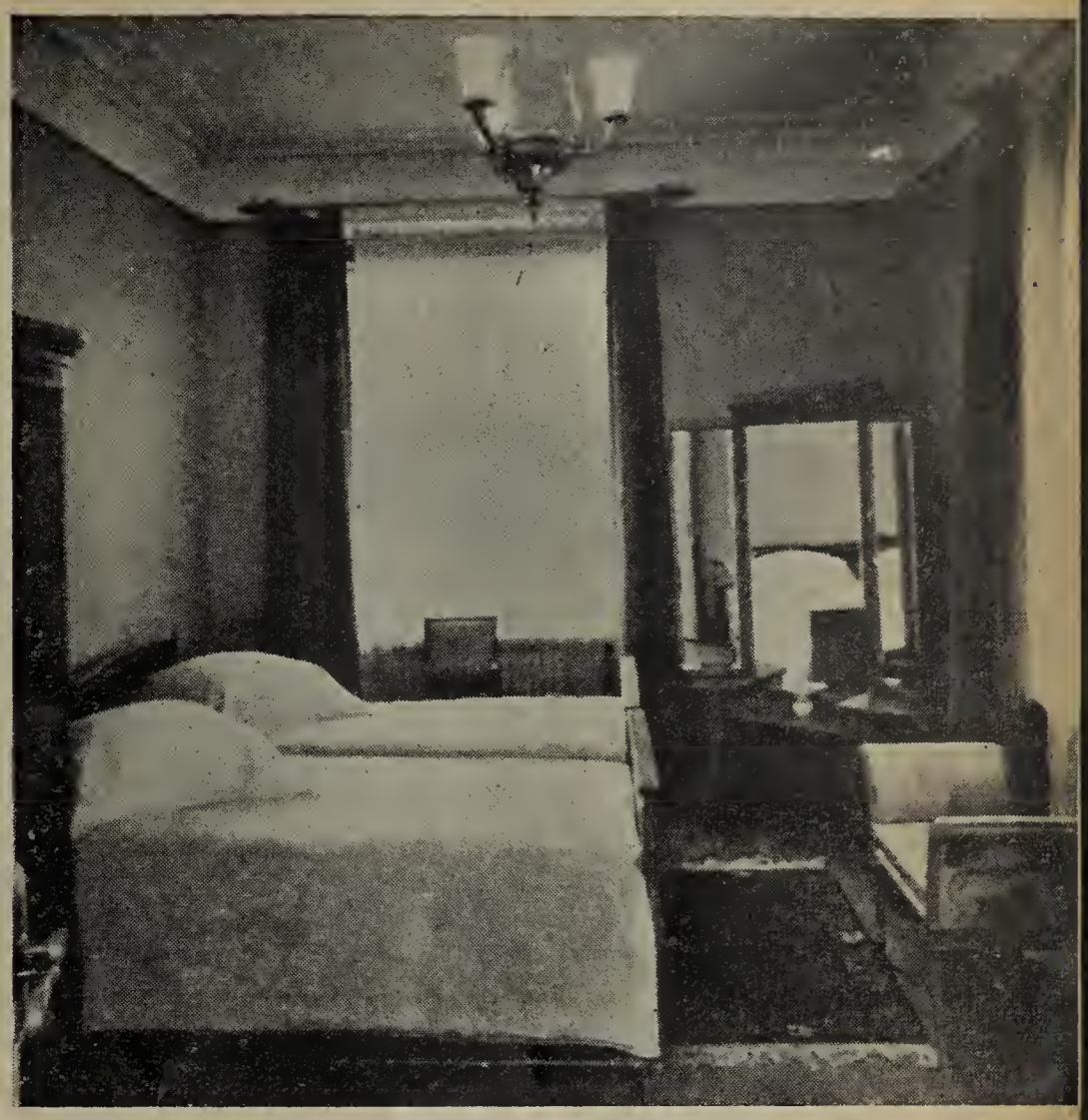
The target of 12 million square metres in private house-building set by the Five-Year Plan was achieved in a little over three-and-a-half years. In 1950, 32,000,000 sq. ft. more housing space was built.

The Role of the Trade Unions

THE Soviet trade unions, which are organisations covering the largest number of workers, take an active part in carrying out the plans for the construction of houses.

The obligations of factory managements and trade unions in this connection are written into the collective agreements.

The Housing and Welfare Commissions attached to works committees and local trade union committees are one of the main forms of organising and



The three photographs show the kitchen, dining room and bedroom of a three-room apartment in a new skyscraper apartment building which is being constructed on the Quay Kotelnichesky in Moscow.

A new home building site "Victory," which is under construction for the workers and office employees of the Ruchenkovsky factory in the Stalino Region.

directing the activity of trade union leaders. They play an important part in the day-to-day supervision of the application of the collective agreement clauses relating to workers' housing. In carrying out this task, the trade union organisations rely on an impressive body of 740,000 trade unionists elected for this purpose by works committees and local branches.

These Commissions have extremely varied activities in supervising the developments of the work not only on each building site but also by each building crew, in drawing up the report on labour emulation, and supervising the correct distribution of the funds earmarked for building purposes. They also help in allocating apartments in the dwellings belonging to enterprises or other bodies.

The All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions attaches paramount importance to the workers' housing conditions and receives reports from the Ministries concerned as a check on the application of the collective agreements.

The completion of the tremendous housing plans is helped forward by the great enthusiasm for the socialist emulation organised by the building workers' unions.

Building workers, like all Soviet workers, are masters of their homeland and receive all the fruits of their labours, and they show a magnificent spirit of creative initiative in steadily improving their work and applying the most modern technological methods. They compete with each other in the reduction of building time, in cutting down costs of production and in improving the quality of the building work.

Trade union organisations carry out extensive cultural work on the building sites, and organise conferences and lectures on technical subjects, and social evenings for the exchange of experiences. Worker and engineer innovators make no secret about the methods by which they win successes. Filled with the desire to give the best possible service to their homeland, they make sure that their new methods are widely publicised. For example, the methods established by a group of engineers in the Zaporozhstroi building enterprise are now in operation throughout the country, and mass production methods are applied everywhere.

For its part, the Soviet Government encourages the creative initiative of building workers and engineers in every way. Many of them have been awarded Stalin Prizes.

In 1950, fresh impetus will be given to the building of new homes. Thousands upon thousands of comfortable, beautiful and spacious houses in workers' towns and estates will this year be the scene of happy house-warming parties.

WORKERS WRITE TO THE WFTU

We publish below two letters received by the WFTU.

The first, dated July 2, comes from the Executive Bureau of the Arab Workers' Congress in Israel, and describes the brutal repression of the population in the neighbouring country of Jordan under British imperialism and victim of Anglo-American imperialist rivalry. As soon as the WFTU received this information it made a strong protest to the Jordan authorities.

The second letter, dated June 25, was sent by the Tata Chemical Workers' Trade Union, Mithapour (India). It describes the small concern the capitalist firms have for the health of their employees, and it goes on to show how the Indian workers are coming to recognise the necessity of waging a struggle to change their conditions, in alliance with their brothers throughout the world.

The letter from the Arab Trade Union Congress in Israel.

We have recently learned that following upon mass peace demonstrations at the end of April and on May 1st, which took place in the towns of the parts of Palestine occupied by the Trans-Jordan Anglo-Hashemite Arab Legion, where a great number of workers and peasants demonstrated in support of world peace, for a pact of peace between the big five, for the withdrawal of the British Forces—Arab Legion—from Palestine, for peace and brotherhood between the Arab and Jewish people, for work and bread for the hungry people; the Trans-Jordan authorities arrested a large number of persons in Nablus, Ramallah, Jericho and other towns.

Faced by mass protests all over the country, the Trans-Jordanian Government was compelled to free a large number of the detainees, except 28 partisans of peace who were imprisoned in the Nablus and Amman jails under very savage conditions.

On the 12th and 18th of May, the detainees addressed themselves to the Government demanding an end to their detention and to the inhuman treatment suffered at the hands of police officers particularly the Amman Police Commandant.

On 25.5.51 the Amman detainees declared a hunger strike and on 29.5.51 they were joined by their comrades in the Nablus prison. The hunger strike of the 28 partisans of peace, who include youngsters under 16 years of age, caused a serious movement of protest in Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The Government was petitioned from many quarters to release the detainees. These protests moved the Government to more inhuman and barbaric acts.

On 29.5.51 the Trans-Jordan Minister of Interior, Anwar El Khatib, announced before the enquiring press about the situation of hunger strikers that "It is of no concern to His Majesty's Government whether these people lose their lives or not."

Embarrassed by the mass movement of protest, the Trans-Jordan Government forced the hunger-striking detainees into an Army vehicle and transferred them from Nablus and Amman prisons to a concentration camp in Al-Jafr in the heart of the desert 300 kilometres away from Amman. Nothing further has been heard of these detainees, heroic fighters for peace. But it is authoritatively learnt that their life is seriously threatened.

In a moving appeal directed to all the forces of peace all the world over, the Peace Committee of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, working under conditions of extreme terror and illegality, calls all the peace movement and democratic organisations to come to the aid of these partisans of peace, to protest to the Trans-Jordan and British Governments on these acts of terror against defenders of peace in Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan and to demand their immediate release.

In passing to you this information and appeal for aid from fighters for peace in Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan which could not have been passed otherwise, the Arab Trade Union Congress in Israel in turn appeals to you hoping that you will help to bring before the trade union organisations and partisans of peace all over the world the struggle of the partisans of peace in that more or less closed country and to mobilise public opinion in support of our brothers.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) S. Quasim,
Secretary.

A letter from the Tata Chemicals Workers' Trade Union, Mithapur, India.

We approach you with a fervent hope that we will certainly find some solution to the problem of occupational diseases prevalent in our industry which take a great toll of our brother workers.

Tata Chemicals Ltd., Mithapur, is a heavy chemicals industry and is unique in the whole of India. It manufactures, among other chemical products: liquid chlorine, bleaching powder and soda ash.

Mithapur is a factory town owned by Tata Chemicals Ltd., and consequently the whole town is imbued with the factory atmosphere.

Our union came into existence in April 1948, and, because of the peculiar situation of the place, by slow degrees we are trying to learn our job.

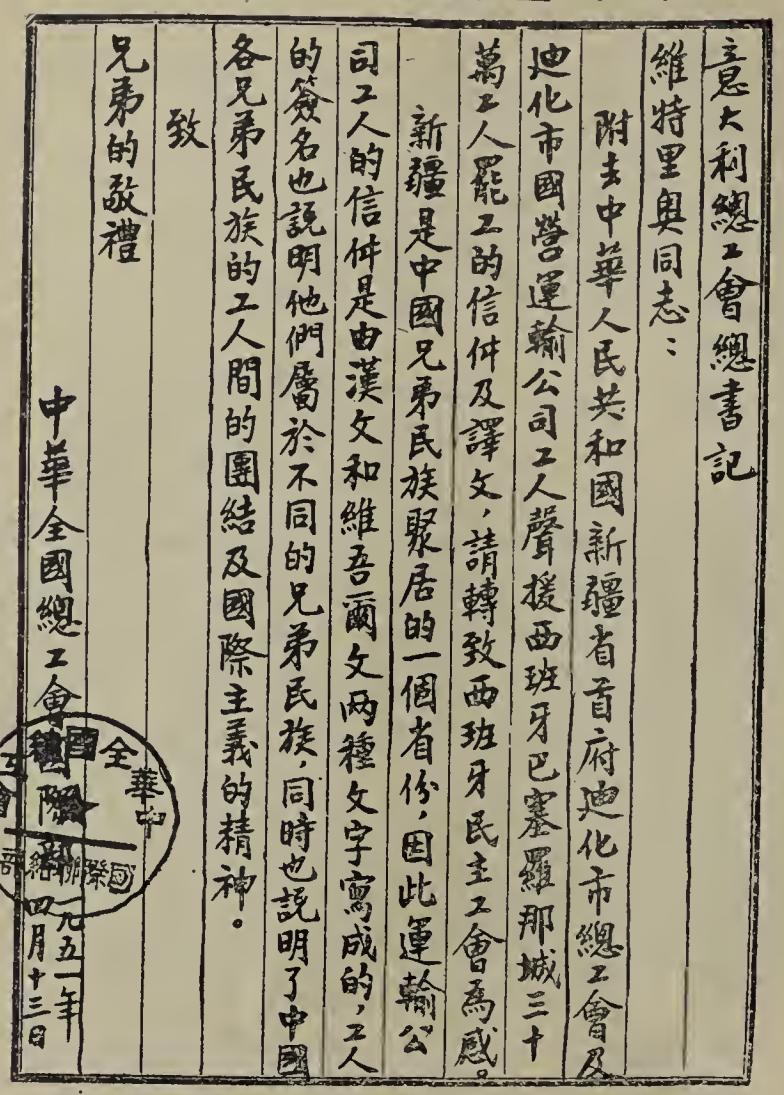
Our workers engaged in the Soda Ash Section in particular, due to the constant inhaling of Ammonia, CO_2, Hydrogen Sulphide and Soda dust, develop T.B. The lungs are affected just like that of a T.B. patient and hence in the absence of precedent (as there is only one other Soda Ash Factory in India which does not have data in this behalf) or scientific investigation due to various limitations, but on the strength of tragic experience in the form of the passing away of so many workers we believe that workers engaged in the Soda Ash section develop T.B. or something which could not be differentiated from T.B. The sub-clinical symptoms are loss of appetite, headache, loss of stamina, paleness of body, fever and lastly T.B. Workers in the Bleaching Powder Plant and Chlorine Plant have also to make the same complaint.

Our company is maintaining a good hospital. And Tatas being subtle masters cannot but maintain one for making an exhibition of their progressiveness for the outside world. But we know that it is futile to imagine that this hospital can at any time confess the existence of an industrial disease which will give rise to the troublesome question of compensation. Due to our representation, Medical Inspector of Factories, Bombay State, came to Mithapur and examined certain workers. Now to our dismay this officer attributes T.B. amongst our workers to malnutrition. Now low wages cannot be the forerunners of balanced diet or full nutrition, that we know without the help of any doctor. Our contention is malnutrition is a common factor in our factory. But that in itself does not justify the appalling death rate in the Soda Ash Section. According to us it is the effect of gases and soda dust which works havoc.

Under the circumstances, we shall thank you to kindly furnish us with detailed information with regard to occupational diseases caused by the manufacturing of the products mentioned above, as also the necessary safety devices taken recourse to by the industries for protection of workers.

Yours fraternally,
(Signed) B. Bhlave,
Vice-President.

中華全國總工會用箋



意大利總工會總書記
維特里奧同志：

附去中華人民共和國新疆省首府迪化市總工會及迪化市國營運輸公司工人聲援西班牙巴塞羅那城三十萬工人罷工的信件及譯文，請轉致西班牙民主工會為感。

新疆是中國兄弟民族聚居的一個省份，因此運輸公司工人的信件是由漢文和維吾爾文兩種文字寫成的，工人的簽名也說明他們屬於不同的兄弟民族，同時也說明了中國各兄弟民族的工人間的團結及國際主義的精神。

致

兄弟的敬禮

中華全國總工會

全國總工會 中華 國際部 一九五一年四月十三日

March 10th, 1951.

Democratic Spanish Trade Unions
Care of World Federation of Trade Unions.

On behalf of the working class in Tihwa, we offer our wholehearted sympathy and fraternal support to the three hundred thousand workers of Barcelona who are on strike. Yours is not an isolated struggle but is supported by peace-loving peoples all over the world. It will certainly achieve great victories.

We, the working class of Tihwa, are also not just standing by. We will continue to crush our common enemy, American imperialism.

General Trade Unions of Tihwa
People's Republic of China.

On these two pages we reproduce messages of greeting and solidarity from Chinese workers in Tihwa, Sinkiang Province, People's Republic of China, in support of the 300,000 strikers whose courageous and impressive demonstration in Barcelona won the support and admiration of workers throughout the world. The messages are signed by the General Trade Unions of Tihwa, and workers of the National Transport Company of Tihwa.

Sinkiang is a province where workers of many nationalities and languages live in friendship and co-operation, and hence the message from the workers of the National Transport Company of Tihwa was written in two languages, in Han and Uighurs. As can be seen from the signatures of the workers, different languages are represented among them.

On the left is the message, together with its translation from the General Trade Unions in Tihwa, and on the opposite page with its accompanying translation, is the Uighurs version, written in Arabic characters, of the message from the workers of the National Transport Company. At the bottom is the page of signatures of workers of the National Transport Company.

CHINESE WOR
THE STRI
BARCE

March 21, 1951

To the Strikers of Barcelona.

Dear brothers :

We have learned with great satisfaction that you are on strike in protest against Fascist rule. Please receive our warm greetings. The workers and labouring peoples all over the world firmly support your grand struggle. We Chinese workers led by the Communist Party have defeated American imperialism and the Chiang-Kai-shek reactionary clique which had so long ridden roughshod over us. Now we are our own masters and enjoy a free and happy life. The experiences of our past struggle have shown that the strength which comes from the solid unity of our working class is great enough to defeat any Fascist reactionaries. We believe that the Spanish workers who have such a glorious tradition of revolution will certainly achieve great success in the fight against Fascism.

Our beloved brothers, imperialism and Fascist reactionaries are our common foes. American imperialism is launching a frenzied aggression against us with the utmost vigour. We workers of all nationalities here are doubling our efforts in a patriotic production emulation to resist American aggression and to aid the People's Republic of Korea. We shall fight with the same vigour in support of you and for the liberation of the working class all over the world.

We warmly hope that your splendid fight will come to a triumphant finish.

Signed by :

Workers of the National Transport Company of Tihwa, Sinkiang Province, People's Republic of China.

قامۇسانلىق بىلەن كوردىش قىلىۋاتقان بارسېلونا شەھەرلىدىكى ئىش تاشلىغۇچى ئاكا-ئۇكىلەر ۋەكىللىرىگە .

بىز سىزلەرنىڭ فاشىست ھۆكۈمرانلىقىغا قارشى ئۆتكەن ئىش تاشلاش چوڭ نامايىش ھەرىكىتىڭىزنى ئاڭلىغاندىن كېيىن سىزلەرگە چىنىمىدىن كۆڭلىمىز بېرى ھورمەتلەرىمىزنى بىلدۈرىدۇك بۈتۈن دۇنيادىكى ئىشچىلار ۋە پارلىق ئەمگەكچى خالايىق ئاممىسى ھەقنى نېيىە تەتە سىزلەرنىڭ يېنىڭدا بولۇپ، بۈيۈك كوردىشىڭلارغا يار-دەم قىلىمىز. بىزنىڭ ئىشچىلار ۋە كوممۇنىس پارتىيىسى يولباشچىلىقىدا ئامېرىكا ئىمپېرىيالىزمى بىلەن چاك-ئارىنى ئەكسىل ھەرىكەتلەرنى تاز-يىلاپ بېرىپ، ئەركىن ھەمدە ئازادە تۇرمۇشقا ئېرىشكەن بولدۇق . ئۆتمۈشتىكى بىرلىكى كوردىشىمىزنىڭ چوڭ تەجرىبىلىرى بولسا، ئىشچىلار سىنىپىنىڭ قانداق ئۇيۇشقانلىق كۈچى بولۇپ ھەر قانداق ئوزغۇنچى فاشىست ئەكسىل ھەرىكەتلەرنى بوتۇنلەي تازىلايدىغانلىقىنى ئىسپاتلايدۇ . ئىسپانىيە پارتىيىسى بىلەن ئىسپانىيە ئىشچىلار سىنىپى قارشى كۈرەشتە چوقۇم ۋە چوڭ غالىبىيەتنى قولغا كەلتۈرىدۇ دەپ ئىشىنىمىز . مېھرىبان ئاكا-ئۇكىلىرىمىز جىھانگىر ۋە فاشىست ئەكسىل ھەرىكەتچىلەرى بولسا، ئامېرىكا ئىمپېرىيالىزمى ۋەشىلە-چە ئىزىدىكى دۆلەت ئىچىدىكى ۋەتەنپەرۋەرلىرىگە تېخا ۋېزۋىلىتىدۇ . بىزنىڭ ئۇيۇشقانلىق ھەقىقىي ئەمگەك ئۇممىزنى ئاز-تۇرۇپ ئۆز ئاڭ-ئىدىمىزگە ئىگە قىلىپ، دۆلەت سوۋېت ئىتتىپاقى ۋە خەلق ئەمگەكچىلىرىنى قوللاپ ياردەم بېرىشىمىز ئۈچۈن بىزنى كۈچلۈك قىلىدۇ !

بىز ھەممە سىزلەرگە ئۈمىدىمىزنى باغلايمىزكى سىزلەرگە باردەم قىلىپ بۈتۈن دۇنيا ئىشچىلار سىنىپىنىڭ ئاخىرقى ئۇيۇشقانلىق غەلىبىسى ئۈچۈن قەتئىي كۈرەش قىلىمىز !

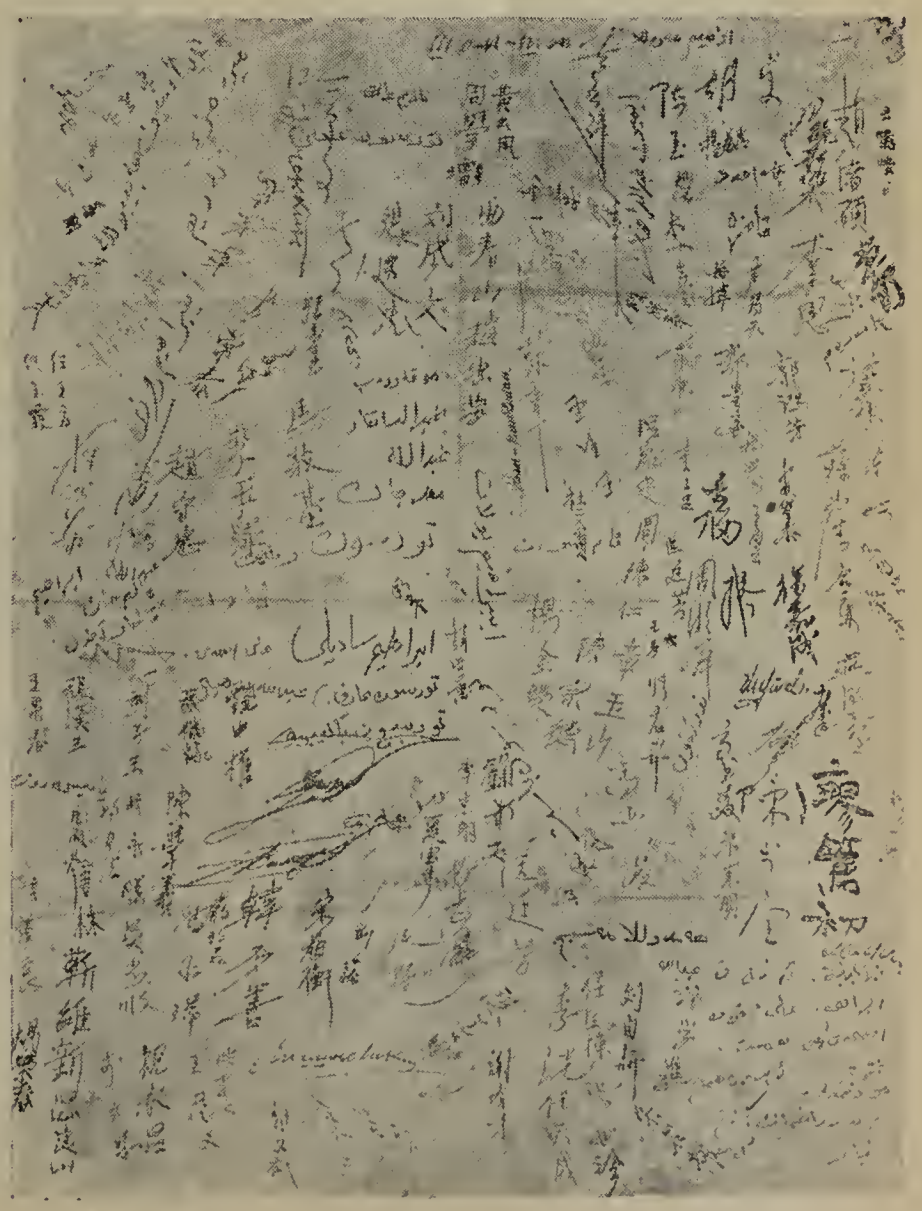
قېنى-غېيۇ . سەھىيە كۆكلىمدىكى سىزلەرنى تەبرىكلەيمىز .

ستەرلىياك ئىشچىلار ئىتتىپاقى ئاقسۇ ئاپتوماتىك رايونلۇق

كۆكتاغ لىق مەھكۇرىيەت شىركەت قاتناش ئىشچىلار سىنىپى ئۈرۈمچى شەھەرلىدىكى

دۆلەتلىك يېتەرلىك قاتناش ئىشچىلار سىنىپى

1951 يىل يىل ئون ئايىنىڭ 21-كۈنى



KERS SALUTE

KERS OF

LONA

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

UNITED STATES

How New Mexico Women Defeated a Strike-breaking Plan

Here's the story of the jailing of over a hundred women and children in New Mexico which climaxed a full-scale strike-breaking move by the New Jersey (Empire) Zinc Company that failed in face of the courage and spirit shown by the women.

The Hanover properties of Empire Zinc have been shut down tight by Local 890, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, for a full eight months. Until recently the company concentrated on full page newspaper advertisements, sending letters to the strikers and attacks on local union leaders. But the 100 strikers and their families, most of them Mexican-Americans, held the plant solidly and nothing went in or out "except the birds and the breeze," as one striker put it.

By June 11th the multi-million-dollar corporation evidently decided it would be impossible to starve out the 500 individuals involved because of the support they were receiving from workers in New Mexico properties of Kennecott Copper Corporation, American Smelting and Refining Company and Illinois Zinc Company, all members of Local 890. In addition, strike donations have been coming in regularly from dozens of Mine-Mill locals throughout the U.S. and Canada.

The company then turned to open strike-breaking . . . . Empire Zinc immediately requested and got from Judge A. W. Marshall a temporary injunction, in violation of a new Mexico law which requires a hearing before an injunction can be issued in a labour dispute.

Determined to win the strike, the miners joined in a meeting from 9 p.m. to 2.30 a.m. But while the men were talking, the wives, sisters, mothers and daughters had acted. The minute they saw that the injunction ban applied to "members of the union" only, they knew what to do.

They ordered the men off the line, sent them out to recruit more women and elected their own picket captains. They set up 4-hour shifts around the clock and took over the strike. Mass arrests began early June 17th. The sheriff started by arresting Mrs. Virginia Jenoks. Again, as fast as the company-paid deputies loaded the picketing women into cars, replacements poured down from the hills above the picket-lines. The sheriff finally chartered a bus to haul the women pickets to jail in Silver City.

But the picket lines held. Deputies closed in and discharged two tear gas bombs in the centre of the moving picket-line. The women moved up the hill long enough for the gas to blow away over the canyon, then reformed their lines and refused to let the scabs through. "No les dejan" (Don't let them!) was the cry.

Many children were taken to jail with their mothers. Ages of the prisoners ranged from 29 days to 79 years . . . . The District Attorney agreed to turn everyone free if they would promise to stay away from the picket-lines . . . . The unanimous answer was: "We will make no promises . . . We will go back." Next the D.A. offered individual freedom to women whose families posted bond. Again the unanimous reply of the women was: "None of us will leave until all of us are free."

Several husbands who visited their wives in gaol were told: "Go out and organise replacements for that picket-line. This strike has got to be won."

By late afternoon the district attorney did the only thing left to do. He released all of the women and children who had been picked up. The big bus rolled back out to the picket-lines. After their day in gaol, the women went right back to picketing. And no scabs went through.

Federated Press, 22.6.51.

CANADA

Peace—Trade—Jobs

Big Business promotes and spends millions of dollars on an insidious propaganda campaign to instil into our minds that a war programme is good for the prosperity of the country, and that war preparations mean assured jobs and income for the people.

Even if this were true it would still be totally immoral and against all concepts of decent humanity. It would amount to death and destruction for millions of people in the future as the price of jobs and so-called prosperity for the present.

Facts are, however, that spending for war does not mean assured jobs for workers. This is the bitter fact that confronts many thousands of Windsor auto workers who have been thrown out of jobs for an indefinite period. Many hundreds of electrical workers are likewise jobless, with thousands more facing the same fate.

The layoffs in the auto and electrical industries are a direct result of the Government armament spending policy. It is an inevitable consequence of the near war economy.

In fact the whole direction of the Government's present programme is to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the mass of the people to buy consumer goods ordinarily produced for the market by the auto, electrical and other industries.

Beginning this month additional tens of millions of dollars will be siphoned out of workers' wages into Government tax coffers. This will further dry up purchasing power and create conditions for more unemployment.

It is no solution to plead with the Government for war orders as some leaders of the Auto union are unfortunately doing. Only policies based on peace can lead to lasting job security for the auto or any other group of workers.

While war and war preparations offer no solution to the problems of the great majority of people there is a small minority who wax rich and who, for reasons of dominating the economy and appropriating the riches of other countries, work mightily to aggravate world tensions, even to the extent of provocation towards war. Chief among this small minority stands the powerful big business class of the United States. To this wealthy group Peace is a hateful and fearful word . . . .

The voices of our people should now be loud in insisting that the Canadian Government take a solid position for peace. Canada should demand that the representatives of the big five powers, the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Peoples' China and France meet, discuss and negotiate a pact of peace to remove the awful threat of death, suffering and destruction which world war would bring upon us.

The government or governments, if any, who refuse to meet should be branded as a warmonger.

A Pact of Peace would open the doors of world trade. The markets of peace are infinitely greater and more durable than the markets of war. It is to peace that we must look for the job security and well-being of Canadians.

GEORGE HARRIS in
U.E. Canadian News, 6.7.51
Organ of the Canadian District, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

GREAT BRITAIN

Construction or Destruction

The current Economic Survey just published makes depressing reading. True, the Government announces that the housing programme of 200,000 houses a year for the next three years will not be interfered with . . . . but 200,000 houses do not even balance current needs, let alone deal with accumulative arrears, so the housing situation is hardly likely to improve with the passage of time in existing circumstances.

A sum of £4,700 million is to be spent on armaments in the ensuing three years—a sum which, with present prices would suffice for over 3 million houses. A million houses a year! What fantasy! But is the notion more fantastic than that, after two world wars, we (and other countries) should be spending such inconceivably large sums in preparing for world war III?

Houses *or* armaments: not houses *and* armaments. Construction or destruction. War or peace. Preparation for war or preparation for peace. The choice is ours.

Operative Builder, Journal of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, May-June, 1951.

AUSTRALIA

Homeless Australians

At least 1,345,492 people in Australia are urgently in need of homes, official figures show.

The Commonwealth Housing Commission in 1944 held that there would be 300,000 houses short by January 1945, when the population was 7,347,888.

In January, 1951, the estimated population was 8,430,000—an increase of 1,082,112 since January 1945.

On the official basis of four persons to a dwelling unit, this increase means that in addition to the 300,000 homes short, a further 270,500 houses were needed—in short, 570,500 homes needed to have been built between January 1945, and January 1951, to cope with the situation.

But in that period only 234,127 dwelling units were built, thus the total housing shortage by January, 1951, was 336,373—1,345,492 people were in need of homes.

The situation is even more acute than this because the figures ignore migration and natural increases, which, based on official figures, means that accommodation for an extra 280,000 is needed annually.

To overcome the lag in, say fifteen years, we would need to build 95,000 homes a year but Commonwealth Housing Director Welch is on record as saying that Australia's productive capacity is only 55,000 a year.

What then, is to be done?

Since the Commonwealth Government committed Australia to the war plans of the United States, labour and materials have increasingly been diverted to military and war installations without protest from any of the States.

This then means that there must be a determined drive among the people to force the Government to depart from the policy of building for war at the expense of the people's needs . . . the policy of unrestricted migration (should be) replaced by an immigration policy based upon the capacity of the community to absorb migrants . . . .

From the above it is obvious that unless the great masses of the people are mobilised to change the war policy of the Government to a policy of peace, the . . . . needs of the people will not be catered for.

Building Worker
(Australia) May 1951.

INDONESIA

Indonesian Employers Fight U.S. Control

United States domination in Indonesia is ruining many local industrialists, who have now banded together in the National Construction Association to fight foreign imperialism.

In a manifesto, the N.C.A. says that Indonesian industrialists are forced to curtail production because of the shortage of materials, high rent and taxes, and shortage of machinery.

"These problems are above all," says the manifesto, "due to the restoration of foreign capital interests which are again dominating the Indonesian national economy; to the policy of the Government, which offers no protection to the healthy recovery of the national industry but on the contrary protects foreign capital interests whose rights have been restored; and finally to the war policy of the United States which is draining away the raw materials from Indonesia."

Under these conditions the living conditions of the Indonesian people are deteriorating and the national industrialists are unable to meet the demands of the workers, though (says the industrialists' statement) "they recognise the justice of these demands." They realise that their own difficulties are created not by the workers' demands but by the restoration of foreign capital and the slavish following of the United States war policy.

The statement says the N.C.A. has been formed to express the consciousness of the industrialists of these facts and to seek closer collaboration with other sections of the people fighting the betrayal of Indonesian national interests. The industrialists will "defend their own interests by establishing co-operation with the workers and peasants and by working together with them on a basis of common interests."

People's Voice (New Zealand) 13.6.51.

IRAN

Welfare Imperialism

But can a Socialist Government seriously maintain that there was no exploitation, when the British Exchequer was still receiving more than the Persian Government, quite apart from the dividend distribution to shareholders?

What would we think if an American company in 1933 had obtained a sixty year lease on all our coal fields, and in 1951 claimed that it was being generous in offering us half the revenue after all the running costs had been met?

"But after all we are not Persians." Here we come to the hub of the problem. Middle Eastern nationalism is too often dismissed as hysterical because it makes the moderate claim that Persians, Iraqis and Egyptians should be treated as though they had equal rights with Westerners. The conference between London and Teheran is not a financial haggle . . . . Behind these business negotiations, and transforming them into an issue of high politics, lie the beginnings of the same national and social revolution which has already swept over Asia.

What Britain and America have actually done is, first, to step up oil production and oil profits, and, secondly, to maintain garrisons and bases in the Middle East against the unanimous protest of every country, and of politicians of every party in every country.

In the Middle East, nothing has changed. In Mr. Churchill's famous phrase: "What we have, we hold" with the one difference that a very large part of the profits of exploitation are now taken by the Government to help pay for the British welfare state.

New Statesman and Nation,
London, 30.6.51.

ITALY

The Ceding of the Bases of Naples and Livorno Denounced at a Dramatic Senate Session

The incongruous action by which the men of war in the Government ceded the ports of Livorno and Naples as naval bases to the Americans, caused a spontaneous and irresistible protest from all the people of Italy. During a stormy session of the Senate, Senator Labriola (Independent) declared:

"The setting up of an American military command on our territory cannot be tolerated by the Italian people, who have not accepted the Atlantic Pact which is simply an American pact benefiting America and American imperialism.

"The Government is deluding itself, because Italy knows that it is not represented by a proper government, and we say to the Americans: You were disillusioned—when you received the Italian Government's signature you thought you had the signature of the Italian people. But the Italian people do not accept what the Government is doing under the present conditions. The Government imagines that the Americans, who are looking for a war, will be able to use our country as a military base. Above all, I think that the Italian people will prevent the American forces using our country. Naples, which is again a heap of ruins, will not permit you, the Government, which is strong at the moment, to let us be sacrificed and impoverished.

"You tell our country it must give in to the oppressors who have violated its independence. That will never be. Take good care of what you do: I don't threaten you in the name of organised forces, but in the name of the fundamental feelings of our people, who want peace. In front of the ruins which still exist I ask you: how can you have the courage to prepare for a new war especially after Naples? That cannot be done. In the outskirts of Naples there is a 12th century stone commemorating the French and Spanish invaders and rulers; they are gone like all the others. To this foreign monument you want to add an American monument; the Americans will also disappear but Naples will remain true to liberty."

Unita, 28.6.51.

FRANCE

The ICFTU Against the Workers

Thc W.F.T.U. has made clear and precise proposals for a broad united alliance of the international working class.

Consequently it sent a letter to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which was the product of the split, and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

It is sufficient to read this letter to see clearly that the concern of the W.F.T.U. is united action for the common demands of the workers, those demands which the Trade Union Centres of Leon Jouhaux and Gaston Tessier steadfastly pretend to support.

The desire for unity is so deep that it was not possible to keep these proposals quiet: they burst like a bomb among the prostrate splitters.

But the radio tried by crude distortion to divert the Force Ouvriere and Christian workers by asserting that it was calling for unity "to overthrow capitalism" (etc.)

Jouhaux, Irving Brown and their friends, after hours of palavering which showed their deep fear of being exposed by the clarity of these proposals, finished up by replying with well-worn slanders.

The Christian Trade Unions have not yet replied, but the Christian workers ardently want a positive reply; because, and that is the difficulty for these gentlemen, the workers do not intend that these proposals should be buried.

They know—the experience of recent struggles in France has proved it—that their strength lies in unity against poverty and war.

That is why the W.F.T.U'S proposals are bound to make progress.

Nothing can hinder the manual and professional workers and civil servants from imposing unity and strengthening united action in the factories, and in so doing bringing in all sections of the trade union movement.

The splitters will be defeated. The split will be healed.

Victory will be won and it will be the victory of unity.

La Vie Ouvriere,
18-24 July, 1951.

U.S.S.R.

All the People Take Part in Building Communism

The tremendous progress in building the Kuibyshev hydro-electric power station is stimuluating creative initiative among the workers, engineers and technicians who are working on this great project.

In every part of the building site, in every workshop, workers are introducing new methods of production and rationalisation and are continuously making suggestions for improving the work.

For example, to facilitate the job of erecting the tremendous scaffolding for the concrete moulds, an engineer, D. Jelieznov, invented a complicated machine capable of erecting as much as 45 tons of heavy scaffolding in 8 hours, which represents the work done by twenty skilled workers during the same period.

In view of intended flooding by the dam of a huge area—which is already called the Sea of Kuibyshev—engineers Chanov, Prokoviev and Nikitine invented a machine which can transport houses and wooden buildings outside the flooded area without having to dismantle them.

The "Kuibyshevhydrostroi" Nationalisation Bureau, daily receives plans and projects from Stakhanovite workers, engineers and technicians for the reduction of the time necessary to complete the scheme, for increased productivity and for economising material.

The application of hundreds of the suggestions will enable the State to save tens of millions of roubles

Pravda, 25..7.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

July 2

U.S.S.R.—The Moscow High School for Trade Unionism operated by the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, graduates more than 200 students in its first graduating class. Graduates receive the academic title of Labour and Wage Economist and most of them will be employed in the Central and Regional Trade Union Councils.

— The Leningrad School for Trade Unionism (A.U.C.C.T.U.) graduates its second class of 137 students for work in the cultural and educational institutions of the trade unions.

BULGARIA.—The Presidium of the National Assembly of Bulgaria publishes a decree which provides for the payment of grants-in-aid to mothers. The new decree makes grants payable at the birth of the first child and establishes other privileges for mothers.

ALGERIA.—Fifty-six anti-fascist Spanish workers, expelled from France to Algeria by the French Government in September, 1950, leave for Poland on the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of Poland.

July 3

UNITED STATES.—Although defeated in a previous attempt to raid the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards through attempting to obtain a National Relations Board election, the reactionary leaders of the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.) have entered a new election request to try to eliminate the M.C.S. as the bargaining representative of cooks and stewards. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific (A.F.L.), another union led by splitters, is also trying to secure an N.L.R.E. election in a raiding manœuvre against M.C.S.

— The Attorney-General of the United States, J. Howard McGrath, requests the Congress to amend the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Law to permit former Communists to be sent to jail if they sign the non-Communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Act without having renounced their beliefs as well as membership. The proposed amendment would force signers of the affidavit to swear they were not members of or affiliated with the Communist Party at the time of signing and that they had not belonged to or believed in the Communist Party for twelve months preceding the signing.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The National Union of Railwaymen, at their annual conference representing half a million railwaymen, overwhelmingly pass a resolution that the British Government should call upon the United Nations to convene a conference, including People's China, to slow down the arms race. The resolution also calls for the abandonment of proposals to rearm Germany and Japan, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. The resolution points out that the "living standards of the workers are endangered by the race to rearm."

POLAND.—Delegates at the First Congress of Polish Scientists adopt an appeal to scientists of the world, calling upon them "actively to join the ranks of the fighters for peace and to reinforce their efforts directed to the preservation of world peace." Scientists throughout the world are asked to support the demand of all peace-loving peoples for a Five Power Conference to conclude a Peace Pact.

July 4

BULGARIA.—More than 5.7 million people, over 80% of the population of Bulgaria, have signed the Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers.

URUGUAY.—Twenty-four unions in Montevideo go on a 24-hour strike in support of the striking employees of the National Administration of Fuel, Alcohol and Cement. The strike closed transportation facilities, theatres and newspapers.

FRANCE.—Faced with the decision of the French Government to prohibit the mass Rally for Peace scheduled for July 15 in Paris, the Permanent Peace Committee decides to hold meetings on July 14 in each Department to elect delegates who will attend a National Assembly for Peace in Paris on July 15.

July 5

UNITED STATES.—The National Association of Manufacturers, as part of its unending attempt to impose a still larger tax burden on the workers, urges taxes on consumption to raise £12 billion. At the same time the N.A.M. declares that corporation and personal income taxes are "unsound fiscal policy." Not content with the huge war profits they are making business men want to increase them still more by shifting even more of the tax burden from themselves on to the people.

FRANCE.—Elections are held for directors of the social security funds in the mining industry. Despite a big campaign by the breakaway trade union organisation Force Ouvriere, these elections represent a great victory for the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.). Three hundred and nine C.F.T. representatives were elected, against one hundred and two for the Force Ouvriere and sixty-nine for the Christian trade unions.

W.F.T.U. HEADQUARTERS.—On the decision of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau meeting in Vienna, President Di Vittorio and General Secretary Saillant send telegrams to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions calling for a united programme for the defence of the living standards of the workers and for improvement in their working conditions. The W.F.T.U. proposes a joint meeting to "examine the methods to be adopted to defend the workers' vital interests."

UNITED STATES.—Seven Communist Party leaders begin their five-year prison terms for "conspiring to teach and advocate" Communism. Four other convicted leaders fail to give themselves up to police officials.

CUBA.—Several members of a Cuban trade union delegation which visited the Soviet Union recently are arrested at Havana airport on their return to Cuba. They are charged with "working in the service of the Soviet Union." They had been sent as representatives of ten Cuban industries at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and took part in the May Day celebration in Moscow.

POLAND.—The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions on behalf of 4,500,000 members, sends a cablegram to the New York State Supreme Court protesting against the dissolution measures being taken against the International Workers Order (I.W.O.), a workers' low-cost insurance and cultural organisation.

July 8

UNITED STATES.—The American Civil Liberties Union asks President Truman to abolish the loyalty programme because it has "resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of repression, highly dangerous to democratic government."

July 9

GREECE.—The strike of 70,000 Government employees has been expanded by another 50,000 strikers in the public utilities.

TUNISIA.—Forty thousand public works empolyees strike for 24 hours for higher wages. Employees of the administrative services in civil aviation begin a strike of unlimited duration for higher wages.

ITALY.—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, at its congress in Milan, rejects the proposal of the W.F.T.U for unity of action to defend the vital interests of workers.

UNITED STATES.—San Francisco longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, approve a resolution demanding that President Truman abolish the maritime screening programme whereby militant trade unionists are blacklisted by the U.S. Coastguard without opportunity to face their accusers.

CANADA.—Fifteen hundreds miners in Canada's largest gold mine strike to back demands for higher wages and union check-off of dues. They are members of the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.) and are striking against Hollinger Consolidated Mines. The strike is 100% effective.

IRAN.—Iran ends its affiliation with the International Court of Justice at The Hague because of the court's decision against Iran's oil nationalisation, considering it "fantastic and unfair."

July 10

UNITED STATES.—The Department of Justice asks for an increase in the bail for arrested Communist party leaders from $185,000 to $876,000, and demands that the Civil Rights Congress no longe r be permitted to act as bondsman.

July 11

GREECE.—Railwaymen and Athens municipal workers say they will strike in sympathy with the Government employees and utility workers who are on strike for higher wages. The municipal workers are to strike for four hours on the 12th and the railwaymen for four hours on the 14th.

NEW ZEALAND.—Prime Minister Holland announces his intention to dissolve Parliamcnt and to call for new elections. He hopes to get a mandate from the people to answer charges against his handling of the waterfront lockout.

INDIA.—President Rajenda Prasad promulgates a law empowering the Government to prohibit a railway strike scheduled for August 22nd. The law prescribes penalties including imprisonment for strikers.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Transport and General Workers' Union opposes the effects of the rearmament programme on workers' living conditions. Within the past few weeks not only this huge union of 1,300,000 members has condemned the foreign policy of the British Labour Government, but also the Mineworkers' Union, the railwaymen, and the engineering workers.

— Three former Labour Government Ministers, Bevan, Wilson and Freeman, criticise the policy of the Labour Government. They call for a treaty with People's China, a halt to the support for Chiang Kai-shek, for attempts to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union, reduction in Western armaments, and for continuance of the Atlantic Pact without rearming Germany or including Spain in the pact, for a more equal distribution of raw materials between Britain and the U.S.A., and for more independence from the U.S.A.

July 12

SICILY.—A 20-day strike of 600 sulphur miners in Lercara Friddi ends with full satisfaction of their demands for the application of the national labour contract of a 400-lire daily wage plus a 200 lire cost of living supplement. Although no trade union or democratic organisation existed in Lercara Friddi before the strike there has been a large increase in members of the League of Sulphur Miners. The strike was accompanied by widespread public support from the peasants, workers and the small business groups.

GUATEMALA.—At the same time that the United Fruit Company is threatening the democratic Government of President Arbenz with reprisals if he accepts the demands presented by the workers, a reactionary group begins provocations and attacks on the weekly Labour journal "Octubre." Two editors and five other workers are injured in these provocations, behind which one can see the hand of the American imperialists.

CUBA.—A Cuban court orders the immediate restitution to the proprietors of the headquarters and other property of the workers' paper "Hoy," which had been illegally closed by the Government. This judicial decision is a great victory for democratic labour forces in Cuba.

UNITED STATES.—The U.S. Government announces that an agreement between the French Government and the American military forces has been concluded to allow the installation of seven American

aerodromes in French Morocco. At the same time conversations are taking place for the installation of American air bases in France itself.

July 13

EGYPT.—Despite severe police measures and Government prohibition anti-British demonstrations take place in Cairo and Alexandria on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the bombardment of Alexandria by the British. Industrial workers, railwaymen and transport workers call a short symbolic strike.

CUBA.—The Government is forced to cancel the application of a decree which would create, under the pretext of mechanising the tobacco industry, a monopoly of the large manufacturers. Tobacco workers of all political views unite with the small manufacturers to halt this manœuvre of the monopolists, which had been supported by the Right-wing leaders of the Government trade unions.

ALGERIA.—Agricultural workers of Sidi-Bel-Abbes employed in the harvesting and threshing of grain go on strike because the Government has not yet fixed the minimum guaranteed wages to be paid to this category of workers. As a result these workers receive only a small amount on account, and once the harvest season is ended they will find it difficult to get the balance due to them.

ITALY.—Unemployed workers in the city of Terni, tired of waiting in vain for work, begin a "strike in reverse" by commencing reconstruction work on the civil hospital. The "strike" is actively supported by the inhabitants, although the police have tried to blockade the region. Workers' representatives, in the name of the whole population, request the prefecture of police to withdraw the 300 policemen.

July 14

FRANCE.—A great popular demonstration takes place in Paris at the Bastille, lasting four hours. The emphasis is on the defence of peace.

July 15

FRANCE.—Three thousand delegates of various political opinions from all over France meet in the Palais de la Mutualité in a National Assembly for Peace. They unanimously adopt a resolution calling for a peace pact among the Five Great Powers, open to all nations, and solemnly affirm their intention to work for the defence of peace.

PHILIPPINES.—A committee appointed by the Philippine Government unanimously disapproves the United States draft peace treaty for Japan.

IRAN.—Tens of thousands of persons demonstrate in front of Parliament on the fifth anniversary of a general strike of oilfield workers, in which more than forty workers had met their death. The demonstrators, who were also protesting against the arrival of U.S. representative W. Averill Harriman at Teheran and the open intervention of the U.S.A. in the internal affairs of Iran, are violently attacked by the police and army. The police and army open fire on the crowd, killing 41 persons, including one woman, and injuring more than 300. Martial law is declared.

ITALY.—All workers in the Carbonia coal mining area strike for 24 hours to protest against arbitrary discharges of miners without warning and without observing the provisions of agreements by the mine owners.

July 16

IRAN.—The police is empowered to raid premises and arrest suspects (of being Communists or demonstrating against U.S. envoy Harriman) without warrants. The progressive newspapers "Besuy-Ayandeh" and "Chelangar" are raided and padlocked and the headquarters of the Partisans of Peace occupied and documents seized. Police request permission to close all peace organisations, including the Society for Struggle Against the Imperialist Oil Companies, Society for Fighting Illiteracy, Union of University Students, and the trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

In the National Iranian Assembly several deputies violently attack the Minister of the Interior, charging that he himself had provoked the violence leading to martial law, in the service of the Anglo-Americans.

ALGERIA.—The strike of agricultural workers of Sidi-Bel-Abbes ends victoriously with the workers obtaining their demands for the fixing of their wages, 375 francs a day for workers in the first category and 450 francs a day for workers in the second category.

July 18

ITALY—A wave of enthusiasm sweeps through the country at the news of the resignation of the De Gasperi Cabinet. In meetings and demonstrations in factories and offices, workers by letter and telegram demand that the crisis be resolved in a manner which does not simply involve a change in personalities, but a change in the whole policy of war preparation, and of the misery and poverty which resulted from the politics of the resigning Government.

July 19

UNITED STATES.—President Truman announces that U.S. policy toward Spain is changing and that the U.S. is determined to "go it alone" over French and British objections to obtaining Spanish naval and air bases.

FRANCE.—The military court at Brest condemns Henri Martin, of the French Navy, to five years' solitary confinement, with loss of civic rights, for "attempts to demoralise the armed forces" by the distribution of leaflets against the "sale guerre" (dirty war) in Viet-Nam. This harsh judgment against Henri Martin is a further example of the war drive of the French Government.

July 20

AUSTRALIA.—J. Healy, General Secretry of the Australian Waterside Workers' Federation, is sentenced to six weeks' hard labour and fined £100 for organising support for the locked-out New Zealand dockers. He will appeal against the verdict. In Sydney and some Queensland ports dockers go on a 24-hour protest strike.

ITALY.—Workers in the Mattioli enterprise in Salerno have occupied the establishment for thirty days to prevent the discharge of personnel and the dismantling of the plant. They are actively supported by the entire population.

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SUPPLEMENT : *Report of the Women's International Commission for the Investigation of Atrocities Committed by U.S.A. and Syngman Rhee Troops in Korea.*

THE "INSPIRING" RESULTS OF THE SCAB INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The ICFTU rejects the WFTU's unity proposal and confirms its role as Anglo-American imperialism's tool of hatred and war.

THE Second Congress of the International Confederation of so-called "Free" Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), which was held in Milan from July 4th to 12th last, took place in an atmosphere of general indifference despite efforts made by a few reactionary newspapers to arouse public attention to this event. The reason for this general apathy is to be found in the fact that throughout the entire Congress (from the opening speech by Finet—ex-president of the I.C.F.T.U.—including the report made by General Secretary Oldenbroek, the reports of the American, Matthew Woll and the Englishman, Tewson, as well as nearly every speech) there was nothing but a dull and monotonous repetition of the time-honoured themes of the most hysterical Anglo-American war-mongering propaganda of hatred and war.

Everything that was said at the Congress of this International—whose right to the title of "scab" was fully confirmed in Milan—has been heard daily, year in and year out, by listeners to American and Americanised broadcasting stations.

It is a fact that the big bureaucrats of the I.C.F.T.U. were not even capable of making an original contribution, of introducing any new aspect to the banal and suffocating American war propaganda. Thus this Congress, devoid of all elements of real interest, was incapable of attracting the public's attention.

The Italian and international press were almost unanimous in declaring that the only interesting aspect of the Congress lay in the proposal for united action made by the W.F.T.U. to the I.C.F.T.U. and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, for the purpose of ensuring the more effective defence of the most pressing of the workers' immediate interests.

After noting the intensified exploitation and poverty of the workers in all capitalist and colonial countries, where the profits of the trusts are rising to scandalous heights, the W.F.T.U.'s message spot-lighted the development of strikes and working-class struggles for demands, and added :

"These prove that the workers can no longer endure such intolerable living conditions. They are being forced to fight for the improvement of their material situation and for their children's bread. They realise that by unity, and by unity alone, will they succeed in improving their conditions."

In its message to the other two Internationals, the W.F.T.U., which was solely concerned with the defence of the workers' interests against intensified capitalist exploitation, not only scrupulously avoided the slightest topic of a polemical nature, but called, in perfectly correct terms, for an agreement :

"Whatever may be the differences between us as regards political or religious beliefs, we can and must take common action on issues concerning the improvement of the workers' living and working conditions; we can, by our united effort, defend their rights against the attacks of monopoly capitalists."

In order to provide the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.C.C.T.U. with no pretext for rejecting its honest and loyal proposal for united action, the W.F.T.U. limited itself to proposing an alliance among the three Internationals solely in defence of the most pressing of the workers' economic interests, without the slightest connection with more advanced aims of a political nature upon which it would have been practically impossible to reach agreement. It is therefore clear that the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau voluntarily restricted itself to proposing an agreement solely for the purpose of defending the workers' most urgent economic demands because it knew very well that it is always possible, on such a limited and elementary basis, to reach agreement among trade union organisations and leaders of the most divergent views, provided that they are honest and sincerely want to take action to fulfil the declared main aim of every trade union, that of defending the workers' daily interests against the employers' exploitation.

By its action, the W.F.T.U. reaffirmed once more its character as a militant and consistent organisation of the international working class, and its absolute fidelity to the principle of unity among all workers, without any political, religious or racial discrimination, because trade union unity and united action form the touchstone of fidelity to the working-class cause.

But these simple and correct proposals from the W.F.T.U. met with deep resentment, anger and confusion on the part of the I.C.F.T.U. bosses, as if united workers' action was a personal affront to these gentlemen !

Their strictly negative reply is filled with hatred and slanderous insults towards the W.F.T.U. and its leaders and towards everything which the

workers of the whole world hold most dear, beginning with the U.S.S.R.

We would note, for the record, that although the W.F.T.U.'s proposal was addressed to the Congress, the I.C.F.T.U. bureaucrats carefully avoided opening a discussion on its contents. The delegates were merely allowed to appoint a Committee responsible for drafting the negative reply to be sent to the W.F.T.U. And yet, discussion on the W.F.T.U.'s proposal would have been the sole opportunity afforded to this peculiar "trade union" Congress *to make at least passing reference to a really trade union question of momentous and direct interest to the workers*! But this unique opportunity was disdainfully rejected and, as the big semi-official newspapers of the American Government later admitted . . . the Congress resumed its scrupulous examination of the tasks of political propagandising assigned by the State Department and the Foreign Office.

The shameful reply made by the I.C.F.T.U. leaders to the W.F.T.U.—a detailed analysis of which is unnecessary here—entirely confirms the foregoing observations on the scab Milan Congress, which was just another mouth-piece for Anglo-American imperialism's most hysterical and criminal war propaganda. The reply made by these bureaucrats can be divided into two parts. In the first, the splitters ask the W.F.T.U. to repudiate its previous judgment on the betrayal of the working class which the scab leaders perpetrated (and are perpetrating) in the service of imperialism. They first of all request the W.F.T.U. to bestow a certificate of "honesty" upon them, thus proving that they are in particular need of one.

In the second part of their letter, the supporters of imperialism in the ranks of the working class give vent to their venomous calumnies against the W.F.T.U., against all trade union organisations which are really independent of the imperialist governments and employers, and against the U.S.S.R., thus faithfully repeating the well-known cliches of the lowest and most deceitful American propaganda of hatred against those peoples and workers who have committed the "unpardonable crime" of freeing themselves for ever from the exploitation and age-long yoke of capitalism.

In this letter, which dishonours its authors, these gentlemen take their impudence to the point of inventing "a famous interview" in which "your President, Di Vittorio" is said to have stated "that the Communists' refusal to accept American aid (meaning the Marshall Plan of sad renown) was a blunder." I challenge these slanderers to indicate when, where and to whom I gave this so-called interview, because in order to disprove it, one need merely refer to the simple fact—well known to many I.C.F.T.U. leaders—that its contents are in direct opposition to everything I have always believed, written and publicly stated on thousands of occasions about the Marshall Plan, tool for the economic and political enslavement of Europe to American imperialism and for the barely concealed exploitation of European nations by American monopolies. And these gentlemen are asking the W.F.T.U. for a certificate of "honesty"!

☆ ☆ ☆

ONE can get a clear idea of the contrast between the W.F.T.U. and the Scab International merely by making an objective analysis of the two texts—the W.F.T.U.'s proposal for united workers' action, and the acrimonious and insulting reply of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, aimed at deepening division in the ranks of the working class and preventing all association among workers belonging to different organisations. The W.F.T.U. showed its readiness to leave aside all polemical considerations. The W.F.T.U. put forward the sole aim of uniting workers of all different views, for the achievement of limited and restricted aims in order to make the workers' action more powerful, in order to better enable them to wage a successful struggle against the continuous reduction of their already low living standards, to resist victoriously capitalism's unbridled exploitation and reactionary offensive, and to "defend their children's bread."

In contrast, the bureaucrats leading the I.C.F.T.U. were solely concerned in their letter with defending their persons—asking the W.F.T.U. to provide them with a certificate of honesty—and with carrying out the task assigned to them by the American and British Governments, heaping insults and disgraceful slanders on the Socialist world and all those who have not placed themselves in the service of the State Department.

These gentlemen said not one word about the workers' present living conditions. Is it or is it not true that, as the W.F.T.U. declares in its proposal for united action, capitalism is using every method to intensify the exploitation of the workers and to reduce them to starvation? Is it or is it not true that, at the same time, monopoly profits are soaring? Is it or is it not true that the workers are developing the struggle against this savage capitalist exploitation and deprivation, even in the United States and Great Britain? The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. did not make even a cursory examination of all these facts either in their reply to the W.F.T.U., or during the lengthy proceedings of their Congress, and they thus irrefutably confirmed the fact that they are complete strangers to the working class, its needs and aspirations.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE actual composition of the I.C.F.T.U. Congress reveals the nature of that organisation. In spite of the assertion that 66 nations and 52 million organised workers were represented, we know very well that many of the "delegates" were American agents who had been placed in the leadership of breakaway groups isolated from the great mass of workers. We want to say something about the breakaway groups created first by the A.F.L. and later, by the C.I.O. as well, particularly in Latin America and Asia, with the aid of hundreds of millions of dollars supplied by the American Government for a tremendous campaign of corruption and deceit aimed at weakening and dividing the workers everywhere and at promoting U.S. penetration and domination in the different countries.

To get an idea of the "trade union" qualifications and representative nature

of the Scab Congress "delegates," one need only note that even China and Korea were "represented" in Milan; the first by agents of Chiang Kai-shek, the vile traitor who, driven out by the entire Chinese people, sought refuge in Formosa under the protection of American battleships; the second by agents of the puppet South Korean Government. In short, except for a few rare exceptions, the Congress was made up of two groups—on the one hand, the absolute bosses of the I.C.F.T.U. (Americans and British, who provide and administer the funds) and on the other, their highly-paid agents.

What results other than those required by the State Department could come out of a Congress composed in this way? Indeed, a number of reports and many resolutions were submitted to the Congress, but the central theme of all these documents, just as of all the speeches, was "the fight against communism and the defence of *democracy.*" In the view of these peculiar trade union leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., this is the most important—or rather the only —problem capable of arousing the hungry workers of the capitalist and colonial world at the present time! Naturally, for these miserable lackeys of Wall Street, the "democracy" to be defended is *American democracy,* under which the capitalist monopolies pile up profits by the billion while millions of workers are cruelly exploited, many Negro citizens are brutally lynched every year solely because their skin is black, and thousands of citizens and active workers, black and white alike, are arrested and sentenced to years of imprisonment solely because they hold political opinions contrary to those of the government, the multi-millionaires and the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U.

The results of the Scab Congress can be summed up in one single sentence —complete acceptance and active support for all the most extreme positions of the American warmongers.

The Congress expressed support and praise for the Atlantic Pact, the Schuman Plan, German rearmament, European Union, the rearmament of the "free world," and so on, in the various resolutions it adopted. They quite shamelessly came out in support of the entire line of their bosses, the State Department and the Foreign Office.

Moreover, carried away by its warmongering paroxysm and by the certainty of having full control of its agents in the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U., American big business does not even feel the need to conceal the fact that it considers the so-called free trade unions as tools in the *cold war.* The "New York Times" of 9th July, praising the proceedings of the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, wrote: "The side that wins the trade unions throughout the free world may win the 'cold war'."

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IT is interesting to note that certain sections of the Italian capitalists were dissatisfied with the indiscreet way in which the I.C.F.T.U. came out into the open in Milan as a U.S. weapon of war, fearing that, in so doing, it could never gain the confidence of the working class and could not therefore, carry out the treacherous tasks which had been assigned to it. The Rome daily newspaper

"Il Tempo," for example, wrote: "Of the 42 motions submitted to the I.C.F.T.U Congress, only two possessed an economic and social character, whereas all the others were motivated by political preoccupations foreign to the working class as such."

Another capitalist newspaper, the Milan "24 Ore," after analysing the results of the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, wrote: "None of the elements put forward here were of a particularly trade union character; they were political demands which could have been expressed by any government party of any of the Western States."

Well said! The I.C.F.T.U. Congress was a rehash of everything which the American and Americanised western rulers have been repeating for years.

But worse still, the bureaucrats of the I.C.F.T.U. went so far as to demand that the reactionary governments resort to terrorist acts of a fascist type against the trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U.—which they have not succeeded in splitting or corrupting, and never will—and more particularly against the French and Italian General Confederations of Labour.

On July 11th, the big newspaper of U.S. big business, the "New York Times," speaking as a boss to the servile governments of France and Italy, revealed and openly backed the fascist designs of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders in the following terms:

"Leaders of the free unions (I.C.F.T.U.) have concluded that *no fundamental and permanent progress can be made to expand the free labour movement* unless the governments of France and Italy make the key political decision of refusing to recognise the Communist-controlled federations of labour on the ground that they are at the service of a foreign power and as such are a danger to national security." (Author's emphasis.—Ed.)

As we can see, the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. and the American capitalist monopolies are demanding that, in order to avoid being in the service of a "foreign power", the trade unionists of Italy and France should become agents in the pay of the United States Government! But the disclosure of the "New York Times" has another meaning also. The servants of the American trusts disguised as "defenders of democracy," having recorded their failure to influence the Italian and French working class by normal methods of trade union democracy, or to corrupt the leaders by handfuls of dollars, are calling on the "democratic" governments subservient to the United States to outlaw the truly independent trade unions of the working class by applying fascist methods, and in effect by suppressing all trade union rights and democratic liberties. This is the "democracy" defended by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., outright traitors to the working class and to the trade union and democratic liberties won by the peoples.

But we can safely tell these supporters of the new American fascism that the French C.G.T. and the Italian C.G.I.L. form a sufficiently powerful and solid force—with their imposing numbers of experienced leaders forged in the struggle—to defeat victoriously all provocations and attacks by reaction and its agents.

These are the truly "inspiring" results of the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, whose leaders, in an excess of zeal towards the State Department, exposed themselves as the agents of imperialism.

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SHOULD the conclusion be drawn from the warmongering and neo-fascist results of the I.C.F.T.U. Congress that nothing can be done for the achievement of united workers' action in the fight to defend their bread and rights? By no means! Such a conclusion would be completely erroneous; it would be the conclusion desired by the traitors of the working class.

United action is an objective necessity for all workers, and all of them strongly feel this need. United action, which has been rejected by the leaders who have placed themselves in the service of the trusts and their governments, must be achieved by the workers themselves at the place of work, in the towns and countryside of every land.

It must be remembered that even within the ranks of the I.C.F.T.U., there are nevertheless millions of honest workers and many trade union leaders who sincerely wish to defend the interests of the working class. Our organisations and leaders, faithful to the unity principles of the W.F.T.U., must contact these workers and achieve united action with them on the basis of immediate, concrete and widely felt demands. When they see which people actively promote united action in the fight for demands and those who sabotage it, the less developed workers will learn to distinguish more effectively between their faithful leaders and their enemies hidden in the ranks of certain trade union organisations.

The arms drive, imposed by American imperialism on the satellite governments and pushed to the extreme for the purpose of speeding the frantic preparation for the war of aggression planned against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, is deepening the poverty of the workers and large sections of the people in capitalist and colonial countries to a tremendous degree. Everywhere, dissatisfaction and revolt are stirring and growing among the hungry workers, as well as the distress created by the dangers of war with which the American multi-millionaires are threatening the world.

All our organisations and leaders must resolutely take the lead of this growing movement created by the masses' deepening dissatisfaction, and must organise and lead their united struggles for the energetic defence of their vital needs.

By our continuous and untiring efforts, workers' unity will develop throughout the world and will carry the workers to victory in the historic struggle now in progress for bread, peace and freedom.

GIUSEPPE DI VITTORIO

West Africa Denounces Deception of I.C.F.T.U.

THE cynical schemes of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. to inveigle the colonial workers into a docile labour force of imperialist policy are exposed and denounced by Mr. Ralph Aniedobe, Secretary of the Brewery Workers' Union, member of the Executive of the Nigerian Labour Congress and President of the Youth Congress.

In February the I.C.F.T.U. pundits paid a visit to West Africa similar to their visits to North Africa and Asia. So with the connivance of the local governing authorities, and aided by the facilities thus made available, the diplomats of Wall Street, with their cronies in the British T.U.C., convened a conference in Duala.

They planted the conference with a picked retinue of ' trade unionists,' who had long since lost the support of the workers, as bait for trade union leaders from other areas. They also managed to conceal the real character of the movement.

In this circumstance the Nigerian trade union leader, Mr. Aniedobe, agreed to attend the 2nd Congress of the I.C.F.T.U. at Milan, with the British T.U.C. making all the arrangements. On arriving in London on his way to Milan he learned the true character of the 'breakaway international' and decided to call the trip off.

This is what he states: "During their visit in February, the I.C.F.T.U. delegation gave their programme to the people of Nigeria. Among other things it was to help colonial people to attain self-government. As this was something we are yearning for I accepted the programme at its face value. As a result of my discussions with West Africans on arrival here in London, I understood that the real programme of the I.C.F.T.U. was quite different from what the delegation preached in Nigeria.

"I am now quite satisfied that the I.C.F.T.U. is a splinter organisation from the World Federation of Trade Unions and that the I.C.F.T.U. supports imperialism, the hated system from which my people are fighting tooth and nail to free themselves. I therefore refused to go to Milan.

"I now see that the W.F.T.U. is an organisation devoted to working class solidarity, and it is the organisation most worthy of support of the Nigerian and all colonial peoples fighting for self-government. The W.F.T.U. must receive the support of the people of West Africa generally and the workers in particular, because it sympathises with our struggles."

He acquainted the British T.U.C. by letter and sent copies to the I.C.F.T.U. Congress-in-session, the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, Preparation Committee, the Nigerian Labour Congress, as well as the Gold Coast T.U.C., and other organisations and newspapers in West Africa. His letter to the Trades Union Congress reads as follows:

"This serves to inform you that as a result of the discussion which I had with my fellow West Africans in London, I now understand more fully the nature of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, namely:

(a) That it is a splinter organisation from the World Federation of Trade Unions;
(b) That it supports imperialism which my people are fighting against.

In the circumstances, therefore, I have decided not to give further support to the I.C.F.T.U., and I regret to say that I will no longer proceed to its Second Congress now holding in Milan (Italy)."

This threw the 'international experts' of the T.U.C. into a flurry of alarm, and they hastily summoned a meeting at which Mr. Victor Feather, Asst. Gen. Secretary, presided. Every effort was made to induce Mr. Aniedobe to go to Milan 'if only for a day or two!' When asked if he regarded the T.U.C. representatives present at the meeting as imperialists, Mr. Aniedobe logically re-

plied : "I do not know, but any one who supports an imperialist organisation may well be an imperialist himself."

He informed them bluntly that the workers of Nigeria who had sent him would be very pleased that he had done the right thing and because of it he was prepared to face any consequences arising from his decision not to proceed to Milan. Mr. Victor Feather then proposed his immediate return to Nigeria.

To enforce this the Assistant General Secretary of the T.U.C. wrote on 13.7.51, the day following the receipt of Mr. Aniedobe's decision, as follows :

"I am enclosing herewith your ticket which, as you will see, has been booked for the London-Lagos flight No. BA 251, for which you have to report at Victoria Air Terminal, Buckingham Palace Road, tomorrow, Saturday, by 1.45 p.m. *Please note that this ticket is only available for this flight and cannot be transferred in any way.*"

Mr. Aniedobe refused to be intimidated by the sentence underlined by Mr. Feather and has taken his stand that he cannot be tied to this date. Having travelled so far he wants to see how the British workers live. Mr. Feather gave himself away in a concluding sentence of the letter which states :

"I am sending herewith some pamphlets and a Congress badge which I hope you will take back with you to Nigeria."

As a sincere trade unionist, Mr. Aniedobe has exposed the sham trappings of the I.C.F.T.U. He knows that the workers of his country—all colonial workers—in fact all workers, can have nothing in common with those who split the international unity and solidarity of the working people and serve the interests of imperialists. *The truth is catching up with the 'breakaway international.'*

Why the Peoples of Latin America Oppose Imperialism

By

VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

Vice-President of the W. F. T. U., President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.)

THE wars of independence launched by the American colonies of the Spanish empire during the first half of the 19th century were aimed not only at winning their independence, but also at destroying the suffocating economic and social regime governing them.

The main features of this regime were the mining of precious metals—gold and silver—and the production of tropical plants and fruits—tobacco, coffee, sugar, etc.—by means of forced or practically unpaid labour. The colonial system banned the production of goods which Spain could produce, such as olive oil and silk, so that Spain could dispose of its products in its overseas territories. Artisans were organised in guilds governed by compulsory ordinances, and in religious brotherhoods. A system was established of multiple direct taxes on production and on trade within each country. Government posts and social and cultural privileges were reserved for Spaniards born in Spain.

Discrimination was practised against the indigenous population and against those of mixed race and creoles whose fathers were Spanish but who were themselves born in America. Furthermore, trade among the different colonies was forbidden, and they were required to trade solely with Spain itself through an institution especially created for this purpose.

Latin America Invaded by Foreign Capital

DURING the first fifty years of the Spanish-American Republics' independent political life, progressive forces, imbued with the liberal principles of the Revolution of the British colonies in North America—which led to the establishment of the United States of America—and with the ideas of the French revolution, waged a fight to build up each nation's productive potential so that the people could be self-sufficient and raise their living standards, through the introduction of a democratic system of government.

When the first manifestations of modern imperialism made their appearance, the aims of the wars of independence had not been achieved. The countries of Latin America were invaded by British capital and, later, by French, North American and German capital, all seeking sources of cheap raw materials, markets for their manufactured goods and areas in which to invest their surplus capital.

At the outset, British capital was mainly invested in the building of railways, in oil wells and in the purchase of State bonds. French capital went into the textile industry; North American capital was invested in precious metal and industrial mining and in oil; German capital went mainly into agricultural plantations, particularly coffee.

The economic and political changes which occurred as a result of the first world war, which altered the relation of forces among the capitalist powers, had their repercussions in Latin America by increasing the influence of North American and British capital, and by giving rise to the first big contemporary rivalries between the United States and Great Britain for domination over the semi-colonial countries of the American continent.

U.S. Capital becomes predominant in Latin America

THE main purpose of the struggle was to gain concessions in the exploitation of oil and in electric power production. Many Latin American countries were the scene of competition among French, Dutch, Scandinavian and Italian capital, but not over the control of raw materials, basic industries and transport.

One example will suffice to explain Anglo-U.S. rivalry. In Mexico, until about 1938, the electric power industry in the central part of the country—the most thickly populated area, in which the capital of the Republic is situated—was owned by British capital. The electric power industry in the less developed provinces was owned by North American capital. In the oil producing area, the monopolies of the two powers engaged in competition, at times fierce, in connection with the drilling of wells and extracting oil.

But owing to geographical proximity and to the new changes in the relation of forces caused by the

LATIN AMERICA

second world war, U.S. monopolies today exercise greater influence than ever over the economic and political life of Latin America. The Argentine is an exception in the sense that British capital has not been dislodged from that country to the same extent as from the other countries of the continent.

United States monopolies are now in control of Mexico's minerals, electric power, commercial aviation, the telephone system and foreign trade. In Cuba they control the sugar industry upon which the country's economy depends. The same is true for Haiti and San Domingo. In the five Central American countries they control the railways, ports, banana production and foreign trade.

An analogous situation exists in South America, where the countries' economies are based on one, two or three main products: oil in Venezuela, coffee in Brazil, cattle raising in Uruguay, tin in Bolivia, copper and nitrates in Chile, oil, sugar and industrial metals in Peru, oil and timber in Ecuador, coffee and oil in Colombia.

The Peoples of Latin America against U.S. Imperialism

ALTHOUGH the methods are new, the imperialist policy of the United States is essentially the same as the policy of the former Spanish empire, namely — the exploitation of each of the Latin American Republics, the isolation of the twenty Republics from each other to prevent trade among them, the control of their exports, either for direct purchase or for re-sale in non-American markets, and the placing of obstacles in the way of capital development and trade with European countries. Furthermore, this policy is to prevent trade relations at all costs with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, to force Latin America to make the implementation of the United States' rearmament policy possible, to pay for part of this programme, and to impede the industrialisation of the Latin-American countries, their only way of making themselves self-sufficient.

The foregoing relates solely to the present. But none of the Latin-American peoples could forget the outrages inflicted on them in the past by U.S. imperialism. Mexico lost more than half of its territory a century ago as a result of the unjust war forced on it by the United States of America, which would not be the great imperialist power it is today if it had not stolen this vast territory.

In exchange for the "aid" given to Cuba in its war of independence, the United States annexed a part of its territory in order to make a permanent naval base. It completely annexed the island of Puerto Rico. It occupied San Domingo. In 1914 it invaded Mexico on similar pretexts to those it now uses to explain its invasion of Korea. It invaded Nicaragua on several occasions. It seized the Isthmus of Panama by force from Colombia in order to build the Panama Canal. Many more examples could be added to this list.

This blood-soaked past, coupled with the present period of poverty, exploitation and the suppression of liberties, explains the deep anti-imperialist sentiments of our peoples of Latin America.

The Latin American working class is of recent origin and is still weak, but it is in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist fight of the popular masses and of certain sections of the national industrial bourgeoisie. Political independence, without economic independence, remains only a partial and precarious reality, under constant threat.

The peoples of Latin America fully understand the underlying meaning of the struggle now being waged by the large majority of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism, because this has been their own struggle throughout their history. They have therefore taken up their position—of importance because of their geographical situation and their long experience—in the world-wide anti-imperialist front.

WHY AUSTRALIAN WORKERS MUST DEFEAT THE MENZIES GOVERNMENT

by

JACK BROWN

Victorian State Secretary, Australian Railways Union.

URGED on by the U.S. government's drive to a third world war, the present Federal Government in Australia is being exposed in the eyes of the Australian people as the agent of the American warmongers. One of the latest moves has been the introduction into the Federal Parliament of a Bill entitled the Defence Preparations Act, which is justified as being necessary during the present "international emergency."

LEGISLATION FOR WAR

THIS Bill introduces the new principle in Australian legislation which was first attempted in the Communist Party Dissolution Act. This principle is the statement of alleged reasons for the introduction of a piece of legislation. Once an Act becomes law these expressed views of the Government embodied in the preamble to the legislation become the law of the land. For example, the final clause in the preamble of the Defence Preparations Act states :

> "AND WHEREAS, having regard to the foregoing, the military and economic strength necessary for the defence of Australia cannot, in the opinion of the Parliament and of the Government of the Commonwealth, be built up and maintained with sufficient expedition and effectiveness unless the Government has authority to take such measures as are from time to time required in relation to any or all of the matters mentioned in the preceding paragraphs."

This says exactly what the Government hopes to achieve. The Government wants a law which states that its reactionary views on any particular matter are enforceable by law. The whole crux of the Defence Preparations Act of 1951 is covered in the Act as follows :

"The Governor-General may make regulations for or in relation to defence preparations."

This simple clause means the introduction of government by regulation and the virtual loss of all de-

mocratic rights and privileges so far as the Australian people are concerned, on the grounds that—

(a) any action taken by the government can be justified as necessary for defence preparation, and

(b) that raw materials which are in short supply can be redirected from any industry into the big monopoly war establishments in the interests of the war plans of the government and the big business groups in Australia.

The meaning of this legislation has not been lost on the small business firms in Australia. The Chairman of the Chamber of Manufacturers in Australia has attacked the Menzies Government, the Government which these manufacturers put into office. This official apparently now realises that the Menzies Government is a Frankenstein monster of their own making, which, in the drive to a third world war, will destroy the economic basis of more and more small business firms whilst the big monopolies such as the Broken Hill Proprietary Limited, Australian Consolidated Industries, Radio Corporation and other large monopolies will grow rich and fat on war contracts.

The law declares that the Governor General shall not make regulations for the compulsory direction of labour, but the truth is that the stopping of supplies and raw materials to the small metal firms and other "non-essential" industries will mean unemployment and the halting of production in these industries. Economic necessity will thus compel the workers thrown out of work to accept employment in the big war industries.

Progressive sections of the Australian labour movement and the militant trade unions pointed out that the fight against the re-election of the Menzies Government was the fight for peace, for the defence of the independence of Australia and against the war plans of the Yankee imperialists. That this attitude is correct is clearly demonstrated in Menzies' Defence Preparations Act of 1951.

It is the task of all progressive and freedom-loving Australians in all sections of the community to combine against the Defence Preparations Act and to strike a real blow against the war plans of the Menzies Government. It is our task to mobilise the workers to fight the war plans of the Menzies Government, to fight against the closing down of their industries in the preparation for a third world war. It is the task of the leading section of the Australian trade union movement, those unions affiliated to the trade departments of the W.F.T.U., to use their exposure of legislation such as this as a conveyor belt to spread their influence amongst the Australian working class organised in their trade unions to fight for peace, freedom and liberty.

WAR POLICY WRECKS AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY

PRIOR to 1939 Australia was one of the major food producing countries in the world and her products were exported to many countries. But now there is unofficial rationing of butter of ¼ lb. per week in Sydney, Australia's largest city. Sugar is short, meat sells at black market prices and many other commodities are fast disappearing from the workers' tables.

The butter crisis has been caused by the tremendously inflated price of wool which is a direct result of the stock-piling of this essential war material. More and more farmers are selling their dairy herds, allowing their prime dairy cattle to be sold at the abbatoirs for beef and raising sheep to grow wool on a get-rich-quick basis.

As a result butter production is lower than in 1939, although Australia's population has greatly increased since 1945 because of immigration. The acreage under wheat has fallen and it has only been three successive bountiful seasons which have allowed Australia to maintain even a close proximity to her pre-war wheat production. Production of potatoes has seriously fallen, the acreage of onions, oats and many other commodities show a significant decline. Added to this is the threatened blatant interference of the American monopolists in the supply of raw materials to Australia.

Some of the wool growers and other capitalist groups in Australia thought they would be able to call the tune on wool prices to the big Yankee imperialists. But Truman's economic mobilizer, Charles Wilson, announced quite bluntly that Australia must reduce her wool prices to the U.S. or she could not expect to obtain raw materials at present prices. Immediately supplies of tin plate, vital to Australia's big food canning factories, were cut 40%. It has been announced that supplies of sulphur will be limited. This will have a most detrimental effect on the metal industry, particularly the small metal manufacturers.

On receipt of these threats the Menzies Government announced that it will reach an agreement with the U.S. on the price of wool required by the Yankee warmongers. Representatives of the so-called Country Party who are the co-partners of the big business Liberal Party group in the Federal Government, have been quickly brought to heel and no longer defend the interests of the small-farmers in Australia. They have willingly fallen in with the plans of the big business monopolies such as Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd., Australian Consolidated Industries and other large financial groups.

Such is the path to economic chaos which confronts Australia. Despite the fact that Australian capitalists are having their greatest economic boom, had it not been for the tremendously high price received for Australian wool last year the Government would have faced a deficit of over 15 million pounds. Now this lucrative source of income is to be smashed with this agreement between the U.S. imperialists and the big business government of Australia.

This blatant declaration on wool prices shows the role played by the Menzies Government in throwing away the independence of Australia by tying itself to the American war machine. Just as the American imperialists are dictating the policy on wool, so will they continue more arrogantly to determine policy on all questions, including the future of the trade union movement and the democratic rights of the Australian people.

Australian Ironworkers marching under militant slogans and banners in Sydney. Typical slogans were: "Reduce Profits," "Ban the Atom Bomb," "Fight for Peace," "Repeal Crimes Act," "Defeat Menzies' Bill," "Peace—Not War," "For Homes and Security."

Such is the path to war, such is the path to Fascism, misery and starvation for the Australian people. These are the real underlying facts in the tremendous inflationary spiral which is now smashing any stability in the Australian economy. These are the factors which will bring greater numbers of Australian people into the struggle against the war plans of the Menzies Government, for peace, for a People's Government and for Socialism as the only answer to the problems confronting the Australian people.

AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES THREATENED

THE Menzies Government was defeated by a great national movement of the Australian people against the Communist Dissolution Act in which the pressure of public opinion of all the people from one end of Australia to another forced the High Court to refuse to allow this neo-fascist Act to become law. Despite this defeat, the Menzies Government, obedient to every wish of its Yankee war masters, has introduced a Bill into the Australian Parliament providing for the holding of a referendum to give the Federal Parliament power to enact a law in the terms of the Communist Party Dissolution Act of 1950.

The Constitution is to be altered by the addition of the following section :

> "The Parliament shall have power to make such laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to communists or communism as the Parliament considers to be necessary or expedient for the defence or security of the Commonwealth or for the execution or maintenance of this Constitution or of the laws of the Commonwealth."

This proposal in itself is deceptively mild. Every trade unionist, however, must realise that the Communist Party Dissolution Act defined as a communist any person who supports any of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. This is so all-embracing that it could be used to ban the present political programme of almost all the parties of Australia.

Under the guise of attacking Communism, the Menzies Government is again attempting to introduce fascist measures on exactly the same lines as Hitler and Mussolini, and the Australian working class is becoming more and more aware of the basis of Menzies' actions in his drive for a third world war.

The popular victory achieved in 1950 which forced the High Court to throw out the Communist Party Dissolution Act has had its effect even on the leaders of the Labour Party in Australia. Already the Federal

Executive of the Australian Labour Party has decided that its members must oppose the Government in the referendum and this is only a reflection of the mass opposition to Menzies which is growing stronger every day with the inflationary crisis which has developed in Australia, shortage of food stuffs, etc.

The Australian trade union movement must be mobilised as never before to bring the great rank and file of the trade union movement into action to ensure that the Menzies Government receives a smashing blow in this referendum. Every rank and file union member must be brought into action. He must understand that peace is essential for the defence of his wages and conditions. He must understand that the whole future of his living standards, and the independence of his country is bound up in the defeat of the Menzies referendum, that a retreat on any question of democratic rights now will be followed by ever more savage attacks by the Menzies Government. The time to strike back is now. The Australian working class must play its part in co-operation with the peace-loving people of all lands to enforce world peace. This makes necessary the defeat of the Menzies war machine at home.

MENZIES GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO SMASH THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

THE rapid drive towards war and the smashing of the wages and conditions of the workers in Australia is clearly demonstrated in the new amendments to the Arbitration Act. The Menzies Government celebrated its return to office by introducing legislation which represents an attack on the fundamental rights of the workers to strike and which would make the trade unions completely powerless in defence of the wages and living conditions of the Australian workers.

Part 7 of the proposed new Act adds the following new section to the Arbitration Act :

> "The Arbitration Court has the same power to punish contempts of its power and authority whether in relation to its judiciary powers and functions or otherwise as is possessed by the High Court in respect of contempts of the High Court."

This new clause signifies the loss of the fundamental right to strike. It means that the Arbitration Court could be used as it has been in the past to slash the wages and conditions of Australian workers and if the workers take action against wage cuts or worsened conditions, the union can be fined 500 pounds and any union officer 200 pounds or imprisonment for 12 months, and individual union members can be fined 30 pounds.

The obvious intention of this new clause of the Arbitration Act is to jail trade union officials.

The next section of the Act provides for the compulsory alteration of rules of unions to provide for election of officials by secret ballot, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the unions in Australia have secret ballots, and in all of the progressive unions provision has been made for the regular re-election of union officers. It is believed that this new

Australian housewives and children demonstrating for the right to organise in defence of world peace, and for proper housing at fair rents.

clause gives the Industrial Registrar, the principal state agent of the Arbitration Court, the right to determine how rules can be altered by the unions and that without his approval of alterations unions cannot be registered by the Arbitration Court. Clearly this section is designed to allow for open State interference in the reframing of the rules of all unions.

The Act also provides that the Arbitration Court may order ballots among union members when it wishes to try to prevent or settle a dispute. Should an affirmative vote be taken in support of union action the Act provides for a fine of 100 pounds for any union officer or agent who encourages a union member to refrain from, or hinders him from entering into a written agreement, accepting employment or offering to work in accordance with an Arbitration Court decision, during the period that an Arbitration Court decision is in effect.

Another section of the Act provides that unions must keep records not only of their members but of their private or temporary addresses with fines for non-compliance. The union steward must show on the dues receipt the private or temporary address of the member. He must pay a fine of 20 pounds for each failure to do so. This will impose a financial burden which may force the raising of dues by 200 or 300%.

Although a majority of members are satisfied with the conduct of their union ballots, another amendment of the Act provides that an organisation or branch of an organisation may request that the Industrial Registrar or his agent may take over the conduct of a union ballot. *Even if the branch of the organisation decides by democratic vote of a majority of the members not to do this, the Court can still take over the ballot if* 10% *of the membership asks it to do so,* if the organisation has more than 1,000 members. If the union has less than 500 members, 20% of the membership may ask the Court to take over the ballot.

Once the Industrial Registrar or an officer appointed by him takes over the ballot, the rules of the union can be completely disregarded.

There is a provision that in an election held by the Industrial Registrar, any rules and regulations, including the union's rules, which would normally be observed, may be disregarded without making the election invalid.

The union will be further weakened financially by a clause which provides that the expenses of an election conducted under this section shall be borne by the organisation or branch of the organisation concerned.

Finally, to ensure that nothing can be done to protect the union when a ballot is taken over by the state officials of the Arbitration Court, the law stipulates that the members of the union concerned have no right to make any enquiry into the conduct of a ballot by the Court. A state official could send out more ballot papers than there are union members and nothing could be done about it.

Australia has already had an example of this in the meat strikes in Queensland in 1947. The Industrial Registrar of the State Arbitration Court conducted a ballot in which he sent out more than 10,300 ballot papers to a union with only 8,000 members. There was such a public outcry that the Court never attempted to declare the result of the ballot.

TASKS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

SUCH is the road to the introduction of fascism and the smashing of the trade union movement in Australia by the Menzies Tory Government which is such a willing slave of American big business interests in their drive for a third world war.

It is of interest to all trade unionists to know that the President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Mr. A. E. Monk, sits on the War Resources Board of the Menzies Government. Such is the role of the right-wing traitors in assisting the war plans of the imperialists. During a debate in the Federal Parliament on this legislation, E. J. Harrison, founder of the New Guard neo-fascist body during the economic depression of 1932, quoted in Parliament statements of leading right-wing Labourites who have been calling for Government interference in the affairs of the trade union movement.

The proposals of the Menzies Government are leading to mass opposition amongst the Australian working class, so strong that some leaders of the Labour Party are forced to give lip service opposition to this attempt to smash the trade union movement.

What the Australian working class must learn is that people must be judged by their actions and not by their words. There must be a policy of complete opposition to all the war plans of the Menzies Government. Monk must withdraw from the War Resources Board. The Australian Council of Trade Unions must refuse to support the implementation of this legislation and must mobilise the Australian working class in one strong united body against the war plans of Menzies and his plans to smash the wages and conditions of the Australian working class.

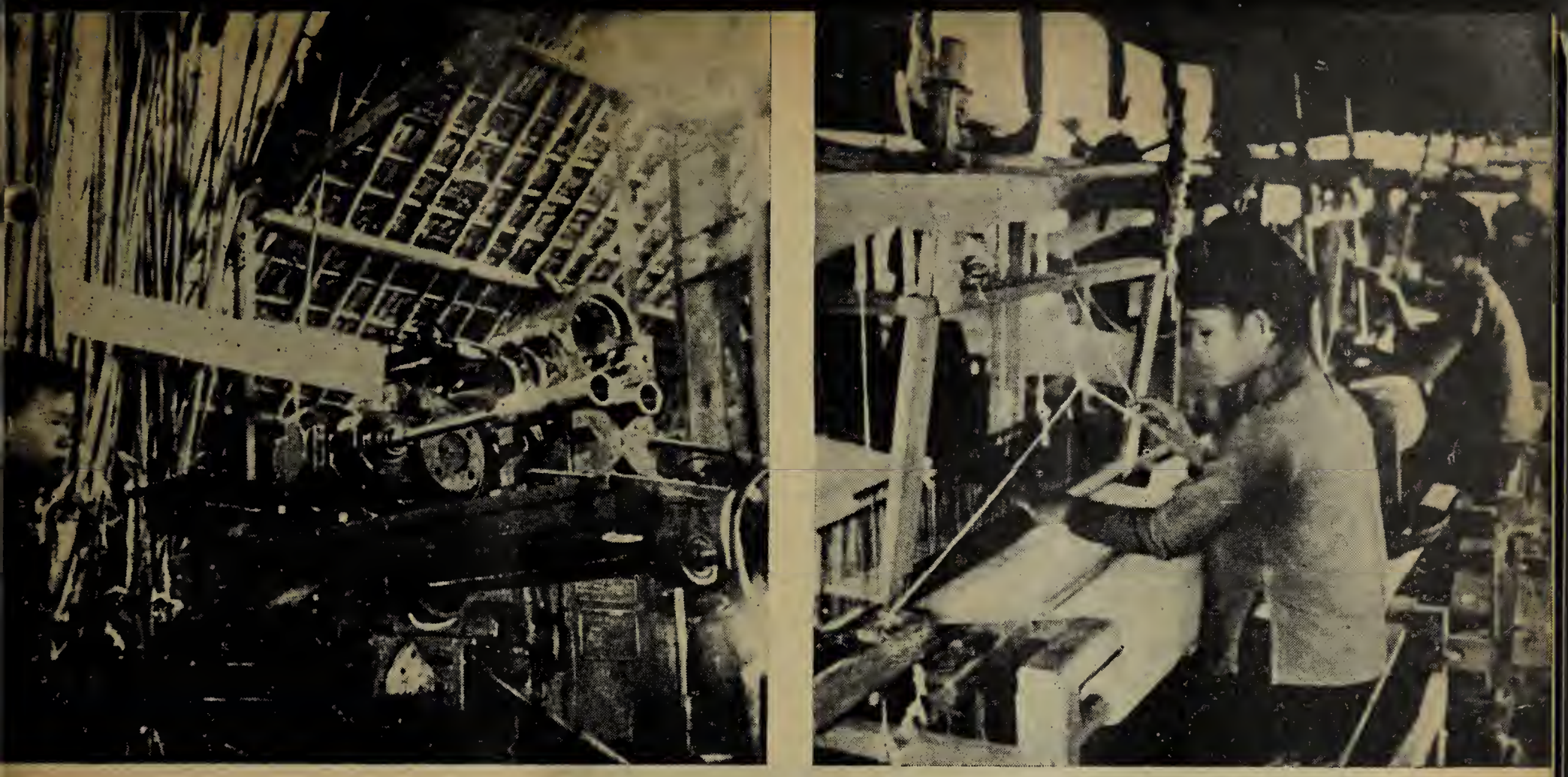
It is clear that this attack on the trade union movement is designed to prevent the Australian workers from mobilising their forces in the struggle for peace, such as supporting the demand for the Five Power Peace Pact. A weakened ineffective trade union could not play such a part in fighting for peace or for the demanding of a Five Power Peace Pact and one of the ways in which the Australian working class must show its opposition is in fighting more enthusiastically than ever for signatures in the peace pact campaign.

It is also obvious that this attack on the trade union movement is designed to facilitate the rearmament of Japan. There is a historic hatred in the Australian trade union movement against military conscription and against the rearming of Japan, and clearly the plans of the Menzies Government envisage smashing the trade union movement so as to facilitate the mass call-up of Australian youth in the conscription legislation already passed by the Federal Government in its ever-growing support of the war plans of Truman and John Foster Dulles.

A part of the campaign against the amendment of

the Arbitration Act and threats to the trade union movement must be the strengthened opposition to the conscription of Australian youth planned by the Menzies Government and opposition, including industrial action when necessary, to the rearmament of Japan.

Such a policy will be enthusiastically welcomed and supported by the Australian trade union movement. Such a policy will play its part with the workers of all lands in the fight for peace. Agreement for such a policy will expose the right-wing "labour" traitors and will lead to a cleansing and strengthening of the Australian Labour Movement which will end in the smashing of the Menzies Government and in the Australian people playing their part in the fight for peace.



The resourcefulness of the patriotic Viet-Nam people is shown in the setting up of many factories and workshops deep in the forest and jungles. At left is a forest workshop for the production of arms. At right a workshop for weaving located in the forest.

The Formation of the New Laodong Party and The United National Front in Vietnam

by MO JUONG WUYEN

THREE important political events have recently taken place in Vietnam. They are the people's answer to the colonialists' policy of divide and rule.

In date order, they are the formation of a new political party—the Vietnam Laodong (Workers') Party; the amalgamation of the Vietminh (League for National Independence), whose armies control about 90 per cent of the territory containing 80 per cent of the population of Vietnam, and the Lienviet League, (League for National Union), into the Vietnam National Union Front—Lienviet for short; and the formation of a joint united front of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The significance of these events is, of course, that they express organisationally the unity felt by the people on the political and on the national level.

This was no sudden leap for, as long ago as 1949, the Vietminh and Lienviet Leagues began mergers from village up to regional levels. The present merger is the culmination of past trends.

Over eight and a half million people are grouped in the Lienviet Front including members of the peasantry, the working class, the intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie.

The military situation has been strengthened by the uniting of the two main liberation bodies into the United Front and by its unification with the liberation movements of Laos and Cambodia. Under the slogan "All for the united front, all for victory," the whole people is preparing for the launching of the general offensive for the final slinging-out operation.

The Vietnam Laodong (Workers') Party was formed at a Na-

tional Congress held from February 11th to 19th this year in North Vietnam. It was attended by nearly 200 men and women delegates from all parts of the country and elected the veteran political leader, Truong Chinh, as General Secretary.

Workers' Party Manifesto

THE National Congress issued a Manifesto which begins by stating that the world is divided into two camps and that the Vietnamese people stand in the democratic camp led by the Soviet Union.

"The central task of the working class and the working masses of Vietnam," it says, "is to unite the entire people to push on the war of resistance to complete victory, to build an independent, unified, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, to realise People's Democracy fully, so as to advance towards Socialism. In order to fulfil this task, the working class and the working people of Vietnam must have a vanguard army, a general staff, a powerful, clearsighted, determined, pure and throroughly revolutionary political Party, the Vietnam Laodong Party."

The Party is to be based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the principle of organisation is democratic centralism developed by criticism and self-criticism.

The Manifesto goes on to say:

"The intellectual workers must be encouraged and assisted in developing their abilities.

Small trades people and small businessmen must be assisted in developing trade . . . .

The national bourgeosie must be encouraged, assisted and guided in their undertakings so as to contribute to the development of the national economy.

The right of patriotic landlords to collect land rent in accordance with the law must be guaranteed.

The national minorities must be given all-out assistance and must enjoy perfect equality in rights and duties.

Effective help must be rendered to women so as to bring about equality between men and women."

It recommends unity with and help for the peoples of Cambodia and Laos in their struggle for freedom.

Truong Chinh, General Secretary of the Vietnam Laodong Party.

Party Programme

THE programme issued by the Party after their National Congress is divided into fifteen sections. The first four points are concerned with winning the fight for national independence. Point 1 deals with the methods by which victory is to be won and mentions that all political, economic and cultural workers must aim at ensuring military victory and that the military struggle must be co-ordinated with the political, economic and cultural struggle. It also emphasises that frontal fighting against the enemy must be closely co-ordinated with guerilla fighting and sabotage work in the enemy's rear.

Point 2 deals with consolidating the People's rule by continually strengthening the relations between the state and the people by such means as increasing the participation of the workers and peasants in the Government departments, particularly in the People's Councils, and by introducing a People's Democratic Constitution.

Point 3 deals with the consoli-

dation of the national front by sincere co-operation with all the political parties, organisations and personalities in the united front, by co-operation and negotiation in the fight for a common programme. Point 4 is concerned with the development of the People's Army, a democratic army assisted by and fighting for the people.

Economic, Agrarian and Cultural Reforms

POINTS 5, 6 and 7 deal with economic, agrarian and cultural developments. The economy is to be expanded by increased production, cutting out waste and by the development of international trade. Agrarian reform is to be the gradual redistribution of the land and the allocation of land formerly owned by unpatriotic landlords, to the poorer peasants and to the families of dead or disabled ex-servicemen. The programme also stands for the reduction of rent and interest and the regulation of the leasehold system.

On the educational front, illiteracy is to be fought against and the people's culture is to be developed, with, of course, full freedom for national minorities.

Point 8 guarantees freedom of religious belief and point 9 emphasises the equal importance of all national groups. Point 10 stresses the need for unity among all strata of society in the occupied territories and points 11 to 14 concern relations with the other peoples and the fight for peace. The last item, 15, deals with the emulation campaign and its use as a means of bringing the whole population into the liberation fight.

Throughout the programme, which has been acclaimed by the representatives of many political and religious schools of thought, the need for uniting all other democratic states and peoples is emphasised.

Hoang Quoc Viet, President of the Vietnamese General Confederation of Labour.

A stock of military equipment left by fleeing French soldiers.

The Vietnam National Union Front

THE National Congress to merge Vietminh (League for National Indepenence) and Lienviet (League for National Union) into the Vietnam National Union Front, under the Chairmanship of Ho Chi Minh, followed soon after the founding of the Vietnam Laodong Party and lasted from March 3rd to March 9th.

It was attended by representatives from all parts of Vietnam including those under French occupation. Delegates from the Vietnam Revolutionary League, from the Vietnam Laodong Party, from the Democratic and Socialist Parties, and from Viet-

A distribution centre for the journal "Laodong" (Labour) organ of the Vietnamese General Confederation of Labour.

namese living abroad in Thailand and France.

In his presidential address, Ho Chi Minh affirmed the broad unity and singlemindedness of the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He urged that the Front be really democratic with all leading bodies elected by members of the front.

The National Committee and a Standing Committee were elected by the National Congress. Hoang Quoc Viet, President, and Trandanh Tuyan, General Secretary of the Vietnamese General Confederation of Labour, as well as representatives of the Women's, Youth, Peace and Peasants' Movements and the main political parties, serve on these two Committees.

All Classes Brought In

THE Resolution passed by the inaugural meeting urges the necessity for the raising of living standards while carrying out armed resistance and the need to guarantee and conciliate private interests and the interests of Labour and national capital. It also asks that the setting up of an alliance be prepared between the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia on a basis of free choice, equality and mutual assistance so that they may fight vigorously against their common enemies and build up three independent, prosperous and powerful nations.

The platform of the Vietnam National Union Front has distinctive features in comparison with that of the Vietnam Laodong Party. It includes a section on social affairs dealing with the labour conditions, disabled servicemen and the families of war dead, a public health service, the teaching of hygiene, sport and the development of a healthy people.

The formation of the Joint United Front of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia followed in March shortly after the formation of the Lienviet front and is an extremely important step in the unification of the country. The decision to form this united front was taken in accordance with a decision at a preliminary conference held last November which decided that such an "alliance is not only the vital condition for the complete victory of the three peoples, but also a solid formation of the three nations and of their future union."

Unity Brings Victory to the Strikers at the Blida Psychiatric Hospital

by

AICHA BENNAOUDA

Member of the Regional Bureau of the Blida Union of Trade Unions

ON April 5th, after 21 months of negotiation, the staff of the Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in Algeria came out on strike. Their main demand was for the equalisation of their conditions of employment with those of the staff of similar institutions in France, this equalisation having been accepted in an official circular, but its application repeatedly put off.

Forty-five days later, on May 20th, the strike ended in complete victory, although the hospital management had spared no efforts to defeat the movement and disrupt the strikers' ranks by means of provocation, requisition notices, threats, police brutality, arrest of leaders, etc.

The strike was successful because all the conditions for victory had been fulfilled.

The demands put forward were precise and clear to everyone, with the result that 90 per cent. of the staff voted in favour of strike action and an even higher proportion took part in the actual strike.

The outstanding feature of this strike was its unity. First of all there was trade union unity. The Strike Committee was made up of trade unionists belonging to the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) and F.O. (Force Ouvrière) and unorganised workers, and in spite of all the hospital administration's efforts, it did not succeed in dividing the strikers. The lie was thus given to the myth circulated by the hospital management that this was a "political" strike.

Unity between different races was also achieved. Everyone, Europeans and Moslems alike, took part in the strike. During the demonstrations, Moslems rescued Europeans from the hands of the police and Europeans came to the aid of the Moslems.

Finally, there was unity between men and women, the latter, particularly Moslem women, taking a very active part in the movement, which is a fact of great significance in North Africa.

Another reason for the victory of the Blida hospital workers was the moral and material solidarity for the strikers from all over the country. Solidarity strikes lasting several hours took place in a number of Algerian firms. Collections were organised. The railwaymen and dockers, who are already in the front ranks of the struggle against war, the gas and electrical workers who had just won a strike, the staff of hospitals in France and other sections gave effective aid to the strikers. Blida tradesmen gave the strikers extensive credit facilities, and the peasants in the surrounding countryside brought them their produce. Even the families of the hospital patients did everything in their power to help them. The victory of the hospital staff thus became the victory of all those who had come to their aid.

Having won their strike, the employees of the Psychiatric Hospital in Blida return to work in a body.

Their demands were finally satisfied and the staff went back to work. The management had even signed the following undertaking (without precedent in the history of Algeria): "No sanctions will be taken against the strikers simply for having come out on strike."

But this undertaking was not respected by the management. Twenty members of the hospital staff were suspended without wages and brought before the Discipline Committee. Their comrades are fighting for the withdrawal of the suspension notices. Strengthened by the experience they have acquired in the struggle, they are sure to win victory, the key to which they now hold—the unshakeable unity of all, men and women alike.

An Interview with

JORIS IVENS – the great Dutch Film Producer

by R. LACAZETTE

Film Making in the Service of the Working Class and Peace

A CORDIAL handshake and a warm welcome from Joris Ivens, the world-renowned film producer and progressive, always on the spot wherever the peoples are fighting for their happiness. Entirely devoted to all that is best and most progressive in mankind, his art makes a mighty contribution to the forward march of the forces of brotherhood and peace guided by the international working class.

Joris Ivens is among those who have dedicated their talent and enthusiasm to the victory of the workers' cause.

He has had frequent and extensive contact with the working class and its trade union organisations and has obtained valuable guidance from them; and this is the central theme of the interview which he was good enough to give us.

Q. What role have the working class and its trade union organisations played in your artistic work?

A. They have played a role of paramount importance at all the decisive phases in my life as a film producer. I shall explain how. Even in the first documentaries I made, such as *The Rain*, and *The Bridge,* I endeavoured to fight within the progressive cinema-club movement for films with educational aims in the truest and noblest sense of the word, and therefore, against the commercialised cinema of the cosmopolitan trusts.

To my great satisfaction, not a capitalist backer but a workers' union was the first to put its confidence in me for the making of a more important film. In 1930, the Dutch Building Workers' Union had the bold idea of making a film to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their organisation instead of having the traditional distribution of gifts.

This was the first film in Europe to be made by a trade union. I called it—*We, the Builders.* My first idea, young progressive film maker that I was, with little experience of class problems, was to show the contrast between the capitalist boss, lying in his armchair smoking a cigar, "building" for his own profit, and the worker paying with his sweat for the construction of houses and cities.

But this conception proved to be too bold for the social-democratic leaders of the union, who rejected my plan. Imagine my astonishment and disillusionment. I, who came from the bourgeoisie and was unaware of the role of right-wing leaders, naively believed that every union was always a weapon of struggle in the workers' interests. I therefore merely showed in my film the grandeur and beauty of manual work and the pride of those who labour.

Q. How did the public receive the film?

A. This silent documentary, which was shown in Amsterdam in 1930, aroused a great deal of interest. I shall always remember one conversation which emphasises the social significance of such productions. After the film show, a young woman came to see me with tears in her eyes, and said: "Your film is extremely moving and I am grateful to you. You have taught me something I did not know through 6 years of married life—the dangers, joys and beauty of my husband's work —everything he has vainly tried to make me understand. This discovery will be of invaluable help in our life together."

A further expression of the workers' gratitude was the gift of a highly polished lamp from the

miners of South Holland with the message: "Down in the mine, everything is dark and gloomy. We have kept the only bright object we possess for you."

Q. The miners take a prominent place in your work. Your great film on the Belgian miners must have created a particularly firm bond between you and the working class.

A. You are referring to the documentary on Borinage? You are right. This film was indeed a very great event in my life.

In the summer of 1932, 45,000 Belgian miners, including 30,000 in Borinage, launched a strike against wage cuts. I wanted to use this great struggle for demands to show that the workers are fighting for a just cause and that they are fully entitled to obtain what they are demanding, namely more human living conditions.

But I also wanted to fill the workers with the certainty that a strike is never lost, that even a temporary defeat is nothing more than a phase of the struggle which must be continued on the basis of workers' unity for precise aims.

This film was made during the strike. In spite of repression, the use of police and troops and despite marital law, the strikers protected the film, sure that it would serve their cause. There was terrible poverty during the strike, but afterwards when, betrayed by the reformist leaders, the miners were sacked *en masse* and evicted from their homes, they succeeded nevertheless in collecting the necessary money to buy film.

I endeavoured to bring out certain seemingly secondary but extremely striking aspects of this great class struggle. There was crisis in the capitalist countries at that period. In Borinage, unsold coal was piling up in the middle of the mining villages. The coal magnates had the piles of coal surrounded with barbed wire to prevent anyone from taking away the tiniest piece, while the workers' homes were short of fuel. Unity committees were set up to obtain the distribution of this coal among the miners' families.

This is an example of the direct and human elements of the workers' struggle pictured in this film, and these elements are valid today. The documentary, which was shown last year in Paris, has lost nothing of its topicality or truth.

Q. You have also succeeded in recording episodes in the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence?

A. Yes, and this brings me to the third phase in my career as a film producer, and one still linked with the working class and its trade union organisation.

In 1945, with the help of 14 Australian waterfront workers' union branches, headed by their General Secretary, Jim Healy, I made a film showing the international solidarity of the Australian trade unions towards the young Indonesian Republic.

Before the establishment of the Republic, I was directing the High Commissariat for Films in Indonesia on behalf of the Dutch Government. I had intended to make a series of films portraying the contribution made by the Indonesian people to civilisation and to human progress. But with the establishment of the Indonesian Republic, which aroused the hostility of the Dutch colonialists because at that time, the new republic expressed the true aspirations of the people, I resigned my post. I had filmed the liberation struggles of the Spanish Republicans and the Chinese people, and I had taken an irrevocable stand once and for all. Never would I place my art in the service of the enemies of freedom.

I explained my attitude at a press conference called by myself and my colleagues, all of whom had also resigned from positions incompatible with their sense of honour and justice. This attitude created quite a stir, scandalising the reactionary circles; never before had we been honoured with so much publicity.

The Dutch and British colonialists then set about fighting by force of arms the Indonesian

A scene from Joris Ivens' documentary film "We the Builders."

people's great drive for independence. They concentrated Dutch boats in Australian ports (including the s.s. "Bontekou," the "Pahud," the "Tasman," and the "Vanderlyn," etc.) for an attack on Java. But the crews, all of them Indonesian, came out on strike with the backing of 14 Australian seamen's and waterfront workers' union branches.

When the colonialists tried to man the ships with Australian seamen, they also refused to serve on ships to be used against the Indonesian people. So they turned towards the Chinese, but their union also acted in accord with the sacred principles of international workers' solidarity. The Malayan and Indian seamen were also prompted by the same spirit. Thus, during this crucial period, the subjects of five nations acted as one man on behalf of a people risen up against its oppressors.

And this was the subject of the film.

Q. Could you describe one of the particularly striking episodes of the film?

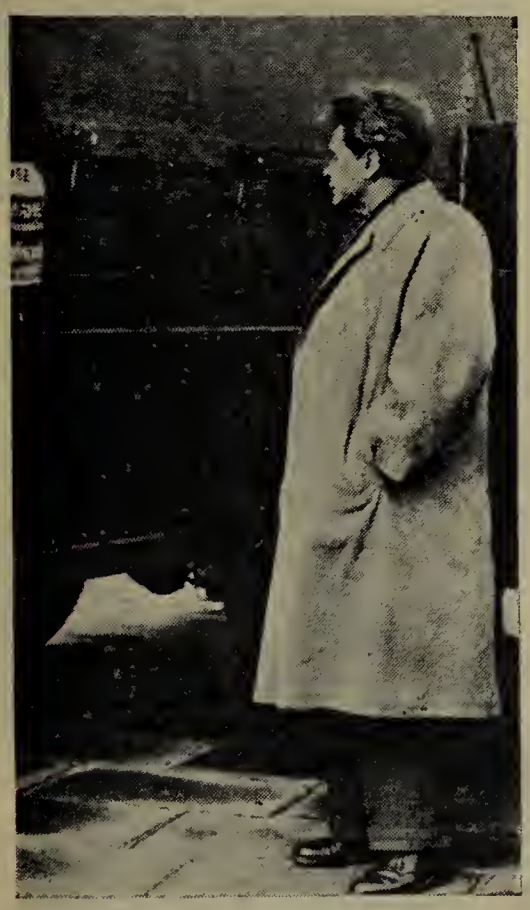
A. Once again, I can quote an outstanding example of the high level of class consciousness among the crews of different nationalities.

One day, the colonialists succeeded in literally kidnapping a number of Indian seamen who, unknown to themselves, were forcefully put aboard one of the Dutch ships. Their comrades immediately discovered this manoeuvre and a small motor boat set off to follow the ship which was on its way to Indonesia. The occupants of the small boat succeeded in shouting to the Indian seamen the purpose for which they had been put on board. Once they had been warned, the Indian seamen brought the ship back into the Australian port the same night.

The film, which, with great concern for the truth, pictures this magnificent saga of working class solidarity, was of tremendous moral support for the fighting Indonesians, who, as a result of the blockade, were completely without news of the outside world.

Another scene from "We the Builders."

The film was sent secretly to Indonesia in 1946, breaking through the blockade and showing the Indonesian people, hitherto unaware of the fact, the direct aid given their national struggle by workers of different nationalities. It also caused democratic organisations to realise the great significance of the cinema in the peoples' fight against their oppressors. With little money, many difficulties and the magnificent devotion of the trade unions, we succeeded in making two versions, one in English and the other in Indonesian. The latter, on 16 mm. film, was sent into Indonesia at a time when the colonialists were telling the people "You are alone, stop the fight, nobody is behind you."



Joris Ivens seeks his inspirations from contact with the day-to-day life of the people. Here he is shown in a Paris goods depôt during a strike.

The film was secretly shown at night in the open air. Thousands upon thousands of Indonesians acclaimed it with emotion and enthusiasm. The pictures of this admirable international brotherhood were a supreme encouragement for this martyred people. And the conviction of having helped them was for myself and my crew the most magnificent of rewards.

Q. The reactions of the audience appear to be of considerable importance to you. I would like to have your views on the rela-

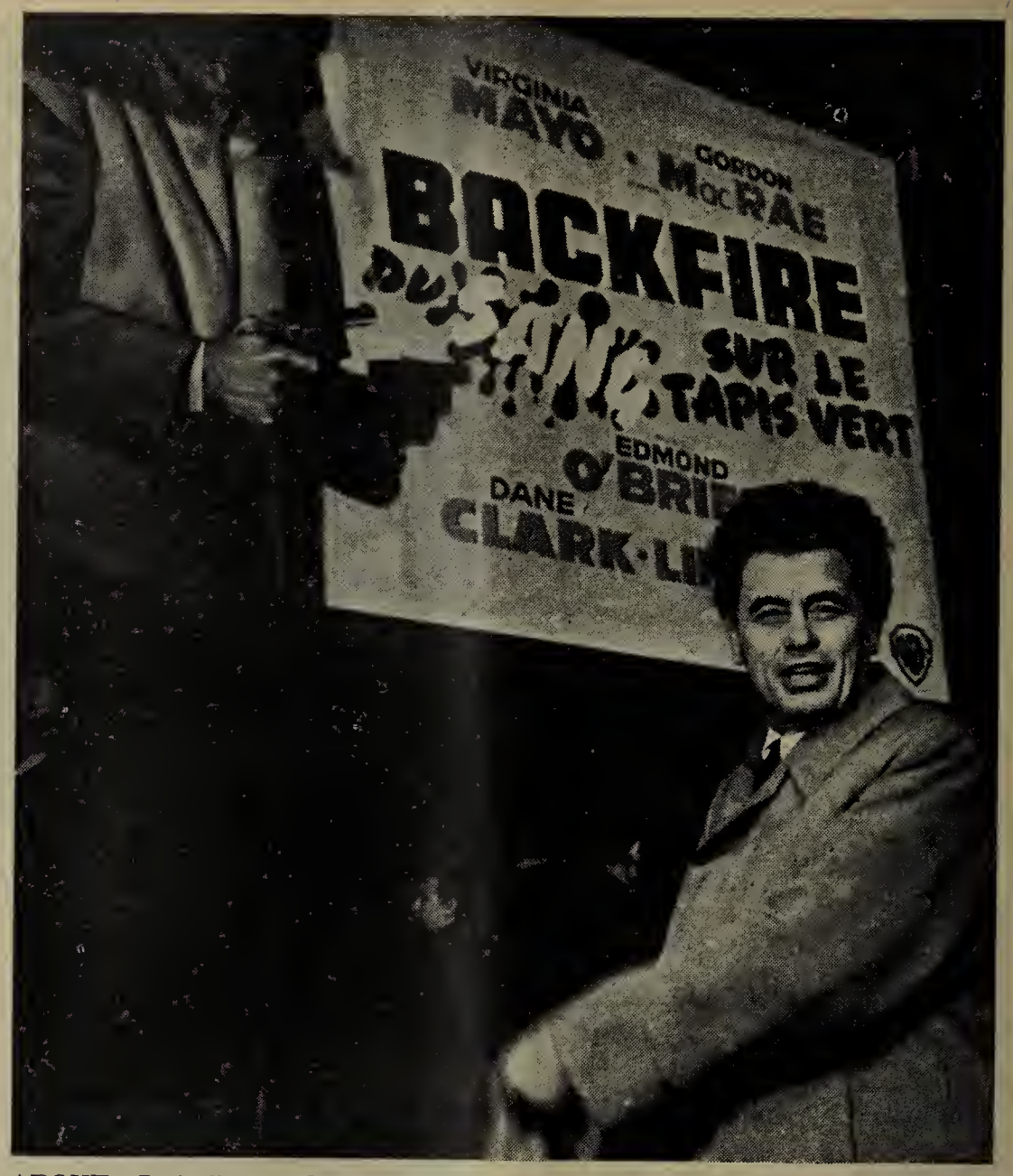
tion between the film producer and the public.

A. For the artist, the impressions and living reaction of the spectator are of incalculable value. Once a film has been made, it is only after it has plunged into every-day life, when it stands the test of contact with reality, that its true worth and fundamental value can be judged.

If the artist is responsive to the reactions of the public, this helps to enrich the theoretical content and artistic form of his work, and to improve the means of expression of film producers, actors and all those who collaborate in the production of a film; because a film is the fruit of the collective work of a group bound together by the identity of views and conception.

The workers in particular, with their direct and human understanding of events, immediately observe everything which does not fit in with real life, everything which is rejected by reality. They are also more honest and frank than bourgeois critics and because of this, are valuable aids to the artist. They enable the film producer to create harmony between life and his artistic vision.

In this connection, it is clear that in the People's Democracies, where workers' children are becoming film producers, there is a sort of organic unity between real life, the film and the men who make it.



ABOVE: **Joris Ivens photographed in Paris in front of a typical glaring advertisement for an American mystery film.**
BELOW: **Three well known film producers:** l. to r., **Joris Ivens, Pudovkin, Jacques Becker.**

In Poland, for example, where as a teacher at the Lodz School of Cinema, I have been helping students of working class origin to make industrial documentaries, these films bear the stamp of socialist realism.

In the Soviet Union, which I was invited to visit in 1930, constructive criticism was made of my films and I understood more clearly than ever the social functions of the cinema and its tremendous opportunities in a State rid of capitalist oppression. From then on, a guiding idea underlay my career as an artist—that a film was not intended to depict the superficial, external beauty of things, but that essentially it must encourage the noble aspirations of human beings, help them to

build a happier, more confident life, to know each other better and to acquire a social conscience.

My collaboration with the trade union movement brought me to a realisation of the responsibility involved in my role. I understood more clearly that the greatest reward for a film maker is not the applause of an enthusiastic public which has merely appreciated the beauty of his film, but the conviction that he has exalted confidence in mankind, the love of life, and has given the spectator the desire to fight for the victory of his aspirations towards a better life.

For the artist must not only believe in beauty; he must first and foremost have a perspective, must see the growth and development of man, must think in terms of the future and help to depict its outline.

Q. Was this the underlying theme of "Borinage," for example?

A. That is correct. It is undeniable that a good documentary has the value of a weapon in the working class struggle. These scenes from daily life, from the workers' real life are unknown to other sections of society. Generally speaking, the sensational thing for the spectators is the authenticity of these scenes. There they see things of which they were totally unaware, things which seem to them to be out of another world, but which nevertheless are happening before their own eyes, if they took the trouble to open them.

I believe that this disclosure of the truth to a broad public can become a precious element in promoting an alliance between the working class and the middle classes, peasants, small tradesmen, and professional workers; and that it can help to tear down the wall of lies whose aim is to isolate the working class and bring its natural allies into opposition with it.

When the big bourgeoisie is confronted with reality, it gives proof of obvious bad faith. "Borinage" was shown for the first time in Brussels to an extremely bourgeois audience. Its first reaction was to challenge the authenticity of the pictures. As for the bourgeois critics, although recognising the qualities of the film they immediately reproached the producer with having become a "propagandist" and therefore with having impaired his art.

This was a great test for me. In such conditions, the artist must know what he wants, must

A scene from the Joris Ivens' film on the People's Democracies, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, "The First Years." A meeting of Bulgarian tobacco farmers discussing the need for irrigation.

A Bulgarian peasant. From "The First Years."

choose between the conventional and easy path to success, and the path of struggle which his conscience tells him he must take.

Like the worker, the artist must have a clear conception of what he is creating. It is true that under the capitalist system, the worker does not see his daily task as an integral part of a whole, precisely because the system based on capitalist profit excludes harmonious and co-ordinated national production. In contrast, in the socialist system of planned production, every worker sees the link between his daily work and the activity of an entire people forging a happy and peaceful future.

And a film can clearly bring out this basic difference. For example, it can denounce capitalist exploitation and show the justice of the workers' struggle against a system in which those who profit from it no longer see any other way out of their contradictions than by war.

Q. That is why you have given a big place in your artistic work to the defence of peace, Mr. Ivens?

A. At a time when a terrible danger is threatening the whole of mankind, an artist cannot do otherwise than fight and help in the fight against war. To me, this is simple and clear—it is common sense itself. Because of my deep devotion to the defence of peace, I was very happy when I was entrusted with making a film on the Warsaw Congress, which was done in close collaboration with trade unions, peasants, intellectuals and professional workers. I attempted to give an idea, through this film, of the vast and world-wide peace movement confronting a tiny handful of warmongers, all this against the impressive background of the martyr city of Warsaw, with the remains of its gaping wounds and with its magnificent fight towards resurrection and the future.

I am now preparing to make the great film on the World Youth Festival in Berlin. This will be another enthralling phase in my work in the fight for peace. Youth, its strength and optimism, will enable me to give a glimpse of the bright future promised us by this tremendous potential for happiness and peace.

Q. One last question. How, in your opinion, can the trade union movement contribute to the development and usefulness of the cinema? How can it help in the fight against films filled with lies, despair and war and for films imbued with a sense of truth, optimism and peace?

A. I would like, first of all, to make an observation. Over the past few years, young filmmakers have begun to make documentaries although the means at their disposal in the capitalist countries are extremely limited; I feel that the trade unions should help these young people who often originate from the working class.

It is possible to make a film on a small scale and with limited means, on a purely local theme. It is necessary to learn at all costs to use the magnificent weapon represented by films, to use it in the same way as the press and radio, and to break down the barrier which still makes films something beyond our reach, surrounded by the prestige of film stars. Because, in actual fact, the cinema has become something which is close and familiar to the working class and which, after 50 years of existence, has begun to penetrate into its daily life.

Certainly, trade union organisations are faced with financial problems, but there are examples to prove that these difficulties can be overcome. In any case, it is beyond all doubt that talented youngsters who identify themselves with the day-to-day struggle of the working class will give fresh impetus to film-making and that we shall see astonishing achievements from the point of view of content and forms of expression in the portrayal of the milieu from which these young people originate.

Another sphere, and one in which the trade unions can take very effective action, is the condemnation of all films designed to prepare the people's minds for war, all films intended to create hatred, to sow discord among nations and races and to prevent understanding and agreement among the peoples. The mass importation of such films is precisely encouraged by the censorship in the capitalist countries, while raising a practically insurmountable barrier to films from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and to progressive films in general wherever they come from. Trade Union organisations can contribute to the fight for the abolition of censorship used in the interests of the war drive and in the service of a cinema inspired by the oppressors of the workers and peoples. They could make direct or indirect representations to owners of cinemas whose clientele is composed mainly of workers, to get them to discontinue showing warmongering propaganda, newsreels and films, and anti-worker and pessimistic films and to have them replaced by democratic and progressive films. Such initiative has often been crowned with success.

Another scene from "The First Years" showing members of a youth brigade in Bulgaria.

It is also possible for trade unions to organise the presentation of films banned by the censorship, films of international fraternity and peace unknown to the public because they have been boycotted by cinema proprietors. Surely by helping the peoples to get to know each other, we would be contributing to friendship and peace among the peoples. I am deeply convinced of this and this conviction lies at the origin of the films I made in China, in Spain, Indonesia, the People's Democracies and at such international rallies as Warsaw and Berlin.

Cinema-clubs formed by the trade unions, in collaboration with other democratic organisations, would make it possible to show to thousands of workers films expressing the fundamental aspirations of every people, their lives, their struggles and their victories.

It would be possible in this way to create and strengthen the spirit of understanding between nations, a mighty factor for peace and progress. In this way can we enrich the common heritage of mankind, forged from the contribution freely made by all national cultures.

An action picture of the "American Way of Life." Here helmeted American troops with fixed bayonets are "protecting" democracy by brutally preventing British, French and other youths from crossing Austria to attend the Berlin Youth Festival.

American Bayonets and the Youth Festival

A young English girl, victim of brutality at the hands of American troops rests on the ground, surrounded by soldiers.

ON August 2nd, the American military authorities in Austria launched a large-scale action against the French and British delegations which were crossing Western Austria on their way to the Berlin Youth Festival.

When the train reached the American zone, the carriages were uncoupled and the young people sent back into the French zone. The American Military Police used their bayonets and rifle butts, and kicked and punched the youngsters in carrying out this task. Twelve French youths were seriously injured and had to be sent to hospital in Innsbruck. They even went so far as to refuse to give water to the young people, camped down in railway trucks and cellars.

There was a strong reaction and active solidarity from Austrian democratic circles. Collections were immediately organised in the factories and, with the aid of Austrian democratic organisations, large numbers succeeded in crossing the American barrage and in reaching the German capital.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

UNITED STATES

Low Morale of U.S. Troops

Staggering facts on the low morale of the United States armed forces were censored out of the testimony of the United States Army Chief-of-Staff General Lawton Collins before the Joint Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees of the United States Senate.

The Collins report on the non-combat casualties of the American forces showed that 30-40 per cent of the men became "disabled" while on their way to Korea for various unascertainable reasons.

This part of the Collins report was confidentially revealed by a member of the Congressional delegation now touring Europe, who declared that Congressional circles had been "outraged" by the Collins revelations.

Collins accused General Douglas MacArthur of exaggerated optimism and dismissed MacArthur's statements on the "high combat spirit" of American soldiers as "mere bragging" which can only lead to wrong conclusions.

A large proportion of the men going to Korea, Collins said, attempt to "evade the fulfilment of their mission" while on their way, and he presented proof showing that 30-40 per cent resort to ingenious tricks to wriggle out of service.

The soldiers are so adept at inflicting wounds on themselves that many army doctors are unable to discover the real origin of the ailment, Collins said.

He also presented military police data showing that more than 100 army physicians are suspected of collaboration and sympathies with these "phonies" (simulators).

When asked by the chairman whether any steps had been taken to cope with this situation, Collins replied that General Mathew Ridgway had been instructed by the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff to take the sharpest possible measures against anybody trying to evade war-time military service.

However, these measures have not yet met with any success worth mentioning, Collins told the Senate Committees.

Tribune, 4.7.51.

GUATEMALA

For Workers' Unity

We went down to the Republic's Congress building to interview Brother Victor Manual Gutierrez, Chairman of the Committee for a Trade Union Unity Congress.

We asked him: "What are the prospects for the trade union unity which is now growing in Guatemala?"

"I think that it will meet with great success and that trade union unity has big prospects. The appeal for unity will strengthen the links between all workers in the achievement of their main demands," he replied.

"We know that an appeal has been made to the workers to unite in defence of their demands and to take action on the basis of a concrete programme of struggle. Would you tell us in a few words what are the other bases of the work?" we asked.

"We intend, in our trade union unity work, to aim at the independence of the labour movement from the State and the employers from the economic, political and organisational point of view. We place very great importance on the development of trade union democracy, respect for the interests of the rank-and-file, and the understanding of their demands. Decisions cannot and must not be taken either without consulting the masses, or behind the back of the masses. It is also our view that the labour movement must be freed from all religious or political sectarianism."

"What is the situation as regards international relations?"

"We cannot lose sight of the need that we in Guatemala have for solidarity both from the workers of the world, and from their representative organisations—the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.) and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The W.F.T.U's Resolutions on Latin America provide valuable guidance in this connection. On the basis of these resolutions, the trade union unity movement we are seeking to build will give a new form of organisation to the workers of Guatemala, uniting the workers in similar branches of the economy, with the aim of integrating them into industrial Federations."

"What importance will trade union unity have on the national level?"

"Trade union unity will strengthen the existing democratic regime."

Octubre, 6.6.51.

AUSTRALIA

Wanted: Royal Commission

While the First Annual Report of the Stevedoring Industry Board had exposed inefficiencies of the shipping companies, it did not give a complete picture and did not disclose that, due to shipowners' greed for profit, freight rates on the Australian coast were up by 364 per cent since pre-war, while wages were up by only 128 per cent in the same period.

Presenting Council with official facts and figures to refute charges that waterside workers "loafed," Mr. Healy, Federal Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation said that the volume of cargo handled on the Australian waterfront was up by 1,700,000 tons since 1937-38.

On the average each ship carried double the amount of cargo it did pre-war, but there was simply not enough wharf space to handle it.

According to *Sydney Morning Herald* figures, wharf space had dropped from 51,800 lineal feet in 1930 to 51,000 lineal feet in 1950.

The capacity of wharf sheds in 1910 had been 64,000 tons. It increased by 133,000 tons by 1930, but by 1950 it increased only another 22,000 tons.

Mr. Healy quoted the case of the Arkaba with 4,000 tons trying to discharge on to the Phoenix wharf, which had a capacity of 2,000 tons.

Completely knocking down press charges of a slower rate of work, Mr. Healy quoted S.I.B. report figures to show substantial increases in handling rates for wool, bulk wheat and flour.

Similarly on charges that strikers were a prime factor in turn-round delays, Mr. Healy quoted the Board's figures to show hours lost per man last year to industrial stoppages and suspensions totalled only 35 compared with 87 hours per man lost through rain and 333 hours lost through "other non-productive time!"

The Government should be forced to hold a royal commission. For its part, the Waterside Workers' Federa-

tion would welcome an opportunity to give evidence on oath, Mr. Healy concluded.

Tribune, 18.7.51.

FRANCE

French Workers Defend Production

Romans is a pretty place in Drome county, and its 22,000 inhabitants earn a livelihood almost exclusively from the shoe industry.

Out of 4,000 workers there are at present more than 500 totally unemployed and about 1,200 working short time.

Thus poverty holds sway in many homes, and tradesmen are fearfully watching the constant fall in their turnover which has already reached huge proportions.

This is because Romans, like many other centres of the shoe industry, is suffering the consequences of an export-import policy which has sacrificed our national production to foreign industries, by imposing high prices in a period when insufficient wages are already provoking a fall in sales.

While the production of shoes was 63,747,232 pairs in 1939, (in 1929 it amounted to 73,629,517 pairs), it had fallen in 1949 to 38,398,595 pairs.

The high price of shoes is by no means caused by the cost of labour. In fact, official figures show that labour, social insurance included, represented scarcely 13 per cent of total costs in 1950, whereas it was 18.17 per cent in 1939.

It is essentially the scandalous price of raw materials which is the cause of the exaggerated cost of footwear, often amounting to 45 times the 1938 prices.

Compared with pre-war prices, the cost of leather and hides is now more than 30 to 50 times that of 1939, according to the type of leather.

The Union of Hide and Leather Workers of Romans (C.G.T.) took the initiative, together with the National Federation of Hide and Leather Workers, to invite last Saturday to a conference for the struggle against unemployment some of the local officials: the Mavor, municipal and general Councillors, businessmen, tradesmen and commercial travellers, as well as the local and regional trades councils of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), the Christian trade unions, and Force Ouvriere.

All the organisations and officials invited responded to the invitation. The Romans apprentices' technical school was represented, and many unemployed attended the conference.

Consequently a highly attentive audience listened to Habert of the National Federation of the C.G.T. define the three aims to be attained:

1. The guaranteeing of work and decent living conditions for the workers of all the hide and leather industries;

2. The supply of shoes in quantity and quality, at reasonable prices, to the great mass of the consumers;

3. The creation of conditions for the development and prosperity of the leather industry.

He insisted on the necessity of putting an end to speculation by cleaning up the leather and raw hides market, to put an end to the scandalous taxes which raise the price of meat and leather—taxes amounting to about 15,000 francs per animal—and the ending of export-import policy pursued within the framework of the Marshall Plan, such policy being detrimental to national interests because it is limited to competing countries whereas the markets of countries buying the finished products remain closed.

The discussion which followed showed agreement on essentials.

A Committee composed of all sections concerned was set up, with the job of drawing up a programme showing the right measures to remedy the present crisis, the programme to be discussed with the Prefect of Drome county, and eventually with the Ministers concerned.

A delegate of the commercial travellers suggested that the committee appeal to all the French shoe industry centres with a view to a general and co-ordinated campaign.

This is an experiment which promises good results.

L. MAUJAUVIS
in *Le Peuple,* 12.7.51.

MOROCCO

War Preparations Under Way

Because the population of Tadla refuses to approve the odious repression which Juin imposed on the whole of the Moroccan national movement, hundreds of patriots are being imprisoned and tortured, villages are being pillaged and razed to the ground, and rape and murder committed.

All this is part of the preparations for war; because the American masters hurriedly building air bases on Moroccan territory need "security," which Juin has the task of providing.

What do the misdeeds of their right-hand man in Morocco matter to the French rulers? They have sold 7 air bases in that country to their masters; thousands of American soldiers and technicians have already arrived. General Vandenberg, chief of staff of the American Air Force, declared on his return from an inspection visit to Morocco that aerodromes were being built there at a stupefying speed. So all is going well for the warmongers . . . . All except for an essential thing, and that is that *the Moroccan people unanimously stand against the deals and crimes of the imperialists.* That is why they are preparing new Tadlas.

Juin declared in a threatening statement: "In a few days perhaps we will have to round a dangerous cape."

It is not difficult to understand the significance of this threat. The "dangerous cape" of which Juin speaks means that some new provocation, a complete frame-up, is being prepared against the Moroccan national movement.

This new crime must be prevented. And as Juin claims to act in "the name of France" it is first and foremost the duty of our people to take steps against it.

To help the Moroccan people to round this "dangerous cape" with which Juin threatens them, is to weaken our own enemies. And that is working for peace.

LEON FEIX,
in *l'Humanite,* 17.7.51.

HUNGARY

Town-Building in Hungary

Simultaneously with the construction of new factories there is the development of new industrial regions with large administrative and cultural centres.

Together with the industrial projects for the biggest construction works of the Five Year Plan, the Dunapentel Metallurgic combine is building the new socialist town of Dunapentel. The first blocks of dwellings are already inhabited, a large factory canteen is already operating and there is also a great park.

A short time ago the building of another big industrial town was begun near the borough of Kazikbarzik, which will become the third largest town in the Borslad region. Here a big Power Station and houses for the workers are under construction.

In the creation of the new towns the experience and the help of the Soviet Union are widely used; many of the projects including town planning were executed with the assistance of Soviet experts; the building operations are being organised according to the examples given by Soviet Stakhanovites; at the building places various Soviet machinery is being used.

Pravda, 22.7.51.

U.S.S.R.

Collective Bargaining in the U.S.S.R.

Maybe you've been on your plant bargaining committee and have negotiated a contract with the bosses. Can you ever remember discussing the kind of apartment you want the boss to provide for the workers, in addition to higher wages? Did you

ever suggest that the boss should stop deducting social security taxes from your wages, that he should pay the cost, and that your plant committee should administer the social security funds?

Sounds fantastic, doesn't it? But these are not strange subjects to workers in the Soviet Union who have negotiated collective agreements with the management. Let's see how such a collective agreement is arrived at in Soviet industries. Let's take it at the plant level to find out how it affects each working man or woman.

The plant I've chosen is the Caliber Instrument Works of Moscow, the biggest one making micrometers and measuring tools for all sorts of machines and vehicles . . . I sought answers to questions many American union members have about trade trade unions here: How are workers' standards protected in the Soviet Union? Do the workers participate in discussions of a contract? How is the contract administered, once it's adopted? Can workers present grievances under the contract?

Nikolai T. Kitsa is chairman of the union at Caliber. There was a puzzled smile on his face when I asked him how he became chairman. "I was elected," he replied. Each shop of the factory elects a shop committee of from five to about 12 members. Then the entire union membership has a general meeting in a hall controlled by the union members and furnished by the plant, where nominations are made for the plant committee. This is the chief body of the union at Caliber. About 18 workers were nominated for the committee, Kitsa explained, and then in a secret ballot 15 were elected. He was chosen chairman.

Working directly under the plant Committee are nine separate commissions elected by the members. Each one of the commissions administers a separate phase of the contract. Thus, there's a wage commission, one for cultural activity, one on housing, another controls the social insurance funds, another personnel and labour force, another health and physical culture, etc. The shop committees see to the enforcement of the contract for their workers.

Discussion of the annual collective agreement starts at a shop level. They take up all phases of work and conditions—wages, safety provisions, health provisions, housing, vacations, upgrading of workers, welfare of the children of the workers, and the fulfilment of the plan for the plant's production. Every single worker in the plant has the right to make proposals, to discuss, to criticise. Finally, at a general plant meeting the last discussion is held and the workers vote on the adoption of the agreement.

I saw the printed copy of the final agreement which had been adopted recently at Caliber, signed by the director and trade union chairman. It was a most detailed document. It tells what work is expected from the men and women at the machines, from the foremen, the engineers, technicians, etc. It lists the pay scales, states the safety provisions, accident prevention regulations, ventilation and sanitary provisions in the factory. It tells what dining room facilities are required, including special dining rooms for workers who need special diets. The polyclinic, the night sanatorium, dental and medical care (all free) for the workers are provided. It describes the responsibilities of management for improving working conditions including the expenditure of 200,000 roubles in 1951 just for making life and work in the plant more agreeable.

Everbody gets at least a two-week vacation, and for workers doing more difficult operations it's a month—at full pay. On top of that, the contract specifies that the plant, industry and union will pay most of the cost of vacations spent at special resorts maintained in the South, on the Baltic and near Moscow. The contract also makes provision for the training of new workers and the maintenance of permanent trade schools connected with the plant.

A very important section of the contract provides for the building of new homes for the workers. I saw the four large department houses already occupied, a new one in construction and more are planned . . .

At any time, any worker in any department or shop who has a grievance may present that grievance to a member of his shop committee. The committee may take it up with the persons in charge of that shop. If the worker doesn't get satisfaction, the committee can take it to the plant committee and highest officials of the works. If the worker still doesn't get satisfaction—and this happens very rarely—the union, or the worker himself, can take the matter to the executive council of the entire union, or the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Every three months there's a general plant meeting where both the director and the union chairman report on how the contract is being carried out.

WHO'S THE GOVERNMENT?

Among the workers in the Caliber Instrument Workers of Moscow there are:

5	Members of the regional Soviet.
3	Members of the City Soviet.
1	Member of the Oblast Soviet.
1	Member of the Supreme Soviet.
28	Assistant people's judges.
1	Assistant member of the Supreme Court, U.S.S.R.

JOSEPH CLARK, *in*
The Worker (New York)
8.7.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

July 20

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen rejects proposals of the Railway Executive to worsen the conditions of the workers. The employers are seeking to increase hours from 44 to 48 a week, to reduce holidays from two weeks to one week, to import Italian labour for lower grade employment and to raise the retirement age from 65 to 70. The employers have submitted this programme in an attempt to avoid their responsibilities of raising wages to attract labour to solve their man-power problems.

July 21

GREAT BRITAIN.—More than 5 million trade unionists, representing over half the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.), are engaged in, or preparing negotiations for, wage increases to meet the steep rise in the cost of living.

July 22

HUNGARY.—The Central Statistical Administration of the Hungarian People's Republic reports the results of the 2nd quarter, 1951. During this three-month period, Hungarian industrial production was 34.94 per cent. above the same period in 1950. In comparison with the preceding year the total of investments in the national economy had increased 60 per cent. The number of workers increased by 100,000 during the year.

July 23

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. H. Adams, President of the Building Workers states that building workers, in spite of recent wage advances, find it difficult to meet even the most pressing needs. They must have higher wages. Living standards, he says, cannot be raised, houses built and construction for economic and social progress accomplished while the wealth produced by the workers is poured into war preparations.

ALGERIA.—As part of their struggle against the war in Viet Nam, the dockers of Oran refuse to load munitions and war material on the ship "Pax" for Indo-China. This action is taken even though their refusal to load other vessels has already cost them more than a thousand million francs in lost wages.

July 24

FRANCE.—Sixteen workers from Martinique arrive in France to be tried before the Court of Assizes in Bordeaux. They were arrested in 1948 during a strike in which a plantation manager was killed during a brawl provoked by the police. Although there is no evidence against them, they have been in prison since 1948 and have now been brought to France for trial to avoid the display of sympathy from the people of Martinique were they to be tried there. On their arrival at Le Havre, dockers called a 24-hour solidarity strike.

ALGERIA.—The Oulémas (an organisation of Religious Leaders), the Democratic Union for the Algerian Manifesto, the Algerian Communist Party and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties decide to create a co-ordinating committee for the creation of an Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Liberty. A general assembly to establish the Front will be held in Algiers to which will be invited all organisations and persons known for their attachment to the ideals of liberty and democracy.

July 25

GREAT BRITAIN.—Bevan and his supporters in the Labour Party submit forty-one amendments to the Labour Party Executive document which is to be submitted to the annual conference of the Labour Party in October.

The Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) informs the government of the opposition of the trade unions to the Franco dictatorship and their determination to resist the inclusion of Spain in the Atlantic Pact.

July 26

FRANCE.—The first group of 800 French delegates to the Youth Festival in Berlin leave Le Havre on the Polish ship Batory.

UNITED STATES.—William Schneiderman and ten other California leaders of the Communist Party are arrested. Bail for Schneiderman is set at $100,000.

July 27

AUSTRIA.—The "Aid to Korea Committee" reports great success in its work. Many factory workers are responding by giving voluntary work. In this way large amounts of money are being collected.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The annual conference of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers unanimously urges the government to do everything in its power to bring about a conference of the Five Great Powers in order to settle differences. The resolution affirms the conviction of the conference that "by bringing together the Great Powers a solution can be found which will bring peace to the world."

July 28

IRAN.—Despite the deployment of armed troops and tanks, the people of Teheran once again demonstrate their firm intention to oppose all Anglo-American interference in the internal affairs of Iran. A large crowd of demonstrators assemble in front of the American and British embassies shouting "Iran for the Iranians."

July 29

UNITED STATES.—The National Maritime Union and American Radio Association, both C.I.O. unions, file a formal challenge to the right of the Wage Stabilisation Board to review wage increases and reduction in hours which they recently won at the end of an 11-day strike. The shipowners contend the settlement exceeds the 10 per cent. freeze limit imposed by the W.S.B.

INDIA.—India suggests three changes to the proposed Japanese Peace Treaty: (1) that in accordance with the Yalta agreement, Taiwan (Formosa) is to be given to China in the future, (2) that the clause relating to U.S. troops in Japan should be eliminated, and (3) that the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands should be returned to Japan.

July 30

WESTERN GERMANY.—Thousands of Bavarian agricultural workers go on strike in support of their demands for a 25 per cent. wage increase and a harvest bonus. Their employers are trying to break the movement, which is also worrying the Bonn government since it threatens to spread to other regions.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Fifty-eight thousand London busmen present a claim to the London Transport Executive for a substantial increase in wages. Their last increase of 7 to 9 shillings per week was won in January. They are members of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

UNITED STATES.—Members of the United Automobile Workers of America (C.I.O.) end a seven-week strike against the Aluminium Company of America. Ten thousand C.I.O. telephone operators end their strike against the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company having won a 10 per cent. wage increase.

Officers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union condemn the arrests of Communist leaders as a device "to cover up raids on the living standards of labour and the people and the handing of more billions in profits to big business."

A strike vote of 80,000 non-ferrous metal workers, members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is to be taken. This action results from an impasse in negotiations with all the major companies in the industry. This is the first time in the 58-year history of the union that a strike vote has been taken in the entire industry at once.

July 31

GREAT BRITAIN.—The National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Transport Salaried Staff Association jointly submit a claim to the Railway Executive for a 10 per cent. increase in wages for 580,000 railway workers. They won a 7½ per cent. increase in February.

UNITED STATES.—President Truman signs an amended Defence Production Act, saying that the price controls in it are not sufficient, and that it will push prices up and threaten the stability of the economy.

Jacob Potofsky, chairman of the International Committee of the C.I.O., says that the C.I.O. is unalterably opposed to the United States government making any deals with Franco for military bases.

SYRIA.—More than 20,000 government employees go on strike to protest against their low standard of living and to obtain a wage increase proportional to the rising cost of living. Government administrative services, including post offices, telephones and telegraph, are forced to close their doors.

RUMANIA.—In the second quarter of 1951 the State Plan for industry was fulfilled by 101.8 per cent. and the rate of gross output was 134.9 per cent. in comparison with the 2nd quarter of 1950.

August 1

RUMANIA.—The prices of white bread, rolls, buns and other bakery goods are reduced 12 per cent.

ARGENTINA.—Argentine railwaymen go on strike to demand the right to elect their own trade union leaders democratically instead of having them imposed on them through the pressure of Peronist leaders. They also demand the reinstatement in their jobs of workers fired for their participation in the strike of January and the liberty of those who had been arrested.

August 2

SINGAPORE.—The *Singapore Press* is banned by the governor of Singapore after Governor Dewey of New York, in a speech in Singapore, protested that it had given front page space to reporting the race riots in Cicero, a suburb of Chicago. Under government regulations the paper has no right of appeal. This shows the servility of British authorities to their American bosses.

August 3

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Bavarian agricultural workers' strike is interrupted as the right-wing trade union leaders agree to submit the dispute to arbitration.

UNITED STATES.—The Wage Stabilisation Board unanimously recommends that wages be allowed to rise to keep pace with the rising cost of living. If this recommendation is approved the former ruling that wages cannot be increased more than 10 per cent. above the level of January, 1950, will be cancelled.

ARGENTINA.—General Peron issues a decree establishing martial law on the railroads which permits the military mobilisation of the railwaymen, in order to break the railwaymen's strike. In January Peron had had recourse to the same anti-labour method to break a rail strike.

CHILE.—Coal miners decide to call a general strike for an indefinite period in support of their demand for wage increases. In an attempt to break the strike the government has instituted a state of siege in the mining district of Schwager. Slaughter house workers in Santiago also stop work and bank employees go on a 24-hour strike throughout the country.

NEW ZEALAND.—Harold Barnes, president of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union, whose members are at present locked out by the shipowners has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. He is alleged to have said that an old man on crutches was knocked down and kicked by a policeman clearing people off the streets.

August 4

ARGENTINA.—Employees of Armours, a large American-dominated meat packing company go on strike in support of their demands.

U.S.S.R.—The Central Statistical Administration announces that the State Plan for industry was fulfilled by 104 per cent., with the gross output for the whole of industry being 16 per cent. higher than in the 2nd quarter of 1950. During the 2nd quarter of 1951 the Soviet people bought 14 per cent. more goods from State and co-operative stores than in the same period of 1950. According to provisional computations the acreage under cultivation is nearly 15 million acres greater than last year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—The Executive Committee of the Trade Unions International of Postal, Telegraph and Radio Workers is holding a two-day conference in Bratislava to review past activities and to prepare the second session of its Administrative Committee. During the past few months the French Union of Broadcasting Employees, and the postal employees of Indonesia and Japan have affiliated to the International.

August 5

WESTERN GERMANY.—Following the Bavarian agricultural workers' strike, 21,000 agricultural workers in Lower Saxony go on strike after a referendum in which 94 per cent. voted to strike. In Hesse, 95 per cent. of agricultural trade unionists took the same decision and workers in Westphalia are expected to follow suit. The right-wing trade union leaders are attempting to settle the dispute by recourse to arbitration.

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REPORT

of the Women's International Commission for the Investigation of Atrocities Committed by U.S.A. and Syngman Rhee Troops in Korea

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Supplement to No. 16 of World Trade Union Movement
August 20, 1951

REPORT

OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY U.S.A. AND SYNGMAN RHEE TROOPS IN KOREA

HAVING received the invitation of the Women's International Democratic Federation, we have been delegated by different women's organizations—some of them members of the W.I.D.F. and some not—to join an International Women's Commission to investigate the atrocities committed by American and Syngman Rhee troops in Korea. We represent seventeen countries in Europe, America, Asia and Africa.

The members of the Commission are: Nora K. Rodd (Canada), Chairman; Liu Ching-yang (China), Vice-Chairman; Ida Bachmann (Denmark), Vice-Chairman; Miluse Svatosova (Czechoslovakia), Secretary; Trees Soenito-Heyligers (Netherlands), Assistant Secretary; Monica Felton (Great Britain); Maria Ovsyannikova (U.S.S.R.); Bai Lang (China); Li Keng (China); Gilette Ziegler (France); Elisabetta Gallo (Italy); Eva Priester (Austria); Hilde Cahn (German Democratic Republic); Lilly Waechter (Western German); Dr. Germaine Hannevard (Belgium); Li-thi-Quê (Viet-Nam); Candelaria Rodriguez, LL. D. (Cuba); Leonor Aguiar Vazquez, LL. D. (Argentina); Fatma Ben Sliman (Tunisia); Abassia Fodil (Algeria); Kate Fleron Jacobson (Denmark), Observer.

We, women of different countries, of different nationalities, of different religious beliefs and different political views, some of us members of different political parties and others with no party affiliations, had a common task before us: to tell conscientiously and truthfully to the women who have delegated us to this Commission and to all the common and peace-loving people of the world the facts as we have seen them. All the facts given below, the figures and other data mentioned in this document, have been recorded personally by the Members of the Commission. These facts are all in accordance with the evidence Members saw with their own eyes and with statements given to them by eyewitnesses and officials in Korea.

The report itself was completed and signed in the period from May 16 to May 27, 1951 on Korean territory, somewhere near Pyongyang.

CHAPTER I

THE Commission visited Sinyju, a town on the Korean-Chinese border. This city has been almost completely destroyed. All the buildings which remain are badly shattered. The town has been bombed many times, but most of the damage was done in raids on the night of November 8th, 1950 and on November 11th. On the day on which the Commission visited Sinyju there were three alerts.

According to official statements by representatives of the Sinyju City People's Committee, Sinyju in July 1950 had 126,000 inhabitants living and working in 14,000 buildings. The Commission was informed that the town had no industries that contributed in any way to war production. It had only light industries: the processing of soya, tofa (a product of soya), the manufacture of shoes, matches, salt and chopsticks.

On November 8th, 1950, the town was bombed by 100 aeroplanes attached to the so-called UNO forces in Korea. On this occasion 2,100 state and municipal buildings were destroyed out of a total of 3,017; out of more than 11,000 dwellings, 6,800 were destroyed. More than 5,000 inhabitants were killed, of whom approximately 4,000 were women and children. Of 17 primary schools, 16 were destroyed, and 12 of the town's 19 secondary schools were also

destroyed by incendiaries. Of 17 churches of different denominations only two were left. Two municipal hospitals were destroyed by incendiary bombs, although each of them was marked on the roof with a large Red Cross in accordance with the provisions of international convention. Members of the Commission saw the remains of these crosses on what was left of the roofs. In one hospital 26 patients were burned to death by flames from incendiary bombs.

The Commission was told that when the large Protestant church received a direct hit 250 people were killed. Among other episodes the Commission was told of 30 mothers and children who were killed while trying to seek shelter after the bombing of a municipal canteen. In the densely populated market district, 2,500 people were killed and wounded. The total number of wounded in Sinyju was 3,155. Members of the Commission examined remains of bombs which were being dug out from the debris and noted the following marking: Amm. Lot RN 14-29, Shell MJ For M2 a MFL 1 Lot-GL-2—116 1944 MJBCA 2 ACT 464.

The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants live in dugouts made of earth supported with salvaged timber. Some of these dugouts have roofs made of tiles and timber, salvaged from destroyed buildings. Others are living in cellars that remained after the bombardment and still others in thatched tents within the framework of destroyed buildings and in huts made of unmortared brick and rubble.

Some Members of the Commission visited one of these huts, which was inhabited by the family of Kwon Mun Su. The family consisted of mother, father, and three small children. The hut was divided into two sections, one for living and sleeping and the other for cooking; the living quarters measured 3 by 2 metres, the cooking space was 1½ metres by 3 metres. The members of the family were considered lucky by their neighbours, both because of the amount of space they had and because they owned a blanket.

Evidence received indicated that the three biggest raids consisted chiefly of many incendiary bombs; and the Commission Members could not at first understand why the damage had been so extensive. Enquiries both from municipal officials and from members of the public whom we met in casual conversation showed the reason. Everybody who was interviewed stated that when the first wave of incendiary bombs had been dropped those who went out into the street to attempt to put out the fires were systematically machine-gunned by low-flying aircraft. The almost wholesale burning of the town was caused by the systematic machine-gunning of civilians who were attempting to put out the fires.

A woman of the town, Chang Yun Cha, stated that her father and her husband were killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying aircraft when they attempted to fetch water in order to extinguish the fire in their house, which was set aflame by incendiary bombs. Another woman, Kim In Tan, said that she had lost her three grandchildren and her daughter in the raid of November 8th. The children were killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes while running from their burning homes. The daughter was shot after having dragged her youngest child from the fire. Kim Hon Yun states that his wife was killed by machine-gun fire while running out of her house set on fire by incendiary bombs.

In the course of the journey from Sinyju to Pyongyang the Commission observed that the towns and villages through which they passed were all completely or almost completely destroyed. The towns were Namshi, Chengchu, Anju, Sukchen and Sunan. Most of the villages were likewise almost completely ruined.

The above was signed by all the Members of the Commission on May 18th, 1951.

CHAPTER II

THE Commission visited Pyongyang, the temporary capital of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Before the war, Pyongyang had a population of 400,000. There were very many large modern buildings built of brick and reinforced concrete. There were also many blocks of modern flats which, as can be seen from the remains, were fully equipped with modern methods of heating and sanitation.

The town had also a large number of factories. The main industries were the manufacture of textiles, shoes, various food products, tobacco, wine, beer and fertilizers.

Among its chief buildings Pyongyang possessed an Opera House, nine theatres, 20 cinemas, a modern university which had been built and equipped after 1945, 73 primary schools, 20 secondary schools, six institutes of higher education and four technical colleges. There were also 20 evening schools for adults and a large Polytechnical Institute, which was almost completed when the war broke out.

The town is now a total ruin. Most of the older parts are razed to the ground, and here and there only walls of the destroyed houses are standing out against a mass of ash and rubble. Some of the modern buildings still stand in skeleton form, roofless and without internal walls; others have no more than a few fragmentary walls to indicate where the buildings once stood. In addition to the buildings listed above, many churches were destroyed, and all of the city hospitals.

Members of the Commission examined ruins of the city's largest primary school. On one of the external walls was chalked the inscription "Reserved for 77th Field Artillery." Eighty per cent. of the city was, according to evidence given to the Commission, destroyed as the Americans left the city (it is important to note that the Americans evacuated with-

out fighting and destroyed the city systematically and according to plan.). The destruction is now virtually 100 per cent. But in spite of this, bombing still continues. On the occasion when the Commission spent a whole day in the city there were five alerts, and in the course of the same day three time-bombs, which had been dropped about a week earlier, exploded at intervals of 10 minutes within a short distance of the place where Members were talking to representatives of local organizations.

Members were able to learn something about the methods by which the city has been destroyed. They were told that the town had been raided by the Americans ever since the beginning of the war. One of the worst of these raids took place on January 3-4, 1951. On this occasion the town was bombed by 80 American B-29's. They came in a series of waves, at intervals of 15 or 20 minutes, starting on the evening of the 3rd and continuing till noon of the following day. The attack began with incendiaries. Next came a series of bombs which were described as being like balloons filled with petrol. Then followed a wave of high-explosives and after that came another series of incendiaries interspersed with time-bombs. The fires caused by the incendiaries and the explosions caused by the time-bombs prevented the inhabitants from doing any rescue work and countless people who were buried alive ultimately died of suffocation. Many of the bodies have still not been disinterred.

Amongst the buildings destroyed on January 3rd and 4th were most of the hospitals of the city. These hospitals had flat roofs and each was marked with a large Red Cross which was estimated to be visible from a height of 6,000 to 8,000 metres. Every one of these hospitals received at least one direct hit. Members of the Commission saw the remains of the Regional Hospital and examined three large craters, two of them measuring approximately four metres in depth and one of seven metres in depth. The city's Central Hospital was said to have been destroyed by dive-bombers which came down to a height of 30 metres.

As has already been stated not all buildings of the city were destroyed by bombing. In fact, many of them were blown up by explosive charges, or set on fire when the American troops retreated. Among the buildings destroyed in this way were the Kim Ir Sen University; the boys' secondary schools; the Opera House; municipal institutions; most of the food factories and all government institutions. The Commission was also informed that when the U.S. troops left the city, they set fire systematically to all of the city's tramcars, and also blew up several bridges and the water system.

Just outside the city, Members of the Commission saw the ruins of the famous temple of Buddha, Yen Myen Sa, which stands at the top of a hill overlooking a wide sweep of the river. This temple, which has been an object of veneration to the Korean people for twenty centuries, was also destroyed by bombing; and, judging by the situation of the temple, which is in open parkland, it is difficult to believe that the bombers could have been aiming at any other objective. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the temple was intact when the American troops retreated from Pyongyang in December 1950. On January 3rd, 1951, however, American aircraft dropped on the temple a large number of high-explosive and incendiary bombs and containers filled with an incendiary agent.

Members also visited the city's celebrated museum, which, though it escaped destruction, had been robbed of its treasures, including two famous statues of Buddha, both of which are more than two thousand years old. Mr. Ri Ye Seng, the eminent archaeologist, showed Members a long list of the articles pillaged. He showed them also that all the Americans left in the museum were the hand-coloured copies of priceless frescoes which had been discovered in recent years in 30 ancient tombs in North Korea. In six of these tombs the Americans tortured Korean women, and blew up the tombs when they retreated.

The Commission was repeatedly told of instances of the machine-gunning of civilians from the air. (They themselves saw low-flying American aircraft spraying machine-gun fire into open fields where peasants were at work. This occurred several hundred kilometres from the front, and a long way from any town or military objective).

Walking through the debris of Pyongyang, Members found many used shells from aircraft machine guns lying among the wreckage of buildings. They also found evidence of the use of new destructive weapons by the Americans. One of these is a bomb which, when it reaches the ground or comes into contact with a building, opens without exploding. In opening, it throws out a mass of some substance which sticks to brick, wood or any other materials with which it happens to come into contact and later bursts into flames.

Reference has already been made to the use of petrol containers. Members of the Commission inspected the remains of one such missile. It was about 3 metres long, 1 metre broad, tapering down to 50 cm. at its narrowest point. The marks on the missile examined were only partly legible. The Members were informed that, apart from the use of bombs of this type in Pyongyang and other cities, the same weapon had been used by the Americans last year during the harvest season to destroy the ripened crops lying in the fields, and that immense damage was done to food supplies in this way.

The time-bombs also seem to be of a new type, and the detonators in them cannot be found and removed. Members of the Commission also found a bomb case marked "High Explosive. GB 5143." This bomb was one of those used to destroy the shrine on Mo Ran Bon.

The surviving inhabitants of Pyongyang live in primitively-contrived dugouts, or in shelters that they have managed to contrive for themselves in cellars or within the surviving walls of bombed buildings. Members of the Commission, which divided into four groups for the purpose, spent nearly four hours visiting different sections of the city, and none of them, in the course of this tour, saw a single house that still possessed four walls and a roof. They did, however, come across a number of families whose surviving

members were living among the debris. For example, the family of Kang Bok Sen, consisting of five people in all, including one child aged 3 and one aged 8 months, were found living in a dugout beneath the destroyed headquarters of the Democratic Women's Federation of Pyongyang. This dugout measures approximately one metre by two, and the members of the family have to creep down a narrow shaft three metres deep in order to reach this shelter, which is their only living space. The earth walls are too low to enable an adult to stand upright. The Members saw enough to conclude that this shelter was typical rather than exceptional, and it would be possible to quote many more instances of families living in similar conditions.

Kang Bok Sen's daughter living in this dugout told the Commission that the Americans made the Opera and the remains of the adjoining house into an army brothel. To this brothel they took by force women and young girls they caught in the streets. As she feared a similar fate, she did not leave her dugout for 40 days. The husband of her friend, Ri San Sen, was beaten up by the Americans because he hid his wife from them. An inhabitant of Pyongyang, Kwon Son Don, a 66-year-old worker from another part of the town, confirmed the statement that the Opera House was used as a brothel.

Many other residents of Pyongyang recounted atrocities perpetrated by Americans.

Kim Sun Ok, 37, mother of four children, stated that after her husband and children were killed in the raid of July 3, 1950, she was evacuated to the village of Song San Ri. There she saw 37 people killed by the Americans, among them the secretary of the local women's organization. The Americans led her naked through the streets and later killed her by pushing a red-hot iron bar into her vagina. Her small son was buried alive.

The above was signed by all Members of the Commission on May 21st, 1951.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERS of the delegation visited the province of Whang Hai and the towns of Anak and Sinchen. Those who took part in this visit were Eva Priester (Austria), Li Keng (China), Candelaria Rodriguez (Cuba), Nora K. Rodd (Canada), Maria Ovsyannikova (U.S.S.R.), Monica Felton (England).

Members of the Commission established that in the whole province of Whang Hai 120,000 had been killed by the occupying armies, in addition to those killed by aerial bombardment. In the town of Anak 19,092 people had been killed by the U.S.A., British and Syngman Rhee forces.

In the town of Anak the Members of the Commission visited a building that before the war had been a storehouse attached to a peasant bank, and that had been turned into a prison by the U.S. forces. It was divided into five cells each about 4 metres long by 3 metres wide. Witnesses stated that these cells had been so crowded that it was impossible for prisoners to sit down.

A peasant woman, Han Nak Son, of 194 Sun San Ri Street, informed Members that her husband, Kim Bon Quan, and her husband's brother, Kim Bon Kyon, were arrested on November 10th, 1950, and taken to this prison. The arrests were made by two American soldiers accompanied by four soldiers of the Syngman Rhee forces. The woman herself ran away and managed to hide. She stated that both her husband and brother-in-law and other prisoners were all either peasants or workers, and none of them was either an official of any kind or a member of the Party of Labour. Many children, some of them as young as two years old, were taken to this prison with their mothers. The prisoners were confined for fifteen days without food, and were beaten with iron bars. Members were informed that these beatings were carried out by Syngman Rhee troops with a U.S.A. officer in command. On November 25th, 1950, the prisoners, including women and children, were taken to the hills and buried alive in trenches.

Another witness, an elderly man named Kim San Yen, living at 172 Se San Ri Street, said that his whole family of 12 persons had been arrested, including his wife, his son, his son's wife and their child of two. At first he himself was not able to discover what had happened to them. Later he learned that they had been taken to the hills and killed. After the liberation of the town he went in search of their bodies, and found the remains of his son and his son's wife, bound together with ropes. Neither body had any wounds and Kim San Yen therefore concluded that they had been buried alive. He stated that his son, who worked in a state shop, had been arrested because he was a shock worker. He himself was arrested on October 18th, but released on October 29th. He told the Members of the Commission that he himself had always been a religious man, and that he had expected that the Americans, who were a Christian people, would behave well. He could not imagine that the Americans, as Christians, would be able to commit such atrocities.

The Members of the Commission then visited another prison. Here, too, they were told that there was no room for the prisoners either to sit or to lie down. Members were shown an instrument used for beating the prisoners, which they identified as a standard U.S.A. army baseball bat (this was taken for evidence). Marks of blood could be clearly seen on the wooden floor of the corridor outside the cells.

A woman, Shoy Um Bok, of 187 San Nai Ri Street, stated that her husband and son had been confined in this prison and later killed. Her son's wife was beaten so severely that she is still confined to bed. A boy of 9, Pak Chan Oi, stated that his

father, Pak Pyan Su, aged 46, had also been killed. When asked who killed his father, he replied: "The Americans." The boy and his mother were also arrested and confined in this prison. They were told that they would be killed too, but were liberated by the Korean People's Army. The mother told Members that she had been tortured by having red-hot knitting needles pushed into her fingernails. Members of the Commission observed the marks of disfigurement. The witness stated that when she was led to be tortured she saw people being thrown alive into a pit in the yard outside.

The Members of the Commission inspected this pit, which was an unused well. It was surrounded by a concrete wall about 60 cm. high and about 1 metre in diameter. It appeared to be about 7 or 8 metres deep, and in the strong morning light human remains could clearly be seen at the bottom. Members noticed nearest to the surface the body of a child dressed in a dark coat with shining buttons.

Members were then taken to a site about 2 km. from the town where, on a hillside situated in open country, many of the town's people had been buried, some in small groups and others in large mass graves. These graves had been opened to enable Members to inspect the remains. One grave was for children, and those corpses that were identifiable had been removed at the time of the liberation for private burial. The bodies that remained were too mutilated for identification. Apart from these remains, the Members could see children's shoes, tufts of women's hair, books and small personal possessions, and also the ropes with which people had been bound together. Another large grave was filled with adult bodies.

A witness, Huan Sin Ya, stated that her mother had been buried alive but had managed to dig herself out. She was subsequently recaptured and buried again. In the same grave 450 people are buried. There are twenty such graves on this hillside, and Members were told that bodies of people killed by the Americans had been discovered on twelve such hillsides.

Members next saw a large number of women from the district. A girl of eleven, called Kim Sen Ai, who came from the village of On Gun Ri, 32 km. from Anak, stated that she was in the fourth class at school when the Americans came to her village and she was put into prison with her parents. After twelve days her father was crucified and thrown into a river. The child's mother was a member of the Party of Labour, and the child told Members that for this her mother had had her head and her breasts cut off. The same child's sister was buried alive. The child herself is now in a school for orphans, and on learning from her teacher that the Commission was visiting the district asked to be allowed to give evidence.

Another girl Shin Soon Dza who was also eleven years old and who was at the same school as Kim Sen Ai, stated that she and her mother and sister were evacuated from their home when the Americans approached, but were seized and captured. When they refused to answer questions they were beaten and her mother and sister were shot. The child herself escaped, but was recaptured, put in prison and beaten by the Americans. Members saw the deep scars that were still left on her head.

Ok Bun Dzen, a girl of 16 from the village of Won On Ri, said that her father and mother were arrested, released and rearrested. Their heads were cut off and thrown into the river. This act was witnessed by the whole of the village, including herself. Afterwards, she was arrested and put into a prison where there was standing room only. When the child of a woman nearby started to cry it was bayoneted by the Americans.

A woman, Sim Tong Bin, who came from the village of Wu Se Ri, 8 km. from Anak, stated that the Americans had killed her husband, her father-in-law, mother-in-law and sister-in-law. All of them were shot and when they appeared to be still alive after the shooting, with the exception of the father-in-law, they were bayoneted. The father-in-law was buried alive.

Ok Ye Pon, a woman of 49, who lived at 40 Yo Nam Ri Street, Anak, stated that her son of twenty-five was arrested by the Americans and beaten with iron bars, and although his head was badly crushed he remained alive and was buried alive. This woman's daughter-in-law was put into a sack and beaten. The mother-in-law succeeded in finding and rescuing her daughter-in-law but the victim is still in bed and unable to move.

A young woman, Tsen Hwa Uk, who came from the village of Che Do Ri, 20 km. from Anak, stated that she had been arrested by Americans and, along with 19 other peasants, led away to be shot. She herself was shot in the shoulder and, with the others, thrown into the river. She and another woman, Li Hi Dzin, 40 years old, succeeded in freeing each other's bonds and swam together a distance of about six kilometres. Li Hi Dzin died of her wounds, but Tsen Hwa Uk managed to reach a cave where she hid for three and a half months till the arrival of the Korean People's Army. She showed Members of the Commission three bullet marks on her left shoulder. She also stated that in her village more than one hundred people had been killed.

In the course of their journey, the cars of the Commission were stopped on a number of occasions by the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed, and the people recounted many instances of the sufferings they had endured at the hands of the U.S. forces.

On the way to Sinchen, Members of the Commission were stopped by peasants whose legs were covered with mud and who were carrying heavy implements. They said that in their district the river was rising and that bodies which had been thrown in months earlier were now coming to the surface. They themselves had been spending the night in trying to rescue the bodies of their fellow countrymen.

The Members spent some time in the town of Sinchen. In this city, 23,259 people had been killed. Members were shown a building which had originally been a school and which had been used by the U.S. army as its regional headquarters. Outside this building were two natural caves. Members were told that

30 women and children had been imprisoned in the first, and then shot. In the second cave 104 people had been confined. Petrol had been thrown over them and then ignited. Not all of them were burned to death. Those who were not reached by the flames were asphyxiated by the fumes. The Members noticed that there were bloodstains on the walls of the first cave, and that the interior of the second cave still showed marks of burning. At the front of the building referred to above, a dugout had been constructed. Members of the Commission were told that this dugout was used for questioning and torturing local people. Here too, bloodstains were clearly visible on the walls.

Members next visited a building which was only partly finished when the U.S. forces occupied the town, but which had been used by them as their local administrative and police centre. At the back of this building was what appeared to be a natural cave, which had been enlarged by the Koreans to make an air raid shelter. Members were told that 479 people who had been imprisoned in the main building were put into one section of this cave before the Americans evacuated the town, and after having petrol poured over them, were burned to death. In another and larger section of the cave, more than one thousand people had been killed by machine-gunning. A witness, Han Yan Guan of 248 Ko Nam Ri Street, stated that he was a mill worker who escaped from the town and joined the partisans when the U.S. forces arrived. On his return after the liberation, he helped to dig out the bodies from the smaller section of this cave. He stated that the bodies were undressed and burned, but that none of them showed marks of shooting. Members of the Commission saw in the cave fragments of human scalps as well as bloodstains and marks of burning on the walls.

Outside the cave, Members of the Commission met a number of local inhabitants whose relatives had been killed. One woman, Chai Chun Ok, aged 65, of 247 Ko Hom Ri Street, brought an instrument like a gigantic pair of tongs which she said had been used for squeezing the prisoners' feet and for similar tortures. She also said that seven of her eight sons and daughters were among those shot in the larger cave. She said : "The Americans are wild beasts. They came into our town and killed everyone here."

Another woman, Pak Yo Suk, of 197 San Dong Ri Street, said that her husband, her son and six grandsons were killed in the first cave. Her son was a peasant. She said : "We thought that Americans were Christians, gentlemen. We did not think that they would kill people with such brutality."

A boy of 13, Pen Sung Su, of 292 San Dong Ri Street, said that of his family of 13 persons there were only himself and his mother left. The rest of the family were beaten and then burnt to death in the cave.

A woman, Pak Su, who had lost all her family, said : "Americans believe in Christ, so how can they kill people?" She added that before the Americans came she had been a Christian and went to church regularly, but she could no longer believe in anything.

In both the first and the second visits described above, the Members of the Commission noticed everywhere the strong odour of decaying human flesh.

Members were then taken to a hillside just outside the town. Here they were shown a flat-roofed storehouse built of brick and covered with cement, about 15 metres by 9 metres. The windows were high up and heavily barred. Here, they were told, 300 women and children were imprisoned by the Americans. The women were burned alive there. The children were starved to death. A witness, Yan Yen Dek, aged 28, of 117 Song Wha Ri Street, said that she had had five children who were now all dead. Her husband had also been killed. She herself had been imprisoned in this storehouse with her child of two. The child was trampled on by the Americans until its intestines fell out. She herself was taken from the storehouse by two American soldiers and was raped by both of them. They then tortured her. With great difficulty she managed to escape.

A woman, San Ai Su, aged 36, said that her whole family of 15 members had been killed by the Americans. Her three children had frozen to death in this storehouse.

A girl of 19, Lin Nan Ya, stated that the Americans shot her parents and her two brothers.

Son Suk Ma, aged 21, stated that she was the only survivor from a family of ten. Her husband, her baby, her parents and brothers had all been killed by the Americans. She herself was in prison in Haiju where all her clothes had been taken away and she had been left naked. Her child who was with her died of starvation.

Another woman, Pak Mi Dza, aged 35, of 2 San Dzen Ri Street, said that of her family of 22 only she was left. She asked : "What are you going to do to help us get our revenge? I cannot live without revenge."

On a hillside about 60 metres above the storehouse described above, Members saw two graves, which were opened for their inspection. One held the remains of 70 children, and the other of about 200 women. All the bodies were badly charred. Further on was a small prison that, Members were told, had been used only for children. This prison was destroyed. Local inhabitants stated that since the liberation the area of the storehouse and of the adjoining graves had been bombed frequently, and they believed that this was because the Americans were trying to destroy the evidence of the crimes that had been committed. In visiting the graves, Members of the Commission had to step around several large bomb craters.

Song Chun Ok, aged 42, of 8 Sar Dzen Ri Street, said that all her family had been killed. Her young children had been killed with axes and knives. She said : "I will go to the front and do anything until the whole of Korea is free of Americans." She added : "It was not only the American soldiers who did these things. It was English soldiers too."

Later, a group of 50 women, some from villages as far as 40 km. from Sinchen, came to meet the members of the Commission. Each of these women was anxious to describe her own personal experiences,

but lack of time made it impossible to give a hearing to more than a comparatively small number.

Kim Yen, a woman of 64 from the village of Kim Dze Ri, said that her daughter Pen Dong Nan, aged 34, was arrested for being an active peasant. An American officer told the daughter that it would be wasteful to use a bullet on her. The daughter was then bound hand and foot and a bayonet was stuck through the two-year-old child which she carried on her back and then into her own body. When she shouted "Long live Kim Ir Sen and the Republic," her tongue was cut out and she was buried alive. Kim Yen said that she learned the details of her daughter's end from a Syngman Rhee soldier who boasted to her that he himself had performed these brutalities under the orders of an American officer. In addition, Kim Yen said that her son-in-law, his mother and brothers and her own two grandchildren, aged 15 and 17, were also murdered. Only her six-year-old grandson was left.

Yu Tong Dze, a woman of 41 from the village of Kwon Chou, told Members of the Commission that 35,000 innocent people had been killed in her district. In her village 175 were killed. Among them were 18 members of her own family, including her husband and her youngest child who was five months old. She herself was arrested but later released. She said that in her village there were both English and American soldiers and both behaved like beasts. She said that she saw with her own eyes how American and English troops threw innocent people in the river. Asked how she knew the nationality of the men, she said that she knew the difference between British and American uniforms. She asked: "Do they have no pity in England? Do they believe in killing little children?" She stated that when the American troops retreated they said to the inhabitants of her village: "Come south with us, for we shall throw the atom bomb on North Korea and everything will be destroyed." Then, when the people left their village to go south, they were machine-gunned from the air.

Ni Yu Nye, from San Gen Ri, said that her daughter and son-in-law had been killed. Her daughter was a teacher. The witness said that neither was shot, but that both were beaten to death with sticks.

Pak On In, aged 22, from the village of Sa Ok Ri, said her husband was arrested along with his three brothers who were peasants. They were all killed. She herself saw with her own eyes an eighteen-year-old girl, called Kim Yen Sun, being violated and then killed. She said that this was done by American and British soldiers. She said that some people had hot irons put into their nostrils and were led through the streets by the Americans and British. She knew a man, a peasant, to whom this was done. His name was Lee San Sun. She herself succeeded in running away and hiding on a hill. Later she found the body of her husband. His head had been beaten open and he had been burned.

Li Di Ye, aged 30, of 3 Chek So Ri Street, said that her husband was a gardener. She said that when the American soldiers came to arrest him, they told her that they would exterminate all North Koreans. She said that in her street there were 100 houses, and out of these 90 families had been killed. She herself was arrested with her two children, but in the course of being transferred from one prison to another she managed to escape. She tried to go to Pyongyang, was caught again, and the Americans ordered her to be shot, but a Syngman Rhee soldier allowed her to escape. She stated that she saw North Korean prisoners of war put into a field, petrol poured over them, and they were burned alive.

Kim Suk Sen from the village of Say San Ri said that her children were taken and killed because she herself was an active member of the women's organisation. Her husband was also killed. Her daughter, Kim Chun Dza, aged 20, who was studying nursing, had nails put into her ear; a drum was then fastened on to her back and she was forced through the streets naked. The daughter was then put into prison, U.S. troops tried to violate her, she resisted, and was bayoneted. The mother found her body, which was mutilated and cut in two.

Kim Suk Sen stated that when the U.S. forces came to the town they organised a brothel. They caught young girls and women and took them forcibly. The witness stated that the pretty girls were taken for the American and British officers and soldiers and the others for the Syngman Rhee troops. She stated that she knew that three girls who had been in this brothel were still alive. The others were killed. In her village there had been 140 houses, and a total of 240 people had been killed.

Hwan Ik Su, aged 14, from the village of San Chen Ri, said that seven of her family of eleven were killed by U.S., British and Canadian soldiers. She herself was arrested because her father, who was a miner, was an active worker. She was taken to prison with her mother and her two brothers. She herself was beaten and showed the marks on her legs to Members of the Commission. The family were taken to a shed on which petrol was poured, but before the shed could be set on fire they were freed by partisans. Among the partisans she met a man who had been with her father, but who had himself managed to escape. This man told her that her father had been bayoneted in five places and that his head had been crushed. Her brother was led through the streets with a rope around his neck and then buried alive with five other members of the family.

During their travels in the province of Whang Hai, the Members of the Commission saw destroyed cities and burned-down villages everywhere.

The above was signed by all the Members of the Commission who visited the province of Whang Hai, May 26th, 1951.

CHAPTER IV

MEMBERS of the Commission: Gilette Ziegler (France), Fatma Ben Sliman (Tunisia); Abassia Fodil (Algeria), Li-thi-Quê (Viet-Nam), Ida Bachmann (Denmark), Kate Fleron Jacobsen (Denmark, Observer), visited Nampho and Kangse in Southern Pyongyang Province.

The city of Nampho had 60,000 inhabitants before the bombings. Now about 50 per cent. are left.

We were informed by the head of the People's Committee of Southern Pyongyang Province, Sok Chan Nam, that there had been no war industries, the main industries being glass, textiles, porcelain, foodstuffs and chemical fertilisers. Although Nampho is a seaport on the Yellow Sea, it has no great importance as a harbour, either for the purposes of trade or warfare, because the water is very shallow.

The city had consisted of 20,000 buildings, now practically destroyed. There had been one technical college, one agricultural college and a theatre, now all destroyed. The 13 hospitals of the city had all been marked with the Red Cross, but they had nevertheless been so badly destroyed by incendiary bombs that only one of them can be repaired. Of 26 schools only two are left for use, and only one of the many churches, a small one, has escaped destruction.

The American occupation of Nampho lasted from October 22nd to December 5th, 1950. During that time, many buildings were burned, and all foodstuffs were destroyed. The Americans maltreated the population, 1,511 persons were brutally killed, more than half of them women and children.

Nampho has been bombed continually, but the most terrible bombing took place on May 6th, 1951. We drove round the city, stopping in many places. Wherever we looked we saw that almost all houses were completely destroyed, craters in the ground, heaps of rubbish and some chimneys being all that indicated the former existence of homes. In every place we stopped people gathered around us, telling us the story of their recent tragedy, the losses of their nearest relatives and their homes, and showing us their wounds caused by torture inflicted by the Americans.

One section of the city, Young Dong Ri, had been turned into a graveyard. Every family had lost three or four, even up to ten members. Of this section, located partly on a hillside, no wall remained standing; of the trees only shining black charcoal stumps remained.

In this same section, 16 patients had been killed when the hospital had been struck by incendiary bombs on May 6th. In another section of the city, we visited an emergency hospital for the treatment of serious burns, which had been constructed deep under the surface of the earth. It consisted of a low naked passage of about one and a half metres in width, cut into the rock, making room for 17 beds.

Standing on the ruin of a bomb crater, a man, Li Tong Wha, 42, said: "There was my home. I lost six members of my family—my wife, my two children and three other relatives—in the May 6 bombing. We Koreans will defend our country, and we hope the International Women's Organisation will defend the cause of Korea." Another man, Kim Su Yong, lost all ten members of his family. He said: "All Koreans are like one man. I cannot express my feelings, but I hope the world will understand." Others cried for revenge.

The large market of Nampho was bombed on April 21st, 1951, in the middle of the day. Forty-eight persons were killed and much foodstuff destroyed. Now the market was almost empty.

The fertiliser factory, one of the largest in North Korea, was bombed by the Americans for six hours (9 p.m. to 3 a.m.) on August 31st, 1950. Of the 900 workers, 300 were killed, and the huge buildings were heavily damaged, many of them beyond repair.

In the afternoon we met several eyewitnesses, among whom were the following: two children, Kim Sun Ok, girl, 13, and Kim Kwon Ho, boy, 11, both from the orphanage. When the Americans came to Nampho they tried to force the children to be christened. Those who refused were deprived of food and tortured. Before their departure, the Americans spread propaganda that the Chinese volunteers would kill the children, and Americans would throw atomic bombs on North Korea.

Guon Tai Son, 44, who did not belong to any political party, was the owner of a grain mill, employing ten workers. When the Americans came they confiscated the entire stock of grain, and on their departure, they destroyed everything. Misled by the propaganda of the Americans, Guon Tai Son followed the American troops. Along with some compatriots he set out for Haiju, near the 38th parallel, where many refugees gathered. The Americans machine-gunned the crowds, and thousands of people were killed, he said.

Ho Young Yuk, 46, a Protestant clergyman, told us that there had been 4,500 Christians in Nampho. These also had let themselves be misled by the American propaganda. The congregation of the Church On Yang Ri, for instance, were among 1,500 persons who prepared to leave Nampho by boat on December 5th. The Americans opened fire on them from the sea and attacked them with machine guns from the air. The Christians, thinking it was a mistake, began to sing hymns—but the Americans continued shooting and killed 275 persons.

Kim Kwon Tai, 48, a member of the Peasants' Union, was arrested on account of this membership. The Americans had beaten his legs and hands, and as a result of this torture his fingers were crippled and he would never be able to walk properly again. His wife and daughter were also beaten by the Americans. His wife's nose had been broken when she was beaten with an iron rod.

In the town of Kangse a considerable part of the buildings, including a big boys' school, has been destroyed. In the country district of Sinchen, 1,561 persons were murdered by the Americans during

their occupation from October 20th to December 7th. Of these 1,384 were killed by shooting (932 males, 452 females, among them were 454 children under eight); 57 were killed by hanging (42 men, 15 women); 50 were buried alive (30 men, 20 women); 35 were beaten to death with clubs (25 men, 10 women), and so on. This information was given us by the head of the People's Committee, Li Yung Suk, in the presence of about 40 of the survivors, men and women.

Based on the accounts of the many witnesses we heard, we can state that the Americans arrested people for the following "crimes" : for being patriots, for having relatives in the People's Army, for belonging to the Peasants' Union or other democratic organisations, such as the Consumers' Co-operative, or for having relatives who belonged to these. (A man who had worked in the co-operative store showed numerous scars on both legs which had been burnt by the Americans with red-hot iron rods.)

The Americans took to the mountains those of their 1,561 victims who had not died as a result of torture, shooting some and burying the others alive. The mass graves were found shortly after the retreat of the Americans, pointed out by local peasants who had been forced by the Americans to dig the graves before the killing took place.

The mass graves were found in the following places : Taichang Mo, Muyon Ri, Wha San Bong, Chang Tai Kwan, Chong So Myen, Lika Myen, and Tong Kul Myen.

From the mountain Taichang Mo we could see many of the mass graves on the surrounding mountains and hills. Accompanied by the head of the People's Committee and a large gathering of mothers, wives, fathers and children of the victims, we stood by the mass graves on this mountain. Some of the bodies had been identified by relatives and removed to a mountain on the opposite side of the valley, where they were buried in mounds, which we also saw.

When the mass graves were opened in December 1950, it was possible to settle the method by which each one had been murdered. In our presence some of the unidentified bodies were uncovered. Now, after five and a half months, the exact nature of the wounds could not be determined. We saw the hands of the corpses tied on their backs, the skulls of some had been crushed, and we found American cartridges, bloody rags, hair, ropes, shoes and pieces of clothing. By the straight black hair and the characteristic clothes on the corpses it was easily recognised by us that the victims were Korean peasants.

On this mountain alone were eight mass graves, one of which was 80 metres long, another was 70 metres long, deep enough for two layers of bodies. Other graves were much deeper (about 5 metres).

Apart stood a small mound, where the Koreans had buried the dead bodies of 20 children found in the mass graves with their mothers.

One of the women who had accompanied us to the mountain, Tang Buk Tong, 44, told us that she had found her brother's body sitting in the grave with his head between his knees and his hands tied behind his back. She added that what she had seen when the graves had been opened was so dreadful that she could hardly look upon it—corpses with open eyes, mothers killed with their babies on their backs, etc.

Another of the several eyewitnesses who spoke up, a man named Kim Ki Sun, 58, told us that his son, his daughter-in-law and their son had been buried alive by the Americans while he was in hiding. He had traced the place and had himself dug up the dead bodies, hands tied behind their backs.

We asked the people whether the torture and murder had been committed by Americans only or if there had been Syngman Rhee troops among them. The answer was : "In this district there were only Americans. They did it."

During the day we heard many alerts, due to the fact that we were near the coast where the American planes constantly prevent the fishermen from going out, in this way trying to deprive the Korean people of food. Only by night can a few boats venture out.

During the American occupation of this district. 15,860 sacks of grain were destroyed by the Americans by fire, and the Americans took away 23,453 sacks when they left.

All the cattle, pigs, chickens and ducks and even horses were slaughtered and eaten by the Americans. In the autumn of 1950 when the grain was ready to be harvested, the Americans destroyed 4,300 hectares* of rice fields and 2,100 hectares of other grain fields by incendiary bombs.

N.B.—In Nampho it was not possible for the inhabitants, who told us their stories, to give us their addresses, since streets and houses were wiped out. But they gave their names and can easily be identified.

The above was signed by all Members of the group on May 27th, 1951, in Korea.

*Hectare equals 2.47 acres.

CHAPTER V

A GROUP of delegates, Liu Ching-yang (China), Germaine Hannevard (Belgium), Elisabetta Gallo (Italy) and Miluse Svatosova (Czechoslovakia), visited the village of Madzen Ri (150 km. from Pyongyang, 48 km. from Wonsan), in the district of Mon Chen, province of North Kang Won, and the port of Wonsan in the same province.

The delegation passed through the cities of Pyongyang and Kang Tong and Sang Tong, which were almost completely destroyed. They also passed

through the bathing resort of Yangtok, famous for its hot springs. Yangtok was now reduced to a mass of rubble and ruins, among which were the remains of a secondary school.

We saw the peasants cultivating their fields during the night, because during the day the American planes attack them with machine-guns. The fields were cultivated with care.

In Madzen, the peasants told us the government plan for spring agricultural work had been fulfilled ahead of time in spite of the fact that they had to work by night.

In the environs of Madzen, the delegates saw large areas of mountain forest that had been burnt by American incendiary bombs which are dropped on mountains, forests, fields and villages.

The inhabitants of Madzen told us that on the night of May 23rd, American planes had dropped three bombs on their village and destroyed several houses.

A peasant, Kim Song Il, stated that the Americans occupied the village of Madzen from October 14th till December 5th, 1950. They invaded the village during five days' fighting with the People's Army. During the entire occupation, the Americans were encircled by the People's Army and to strengthen their position they burnt all the surrounding villages, arrested the inhabitants who had not fled and imprisoned them in a temporary prison in Madzen. After a few days they set free a number of women who escaped to the mountains or hid in the ruins of their houses. In all, about 500 of the inhabitants were imprisoned; 54 were killed; 76 were sent to Wonsan and have not yet been found. All the imprisoned women were beaten by the Americans, and 20 of them were raped. Kim Song Il maintained that the only South Koreans who came with the Americans were some interpreters and not Syngman Rhee troops.

In the village of Kum Ri, 14 km. from Madzen, the Americans threw hand grenades into a bomb shelter where the inhabitants had taken refuge, and killed nine old men, women and children.

After the Americans were driven out, the inhabitants disinterred the victims and learned how they had been killed :

(1) by explosion of cartridges in their mouths;
(2) by splitting their heads with axes;
(3) by burying them alive.

Among those who witnessed the exhumation were Kim Song Il, Se Woon, former chairman of the People's Committee, Tzeng Seng Kal, Yang Ki Whan and others. Soon after their retreat the Americans burned down the village by incendiary bombs. The heaviest bombardment took place on December 15th and 20th, 1950. During these bombardments the entire family of the peasant Chen Ki Son (consisting of 10 people) was killed, including 7 children, and 10 people (including 4 children) were machine-gunned from an aeroplane.

Kim Puh Chen, 43 years old, a mother of 4 children, told the Members of the Commission that the Americans persecuted the population as "Communists." The Americans arrested her husband, who was vice-chairman of the People's Committee in the village of Ko Ri. He was severely beaten over the head and back with wooden sticks and rifle butts, and carried back half-dead to Wonsan, where he died from wounds. The village chairman of the People's Committee was burned alive and his old father was shot. Kim Puh Chen said : "The chairman of the Women's Organisation in Ko Ri, Tzen Man Suk, 31 years of age, was arrested by the Americans as a 'red' and violated for two days in succession."

Cha Ok Sun, a woman of 27, mother of two children, told us that her husband had been working at the post office at Ko Ri, and she herself had cultivated their little field. The Americans imprisoned both of them with their two children, the younger only one year of age, and beat them, accusing them of being a "red family." She never saw her husband again. During several days in prison she received only two bowls of rice. Consequently she could no longer feed her baby. The Americans then took her to Wonsan. While in prison in Wonsan she saw that the American soldiers chose several girls each night and violated them. After twenty days in the Wonsan prison she was freed by the People's Army.

Kan Yu Han, a peasant woman from Ko Ri, 28 years of age and mother of a child of 18 months, told us that she had fled to the mountains before the Americans arrived. On the very day she returned in order to look after the harvesting, she was imprisoned with her child. She was whipped because she could not keep her baby from crying from hunger. After four days of solitary confinement she was taken to Wonsan and put in an underground prison, with her baby, and from here she was freed by the People's Army.

Wonsan is a port on the Sea of Japan, and the capital of the province of North Kang Won. The president of the Party of Labour of the province, Che Kwan Yol, gave us the following information :

"Before the war, Wonsan had 122,127 inhabitants. Of these only 57,667 remain. And of 27,345 houses and public buildings only 9,257 remain, and all of these are more or less damaged."

The American occupation lasted from October 14th until December 9th 1950. From that date until March 31st, 1951, Wonsan was attacked by 275 bombers (B-29's) and 917 fighter-planes, which dropped 838 high-explosive bombs and machine-gunned the houses and inhabitants 3,519 times. During this time warships shelled the city 487 times. The victims number 518 wounded and 498 killed, of whom 255 male, and 243 female, including 241 children.

During our stay in Wonsan, the warships repeatedly fired at the city and its environs. The cannonade grew particularly strong during the night between May 23rd and 24th. According to official information, 6,752 shells were fired during the night, 65 public buildings and 49 private houses, already damaged, were completely burned and destroyed. Eleven inhabitants were killed, four were wounded seriously, and three received lighter wounds.

We paid a visit to the shelled section of the city located close to the oil refinery which had been

completely destroyed. In that place we examined several high-explosive and incendiary shells.

Each house was nothing but a mass of rubble, which in many places was still smoking. Just before our arrival, the dead bodies of a mother and her two children had been dug out. We saw the charred corpse of this woman wrapped in straw for burial. Most of the inhabitants who had found refuge in bomb shelters were working to clear away the wreckage.

While we were there, three air alarms forced us to seek shelter in the dugouts in the mountainside, the only kind of habitation left for the people. We visited such a "town," Chun Chong Ri. It consisted entirely of caves, cut into the slopes of the ravines. The entrance was camouflaged with a network of branches, the inhabitants being afraid of having their caves discovered and machine-gunned from the air.

Kwon Chin Lu, chairman of the Democratic Women's Federation of the province of Kang Won, read the following official report to us :

"The attacks on the province of Kang Won began early in July, 1950. Besides a great many other buildings, the following have been destroyed :

"(1) On July 13, 1950, the rest home for workers, where 168 workers were killed, Elementary School No. 13, the central hospital, the Red Cross hospital, where the head nurse was killed, also hospital No. 1, where three patients and two nurses were killed.

"(2) On August 13, 1950, the teachers' college and the railway workshop (bombed from eight aeroplanes, type B-29), more than a hundred workers were killed.

"(3) On August 15, 1950, the oil refinery (it has been bombed several times since), and the shipyards.

"(4) On September 13, 1950, Secondary School No. 3 for girls, and the provincial central theatre were hit.

"(5) On January 25, 1951, the city library.

"Neither schools nor hospitals are left in Wonsan now. Teaching is done in small groups; the teachers go from one group to another in the various parts of the city. In the districts located nearest to the 38th parallel, not one habitable house exists. From June 25th, 1951, until March 31st, 1951, 2,298 women and 2,292 children were killed in the province of Kang Won alone. 676 children have lost both parents."

Of the atrocities committed by the Americans during their occupation of this province from October 9th until December 11th, Kwon Chin Lu gave the following official information :

"In the town of Chelwon, 1,500 civilians were killed, of whom 130 were buried alive in the shelter to which they had been ordered to go.

"In the village of Kalma (district of Kalma, county of Chelwon) the peasant Om Son Ho and his family, including six children, were bayoneted by the Americans.

"In the village of Sa Ki (district of Chelwon) many civilians were buried alive, including a child of three who was still alive when the grave was reopened.

"In the village of Ok Tong Ri (district of Pyong Kang), the peasant Le Dong Cho's daughter-in-law, 23 years of age and pregnant in the eighth month, was taken by the Americans. She was undressed and exposed publicly, tied to a tree. Her abdomen was cut open and the baby taken out.

"In the village of Mih Yen (district of An To, county of An Pyen), three women belonging to the family of the peasant Se Yang Son were taken to a shelter and when they defended themselves against the Americans who wanted to rape them, their breasts were cut off, and they were killed, having red-hot irons thrust into their vaginas.

"The woman, Che Ok Li, aged 42, living in Rong Son Street, in Wonsan, was raped by 14 Americans in succession. She is still alive, but is too ill to leave her bed. She now lives in the village of Ro Kok (I Tong district, Chelwon county).

"Kim Hyo Sun, aged 32, and her child were arrested by the Americans on November 3rd. She was undressed by them, had bayonets thrust through her abdomen and was afterwards shot. The child died from hunger by her side.

"In the province of Kang Won alone, which had 130,000 inhabitants, 2,903 women have been raped by Americans and Syngman Rhee troops."

The Members of the Commission talked to other witnesses :

Cheng Kyeng Hwa, widow, aged 49, a Protestant missionary, told us that her daughter-in-law, Yun Sun Se, 25, was awakened in the night and put into a car. She fled out into the rice fields, was chased, violated and shot. Cheng's brother, Cheng Chung Kwan, and her sister-in-law, Pak Kyeng Ryel, were killed by machine-gun fire from an areoplane when walking in the street, the first on December 24th, the second on December 29th. Cheng Kyeng Hwa is bringing up their six children.

Sin Yenk Ok, 46, a peasant woman living in Kyeng San Street in Wonsan, said that her daughter-in-law, aged 25 and in the 9th month of her pregnancy, was arrested on November 18, 1950. She was beaten for being a "red" (she had been president of the district Democratic Women's Organisation for 2 years); five days later she was exposed publicly at the town square. Her child, about to be born, was killed when a rod was thrust into her womb. The mother died at once. This was done by two Americans and one Syngman Rhee man.

Eyewitnesses who were forced to be present during the execution were Lin Pek Man and Kim On Yo.

The husband of this woman, Pak Chan Yen, 26 years of age, was beaten and shot at, and is now dying from his wounds.

Kim Sen Hi, 55, resident of Wonsan, told the Members of the Commission that on November 21st, 1950, five American soldiers forced their way into the house of Sin Bon Kin, a Christian widower, while he himself was away, and raped his oldest daughter, Sin Hwa Sun, 21 years old, while her two young sisters were present. When the two small children fled crying, they were killed in front of the neighbours. Their older sister died three days later.

Li Kum Sun, a peasant woman, aged 38, member of the women's organisation, living in Sedon Ri (in the city of Wonsan) told us that she was arrested with her month-old infant on October 25th, 1950. She was taken to Kal Ma Ri suburb, in the town of Wonsan. Every night she was beaten on the back and stomach when she was brought for interrogation. On November 10th, she was freed. Five days later her child died. On November 20th, her husband was arrested, tortured for seven days, then taken away. After the liberation Li Kum Sun discovered her husband's body in a valley near Chong Chen Ri, district of Se Won, in the county of An Pyen, together with 38 other bodies. Their hands were tied behind their backs, and their left eyes shot out.

Signed by all the Members of the Commission who visited the province of North Kang Won, May 26th, 1951.

CHAPTER VI

THE Northern part of the Korean People's Republic was visited by a group consisting of the following Members of the Commission : Hilde Cahn (German Democratic Republic), Lilly Waechter (Western Germany), Bai Lang (China), Trees Soenito-Heyligers (Netherlands).

The route followed was from Pyongyang to Kaichen, thence to Hichen, Kangge, Mampo, and back to Pyongyang.

On the way from Pyongyang to Kaichen, the Members of the Commission saw four small towns, which were almost completely destroyed; also many burned-down villages and peasant dwellings. The Members, in the whole course of their journey, did not see one town that had not been destroyed, and there were very few undamaged villages.

The Members of the Commission saw six forest fires, two of which were ignited before their eyes—one between Pyongyang and Kaichen, and the second between Hichen and Kaichen. On both occasions a plane was heard, Members of the Commission saw light flashing upwards from the ground, and immediately afterwards they saw a blazing fire that suddenly began to spread rapidly. The Members saw the branches of the trees catching fire. In the course of this journey they noticed many mountainsides that had been burned black by forest fires.

Kaichen district contains the town of Kaichen and five villages. The district is situated in the northern part of the province of Pyongyang Nam Do. The chairman of the regional People's Committee, Kim Beng Ho, gave Members the following information :

On the twenty-first of October, 1950, Kaichen was occupied by the 26th and 27th armoured divisions of the U.S. Army, reinforced by troops from other participating countries. Kim Beng Ho particularly noticed British, Australian, Canadian and Turkish troops, and a few hundred Syngman Rhee troops. Altogether there were 80,000 to 90,000 men. The occupation lasted for 40 days.

Kaichen district had 13,000 houses; over 6,500 were destroyed, most of them by bombing and others by the retreating forces who set them on fire. The rest of the houses are damaged.

Before June 1950, there were 7,600 oxen and cows, of which only 2,200 are left; 7,800 pigs, of which 300 are left; over 100,000 hens and chickens, of which only 1,000 remain.

Kim Beng Ho stated that in spite of the fact that so many oxen were taken away by the Americans and that most of the men are with the People's Army, the women had the crops sown three week's earlier than the usual time. Before being destroyed, Kaichen had a high school, 6 middle schools and 31 primary schools; one library, one theatre and 13 hospitals and clinics. All these institutions were destroyed. It is impossible to rebuild them because of the constant bombing.

The district had over 80,000 inhabitants of whom 80 per cent. were peasants. The number of inhabitants is now about 60,000 scattered over the countryside. The Americans killed 1,342 people by shooting, burning or beating them to death. As far as it is known, over 800 women were raped, but many women are ashamed to tell. Members of the Commission asked if Kim Ben Ho were sure that these crimes are committed by American troops. He answered, yes, he was quite sure they were Americans and no other soldiers.

By way of example he related this incident : During the occupation he himself was a leader of partisans. One of his men was a well-known organiser, Kim Ke Sun, 31 years old. He lost all his family. His wife, Ree Whak Sil, who was with child, was arrested by the Americans and questioned about her husband. As she refused to give information, they tortured her; they cut off her left arm and then her right leg and finally opened her womb and took out the child. When she was dead, the four children of this family were locked in the house and burned to death. Kim Ke Sun, when he came back, saw the bodies and heard the story from neighbours.

A woman called Ree Djin Hyeng, who is living in the town of Kaichen, at 20 Ma Dyan Ri Street, gave Members of the Commission the following information :

Her younger sister, who had been decorated by the government for excellent work as a peasant, had been an official in the women's democratic movement of the district. Before the American troops arrived, Ree urged her sister to flee with her, but as an official she would not leave and so Ree went on alone with the children of both women. When the younger sister did not come back, Ree went back with her 8-year-old son to see what had happened to her. She found her, naked and tied to a tree, being beaten by the Americans and questioned as to her husband and her organiza-

tion. When she refused to answer, they tortured her with electricity for several days and forced the population to look on. The 8-year-old boy in a rage threw himself on the soldiers and was shot. The young woman was tortured for several days and the Americans forced the population to look on. Finally they shot her.

Ree Djin Hyeng was also arrested but she concealed her relation to her sister and so managed to save her life. Ree told the Members of the Commission that she had seen many other cruelties, the story of her sister being only one. She confirmed that the Americans hunted women and girls, taking them in their jeeps to their brothels. Ree and other young women escaped by smearing their faces with ashes and dressing like old women.

In the almost completely destroyed town of Kaichen, the Members of the Commission saw, among other things, one of the bombed hospitals, the roof still showing the Red Cross. A representative of the women's organization of the town said that 500 people were killed in one district of the town alone.

A crowd of women and children gathered around the Members of the Commission, urging them to listen to their stories. Many of these women were very excited, weeping and clasping our hands. Time did not permit hearing them all. Members of the Commission noted the following names and facts :

Cha You Suk, an old woman, said that when the Americans came, her wounded son, who had fought in the People's Army, was at home, dressed in uniform. He was shot before her eyes.

A young woman, Kim I Suk, said that her husband, a Peasant Union leader, had been killed. She fled with her baby on her back. American soldiers caught her, dashed the baby to the ground and trod it to death.

O In Bun said that her daughter Kim Yung Dju, 28 years old, was raped by several American soldiers who later drowned her.

Ree Sun Sil, a young woman, was kept for 12 days, quite naked, in a room with many American soldiers.

Kil Ryong Nye, 20 years old, living in Kaichen, Buk Bumyen Street, said that her brother and sister-in-law were killed by the Americans.

Hong Yung Bok, 37 years old, living in Kaichen, 472 Hyen Ryong Ri Street, stated that her husband was shot.

Kim Ryong Sil, 34 years old, living in Kaichen, 472 Ryang Hen Ri Street, said that her son was killed.

Rim Un Dju, 30 years old, living in Kaichen, 57 Chung Hung Ri Street, tells that her brother was killed by the Americans.

Choy Sen Cho, 34 years old, living in Kaichen, Sen Po Ri Street, said that the Americans shot her husband.

Members of the Commission went to an orphans' home in the country, where 48 children are now being cared for. They had been rescued from the bombed town. One little boy of about six, had become deaf and dumb from shell shock. His name and those of his relatives are still unknown. In Kaichen, Members of the Commission met Ree Sen Sil, chairman of the Democratic Women's Organization in a village north of Kaichen. She stated among other things that in her village a few weeks ago an American plane dived and opened machine-gun fire on three men working with their oxen in the field. Two men and the three oxen were killed; the third man was badly wounded.

Kangge is situated in the province of Tza Kangdo. Mr. Ree Chow Sen, chairman of the provincial People's Committee, gave us the following information :

This most northern province of Korea is sparsely inhabited, largely by peasants. The enemy had occupied only part of the province. The People's Government of this province does everything possible to help refugees, but the problem of how to give everyone food and shelter is a very difficult one. The difficulties were increased by the American planes, machine-gunning the people fleeing north, and killing the cattle on the roads and in the fields.

The town of Kangge had 40,000 inhabitants. There were two colleges for the training of teachers, one college of forestry, a high school and two middle schools, four primary schools, two theatres. Of all these cultural institutions, only the middle school for boys is still standing and it is damaged. The health centre was destroyed by the Americans in spite of the Red Cross on the roof.

The town had two Protestant churches and one Roman Catholic church, a temple of Confucius and a Chen Do church. All were destroyed. The Christian section of the population at first tried to find shelter in and near the churches. They expected the Americans would spare these buildings. Not only the town of Kangge, but even the smallest peasant dwellings in the mountains are bombed and burned by the American planes.

The Members of the Commission were informed that the only possible military objectives in the area, the railroad and the station, had already been destroyed on October 9th, 1950. Yet the town of Kangge was heavily bombed and nearly completely destroyed on December 12th, 1950. The American planes dropped mainly incendiary bombs and afterwards time-bombs, which exploded at various times up to 20 days after they were dropped. In the beginning of February 1951, new heavy bombing of the already destroyed city followed. This time mainly time-bombs were used so that for the following 20 days the inhabitants did not dare to enter the town.

Members of the Commission visited the almost completely destroyed city and spoke to the city surgeon, Dr. Baik Ki Dje, who stated that before the city hospital was bombed on December 12th, 1950, the Red Cross on the roof of the building had been machine-gunned by low-flying American planes.

After the bombing of December 12th, 1950, Dr. Baik himself took care of about 100 wounded persons. After the bombing in February 1951, he saw the bodies of over 200 people. Dr. Baik stated also that he had repeatedly seen American planes bombing peasant dwellings. He told, for example, how the house of the peasant Pak Hoo Ryong was bombed, and that in this house 10 persons were killed.

Members of the Commission asked Dr. Baik how the government managed to avoid epidemics. The answer was: by vaccinations on a large scale, the medicines for which are sent from various parts of the world by friends of the Korean people.

Members of the Commission met in Kangge three peasant women who had heard of our stay in the town and came to thank us. One of them said: "I lost my husband and two of my four children in the bombing. I will avenge them by working, so that our People's Army can get what it needs to drive the Americans out, and then we will have peace again."

Mampo is situated at the frontier between Korea and China.

People's Committee chairman Lee told the Members of the Commission that this city had 12,700 inhabitants. It has only some light industries in wood and in textiles. Mampo had two heavy bombings. On November 12th, 1950, it was almost completely destroyed. Members of the Commission, visiting the ruins, noticed an unusually large number of fragments of incendiary bombs lying around. On December 7th, 1950, the already destroyed town was bombed again by the Americans and in this bombing more than 350 persons were killed by incendiary and high-explosive bombs. Members of the Commission saw a bomb crater that was at least 7 metres deep. Mampo had also many cultural institutions; among other ruins Members of the Commission noticed the remains of a big school building and of the theatre.

Here, as in the other ruined cities, the inhabitants live in dugouts and cellars. Members of the Commission saw such a dwelling, part of a former cellar, and completely dark, in which were two small children, the youngest two years of age. They are being taken care of by an elder brother of about 13. The Members of the Commission learned from him and from neighbours that the father, a worker on the railroad, and the mother were killed in the bombing of December 7th, 1950. Mr. Lee stated that the People's Government takes care first of all of those children who have nobody to look after them.

Signed by all the Members of the group visiting Kaichen, Hichen, Kangge and Mampo on May 27th, 1951.

CONCLUSION

AFTER the observations made by the Members of the Commission in different parts of Korea, the Commission has reached the following conclusions:

The people of Korea are being subjected by the American occupants to a merciless and methodical campaign of extermination, which is in contradiction not only with the principles of humanity, but also with the rules of warfare as laid down, for instance, in the Hague and the Geneva Conventions. This is being done in the following ways:

a) By the systematic destruction of food, food stores and food factories. Forests and ripe harvests are being systematically burned by incendiary bombs, fruit trees are being destroyed, and peasants working in their fields with their animals are being killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes. By these means the whole people of Korea is doomed to starvation.

b) By the systematic destruction of town after town, of village after village, many of which by no stretch of the imagination could be considered to be military objectives or even industrial centres.

The aim of this systematic destruction is clearly, in the first place, to break the morale of the Korean population and, secondly, to wear them out physically. In these never-ceasing raids, dwellings, hospitals, schools, etc., are deliberately destroyed. Even towns which have already been turned into heaps of ashes and in which the surviving inhabitants are reduced to living in dugouts, continue to be bombed.

c) By systematically employing against the peaceful inhabitants weapons banned by international convention, i.e., incendiaries, petrol bombs, napalm bombs, time-bombs, and by constantly machine-gunning civilians from low-flying planes.

d) By exterminating the Korean population through atrocities. In the districts temporarily occupied by American and Syngman Rhee forces, during the period of occupation, hundreds of thousands of civilians, entire families from old men to little children, have been tortured, beaten to death, burned and buried alive. Thousands of others have perished from hunger and cold in overcrowded prisons in which they were thrown without charges being levelled against them, without investigation, trial or sentence.

These mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by Hitler Nazis in temporarily-occupied Europe.

Evidence given by all civilians questioned points to the fact that nearly all these crimes were either perpetrated by U.S. soldiers and officers or else on the order of U.S. officers. Therefore the full responsibility for these atrocities falls on the U.S. Supreme Command in Korea, i.e., on General MacArthur, General Ridgway and other commanders of the invading forces who call themselves the Forces of the UNO. Although these atrocities have been performed under the command of generals in the field, the full responsibility for them must also rest with the governments who sent their troops to Korea and whose representatives to the U.N. gave their votes in favour of the war in Korea.

The Commission expresses its belief that those responsible for the crimes committed against the Korean people must be charged as war criminals as defined by the Allied Declaration of 1943, and must be brought to trial by the peoples of the world, as was defined by the same Declaration.

The Commission calls on all the peoples of the world, in the name of common humanity, to urge by every means in their power that the war in Korea be

brought to an end without delay and that the invading foreign troops be immediately withdrawn from Korea.

The Commission also urges all the peoples of the world to organize immediate help for the Korean people, who are threatened by hunger and disease as a result of the atrocious crimes committed by the American invading forces on Korean territory.

The Commission asks the Women's International Democratic Federation to send this document to the governments of all the countries of the world, to all women's organizations throughout the world, irrespective of whether they are members of the Federation or not, to the World Peace Council, to all organizations fighting for peace, to all humanitarian organizations and public leaders, regardless of their political or religious views, who hold dear the cause of peace.

The Commission urgently asks the WIDF to forward the report of the Women's International Commission for the investigation of the atrocities committed by U.S.A. and Syngman Rhee forces in Korea, to the United Nations Organization.

This report has been compiled in five languages : English, French, Russian, Chinese and Korean, and signed by

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On Class Collaboration in Works Committees

by ALAIN LE LEAP
General Secretary of the French CGT
Vice President of the WFTU

ON the morrow of the liberation of France the General Confederation of Labour called for the setting up of works committees, and these committees were created in a limited way by an order issued by the Provisional Government of the Republic on February 22nd, 1945. This order was later amended by an Act dated May 16th, 1946, considerably extending the powers and prerogatives of the committees.

The works committee—compulsory for every type of undertaking employing at least fifty wage-earners —is composed of the Managing director or his representative and delegates elected by the staff, the number varying with the size of the firm. The candidates for election are put forward by the trade union organisation, delegates are elected for a year and can be re-elected. Every member of the committee can be recalled during his period of office by a proposal made by the trade union organisation which put him up for election, if this recall is endorsed by the majority of the voters who elected him. Thus the trade union organisation can maintain systematic control over the activity of the delegates. The committee has very wide powers and deals not only with questions affecting working conditions, wages, and the administration of social welfare schemes, but is also required to be conversant with the actual working of the firm, to give its opinion on production, output costs, profits and their distribution, etc. The committee meets at least once a month.

Employers' Underhand Activity Against Works Committees

THESE committees have been and still are the centre of a battle between the democratic and reactionary forces.

The employers' organisations, which were forced to recognise the existence of works committees, but which sought to avoid any infringement of the employers' freedom to do whatever they liked, did everything possible to limit the powers and the right of investigation of these committees, and to divert them from their purpose.

In contrast, the workers' organisations systematically encouraged the committees to use fully and intelligently all the conditions provided by the law and recommended that when difficulties arose, they should gain support for their action from all the workers.

Some employers violently opposed their works committees. Others attempted to get them to concen-

trate their activities on the administration of the social welfare schemes or to corrupt them. By persuading them that henceforth their interests were identical, they attempted to make them deliberately abandon the struggle and accept class collaboration, or to abandon the struggle involuntarily by taking advantage of their inexperience and lack of knowledge of the problems with which they were suddenly confronted.

On April 28th, 1948, the French National Council of Employers sent the following note to all its members :

> " The works committee is a body responsible for ensuring the closest co-operation and confidence between the management and the elected members of the committee, and through them, between the management and the entire staff of the enterprise. Any external interference in the committee's work and any trade union intervention in particular, can only impede the efficiency of the committee and the achievement of its purpose."

At the same time, a large number of works newspapers were started. The rôle of these newspapers was described in the following way by a social adviser of the Young Employers' Centre at a lecture course : " The works newspaper is an instrument of liaison and alliance, and it is therefore absolutely necessary to keep it free of anything which might give rise to an attitude of withdrawal, distrust and class struggle." Speaking of the necessity of " screening " certain articles, the adviser added : " Screening does not necessarily mean the suppression of free expression; certain articles on tendentious subjects or on demands are not suitable for a works newspaper; they must not be rejected by brutal censorship, but rather it must be explained to the authors that they could creat uneasiness and an atmosphere of disunity in the enterprise, whereas the aim of the works newspaper is to establish an environment of agreement and understanding."

Workers' Mistakes

MANY workers fell into this trap. In the works newspapers or bulletins distributed free to the entire staff, they described the company employing them as the workers' OWN company, and the firm in which they laboured as their OWN factory. One employer, chairman of the works committee, expressed himself in the following terms in one of the bulletins : " As director of *our* firm, I hope that this bulletin, which will deal particularly with questions relating to *our* trade, *our* factory, and *our* staff, will form another bond between us and *our* jobs."

Many mistakes were made as a result of this. Works committees took on jobs which had nothing at all to do with the actual reason for the committee's existence; as for example :

—during a period of price-freezing, they called for increases in the price of the goods manufactured in their firm because the employers had " proved " to them that unless this occurred, the firm would go out of business (which did not, however, prevent it from making big profits);

—they spread among the workers the theory of the vicious spiral of wages and prices, according to which every wage increase would bring about a bigger rise in prices and therefore in the cost of living. This theory completely ignores the existence of capitalist profits;

—they introduced time and motion studies and even penalised the workers for low output, etc.;

—they laid off workers on the grounds that there was no work in the industry;

—they dismissed trade unionists who led the big strikes of 1947; and there are other examples.

The employers went even further, seeking to use the opportunity to eliminate the trade union organisations by systematically turning down all the trade unions' demands and by satisfying those put forward by the works committee in order to promote a falling-off of support for the unions, rapidly leading to their elimination and to an end of all fights for demands. Some works committees fell for this boasting of having obtained concessions which the trade union branch had been unable to get from the employer. Certain of them even adopted the principle of a levy on wages to subsidise the activities of the committee, which speedily assumed the character of a company union directed by the employer.

Ideological Reasons For Mistakes

HOW did this tendency towards class collaboration take place? How was it possible for workers' leaders to commit such mistakes at a point in the class struggle where the workers' anger was rising against their deepening poverty and when the working class had given proof of its strength and political maturity?

The reason for this was an inadequate adaptation to the new conditions created by a fundamental change in the political situation.

Immediately after the Liberation, the C.G.T., through its spokesman, Benoit Frachon, launched a drive for production. In essence, this drive was a correct one—it was necessary to produce in order to bring about a revival in the country's economy, and to improve living conditions. The C.G.T. declared at the same time that living conditions must be improved as the level of production rose. Genuine representatives of the working class were in the Government at that time and were taking part in conducting the nation's affairs.

When the change occurred which led to the eviction of the Communist Ministers from the Government, reaction intensified its anti-labour policy, and the rise in wages lagged further and further behind the expansion of production. Many leaders did not immediately adapt themselves to the new situation and continued to believe that matters could still be settled at a high level, without understanding the

necessity for mass workers' action in support of their demands.

At the same time many delegates on the works committees, which had the important task of supervising production and output costs, did not immediately understand the need for supporting the campaigns for demands and the mass struggle to safeguard living conditions. With their lack of experience, they too often fell victim to the ideology of compromise which was proposed to them.

The C.G.T. Reverses the Trend

THE C.G.T. reacted vigorously to this new trend. The employers' anxiety was expressed by an article which appeared in "La Semaine dans le Monde," declaring: "In those Committees where collaboration and team spirit tend spontaneously to prevail, the C.G.T. is seeking to revive the strife of the class struggle. Inside this Trojan horse, its men will set about opposing the making of profits. This will be the pistol permanently aimed at the heart of the capitalist system."

The National Conference of Works Committees called by the C.G.T. in April, 1948, adopted a resolution reminding delegates of their real rôle:

> "Delegates elected by wage-earners must never forget that they represent, in the works committees, the interests of the workers and of the Nation, which have nothing in common with the private and selfish interests of the capitalists."

It then became necessary to correct the theoretical weaknesses of certain delegates and to guide the works committees towards the struggle, towards the defence of the workers' claims. It proved necessary to re-state the principle that the delegates put forward by their trade union organisations should link their own activity very closely with the activity of their organisation, to which they could render valuable aid. And since contact with the workers is the basic condition for any successful trade union action, delegates must be in constant touch with the workers in their firm and must keep them informed of their activity.

The following principles can be laid down:

—before every works committee meeting, the questions on the agenda should be discussed by the delegates and by the factory trade union branch; the line to be adopted by the delegates should be determined and the demands they are to put forward should be brought to the knowledge of the workers by the trade union branch;

—the trade union branch should follow the discussion which takes place in the works committee;

—delegates should report back to all the workers after every committee meeting; they should inform the workers of the extent to which they are exploited, in particular by providing them with all necessary material on the size of profits made by the firm;

—all delegates whose attitude is open to criticism should be systematically and publicly condemned; it is the duty of the union leaders, in certain cases, to accuse them before the workers, to call for their resignation, or even to have them recalled by the workers who elected them.

The foregoing points are merely simple indications of how to ensure that the trade union organisation plays a leading rôle and of how, through close contact with all the workers, to prevent any kind of deviation and to "compel" delegates to be fully conversant with the workers' needs, aspirations and desires, this being the essential condition for the effective defence of their interests.

At the same time, this makes mass action possible in support of the delegates whenever this proves necessary, such mass action being impossible to achieve if the delegates are not in contact with the entire staff.

★ ★ ★

THE efforts made by active members of the C.G.T. have brought about a rapid and extensive improvement in the situation. Undoubtedly, mistakes are made from time to time, but the trend towards class collaboration was speedily brought to a halt. The C.G.T.'s influence among the workers was immediately strengthened; this was expressed in an increase both in the votes cast for the lists of candidates it puts forward in the election of delegates and in the number of seats it obtains on the committee.

Works committees made a big contribution to the economic revival of the country. They can and must be an effective weapon in the service of the trade unions, and act as an extension of and aid to their activity. They can and must create the conditions for fighting capitalism more effectively.

L. SOLOVIEV

Secretary, Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions

How Social Insurance Benefits the Soviet Worker

SOCIAL Insurance in the U.S.S.R. is one of the main gains of the working class in the land of the Soviets.

The brilliant victories of the socialist regime have made possible an enormous development of Social Insurance. Social Insurance premiums are paid by the factories, and the funds thus raised are managed by the Trade Unions.

Social Insurance and Social Security cover the main aspects of material and cultural life. All industrial and office workers, without exception, benefit whatever the nature of their work. Further, no worker is without insurance and social security.

The flat roof of a new sanatorium in Kislovodsk (Caucasus) used for sun-bathing.

★

At a sunny health resort in Georgia.

These provide for benefit in all cases of inability to work (sickness, accident, old age, disablement, pregnancy and maternity cases) as well as for families who have lost their source of income.

Sickness benefit is paid by way of Social Insurance from the first day of illness. There is no waiting period before the right to benefit is obtained. In the case of sickness or accident, payment continues until work is resumed; or, in the case of non-recovery, until the patient is classed as disabled. In this latter case the patient receives a pension under the Social Security scheme.

Social Insurance of industrial and office workers covers medical attention, special diets and also, for the most part, rest in sanatoria, convalescent homes, preventive centres, holiday tours, pioneer camps for the children in the country and other services outside school hours.

The Eclair Chalet in the Caucasus, which belongs to the Petrel trade union sports association.

The Social Insurance Scheme allows mountain climbing enthusiasts to explore the unequalled beauties of the Caucasus.

Social Insurance funds grow from year to year. The Social Insurance budget rose to 9.6 milliard roubles in 1945, but it reached 19.2 milliards in 1950. This year 21.1 milliards will be spent. There is no better testimony to the care which the State brings to workers in all walks of life.

That the State should reserve such enormous sums for Social Insurance springs from the very nature of Soviet power which has no other interest than that of its people.

As has been said above, Social Insurance funds are made up exclusively from the payments made by factories and enterprises, and the workers do not have to contribute a penny. These payments increase in proportion to the salaries of the workers. Although set up by the factories, all Social Insurance funds are managed by the Trade Unions. The Trade Unions draw the broad masses of the industrial and office workers into the work of administering Social Insurance. In the Trade Union Works Committees and local branches there are nearly one and a half million militants entrusted with this work, grouped round the Workshop Commissions and Factory Councils for Social Insurance. Many amongst them carry out important work on behalf of the community; they visit sick workers, regularly look over health institutes and organise discussions and conferences of doctors in the factories.

The Councils and Commissions for Social Insurance decide all questions concerning payments for stoppage of work through illness and maternity; they send workers and employees to convalescent homes and sanatoria and organise rest for the children.

*

* *

MILLIONS of Soviet industrial and office workers go to sanatoria and convalescent homes each year. There they find care and rest, their health is improved and they return with renewed vigour to creative work.

The Trade Unions have considerably enlarged the network of convalescent homes and curative centres. In 1940 there were 893 convalescent homes and sanatoria. In the period after the war hundreds of these magnificent homes were built and reconstructed; also many convalescent homes and sanatoria were enlarged. At the moment the Trade Unions have 1,200 convalescent homes and sanatoria and in the course of 1950 2.5 million people stayed in them; this year the figure will go up to 2.7 million.

The sanatoria are, broadly speaking, open to industrial workers, office workers, engineers and technicians. In the sanatoria, every 100 places allocated, 80 were paying about 30 per cent. of the actual cost; the remaining 20 were there entirely free of charge. In the convalescent homes, 90 were paying about 30 per cent. against 10 free.

Considerable sums are needed to cover the cost of a stay in these homes. For example, the Social Insurance Fund will pay out 1,200 millions in 1951 against this item.

Soviet convalescent homes and sanatoria are to be found in the most beautiful parts of the country: on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Baltic, in the Ukraine, in Uzbekistan, in Kazakhstan, in the thermal stations of the Caucasus, in the special climate and watering-places of Siberia and the Far East, in the magnificent forest regions, on the banks of rivers and lakes.

No country in the world is so rich in thermal stations, climatic advantages and watering-places as the Soviet Union; nor is there anywhere where curative thermal springs are so numerous. The watering town of Sochi with the sulphur springs at Matsesta has won world renown. The radio-active waters of Tskhaltubo on the Black Sea, the "narzan" of Kislovodsk, the mineral waters of Essentuki and Zheleznovodsk in the Caucasus have no equals for their curative properties.

The best known stations are not only in the south of the Soviet Union. In the east the thermal station of Darasun is the equal of Kislovodsk, and the mineral mud baths of Sadgorod and Karachi rival the establishments at Eupatoria on the Black Sea. In the picturesque country of Kazakhstan is Borovoye, where the climatic factors and the "koumy" (mare's milk) help towards the successful treatment of tuberculosis. In the Urals, near the

For those who prefer the sea, there are numerous health resorts on the Black Sea. This is the Tcheliuskinets Rest Home at Gagra in Georgia.

town of Molotov, the Ust-Katchka thermal station well deserves its name of " Matsesta of the Urals."

In fact, climatic and natural conditions permit the establishment of curative and convalescent homes in nearly every part of the country.

Magnificent convalescent homes are also to be found in the most picturesque parts of the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad, on the borders of the Caspian sea, in the regions of Krasnoyarsk, Sverdlovsk, Cheliabinsk, Gorki, Rostov, Kursk, Orel, Bryansk and in many other parts of the country.

In many works and factories, a specially nourishing diet is provided for workers who need it, at the expense of the Social Insurance scheme.

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THE Soviet State takes great care of mothers and children. In addition to the benefits which the state allocates under the Social Security scheme to the mothers of large families and to single mothers, in addition to the creation of a vast net-work of creches and children's gardens, women workers in office and industry receive, through Social Insurance, 77 days' maternity leave with receipt of their average monthly salary. In addition, on the birth of a child, the Social Insurance scheme allocates the sum of 300 roubles to the parents for the layette and the feeding of the baby.

If a worker-mother so wishes, she can, whilst working, entrust the child, for a moderate fee, to a creche or children's garden either attached to the place of work or nearby. The child is placed under medical supervision, it is fed and given all necessary care. The ever growing number of creches and children's gardens allows Soviet women to rear strong healthy children without giving up their work.

This year, in the State network alone, nearly 1,900,000 children were received in creches, gardens and children's homes.

Social Insurance puts by enormous sums for children's establishments. During the school holidays, camps and summer homes are organised in picturesque surroundings outside the towns. In 1951, more than 5 million children will be sent to these camps and Pioneer homes.

Palaces of culture, clubs and stadiums are widely open to Soviet children. Thousands of technical circles of all kinds are at their disposal. All this is paid for out of the Social Insurance funds controlled by the Trade Unions.

The Soviet State also takes great care of its aged workers and its disabled. Large sums are assigned in the Social Insurance budget for the payment of pensions.

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IN the course of the last few years the Soviet Government has put into force new benefits for

In order to save a sick worker from having to travel, an electro-cardiograph machine is brought to his home.

Mothers can work in peace, knowing that their children are well looked after in the creche.

many professions. Pensions have been raised for workers and cadres among engineers and technicians in the coal, metal, mining, chemical and other essential industries, as well as for railway workers, teachers, professors, doctors, veterinary surgeons and agronomists.

Workers' delegations from abroad who visit the Soviet Union express their profound admiration of a system which provides for the satisfaction of the cultural needs and the needs of everyday life of industrial and office workers in the Land of the Soviets, and, primarily, in the Social Insurance systems. For it is a fact that these cover every aspect and every need of the worker's life. They contribute in a decisive way to the raising of the material and cultural level of the workers and constitute a considerable increase in their real salaries.

Social Insurance in the Land of the Soviets is an essential part of the daily life of the workers whose future is an assured certainty. They know that Soviet power has not only freed them from unemployment, but that it also guarantees their well-being in all cases of inability to work, disablement and old age.

The Exchange of Messages Between President Truman and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. M. Shvernik

Eager to see the dangers of a new war eliminated and lasting peace established among all nations, the peoples throughout the world have been following with the utmost attention the exchange of messages between President Truman of the United States and the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., N. M. Shvernik.

ON July 7, 1951, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. received a memorandum from the United States Ambassador in Moscow, requesting it to forward to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet a message from the U.S. President.

Stating that his message "expressed the friendship and goodwill of the American people" and the "desire of the American Government to do everything in its power to bring about a just and lasting peace," Mr. Truman included the text of the following resolution adopted on May 4, 1951, by the Congress of the United States.

Resolution Adopted by the Congress of the United States

"Whereas the goal of the American people is now, and ever has been, a just and lasting peace; and

"whereas the deepest wish of our nation is to join with all other nations in preserving the dignity of man, and in observing those moral principles which alone lend meaning to his existence; and

"whereas, in proof of this, the United States has offered to share all that is good in atomic energy, asking in return only safeguards against the evil in the atom; and

"whereas the Congress reaffirms its policy as expressed in law 'to continue to exert maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated in the Charter and agreements to achieve universal control of weapons of mass destruction and universal regulation and reduction of armaments, including armed forces, under adequate safeguards to protect complying nations against violation and evasion';

and

"whereas this nation has likewise given of its substance and resources to help those peoples ravaged by war and poverty; and

"whereas terrible danger to all free peoples compel the United States to undertake a vast programme of armaments expenditure; and

"whereas we rearm only with reluctance and would prefer to devote our energies to peaceful pursuits; now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that the Congress of the United States reaffirms the historic and abiding friendship of the American people for all other peoples, and declares

"that the American people deeply regret the artificial barriers which separate them from the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and which keep the Soviet peoples from learning of the desire of the American people to live in friendship with all other peoples, and to work with them in advancing the ideal of human brotherhood; and

"that the American people believe the Soviet Government could advance the cause of peace immeasurably by removing those artificial barriers, thus permitting the free exchange of information between our peoples; and

"that the American people and their Government desire neither war with the Soviet Union nor the terrible consequences of such a war; and

"that, although they are firmly determined to defend their freedom and security, the American people welcome all honourable efforts which resolve the differences standing between the United States Government and the Soviet Government, and invite the peoples of the Soviet Union to cooperate in a spirit of friendship in this endeavour; and

"that the Congress request the President of the

United States to call upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to acquaint the peoples of the Soviet Union with the contents of this resolution."

(This resolution got very little display in the U.S. press at the time, and was not even reported in full in those newspapers which usually publish the full text of all such official documents).

ON August 6, 1951, N. M. Shvernik acknowledged receipt of President Truman's message and of the resolution of the U.S. Congress accompanying it; and he sent him a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., " which expresses the feelings of sincere friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union for all the peoples of the earth. It reaffirms that the Soviet people are as one in their desire to establish lasting peace and eliminate the danger of a new war."

" The Soviet people," Shvernik's mesage added, " have no grounds for doubting that the American people, too, do not want war. However, the Soviet people are well aware that in certain States there are forces who strive to unleash a new world war in which definite circles see the source of their enrichment.

" The peoples of the Soviet Union consider that there will be no war if the peoples take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end, exposing the intrigues of the forces who are interested in war and are striving to draw the peoples into another war.

" I share your opinion that in the hearts of the majority of people there lies a yearning for peace and brotherhood. Therefore, governments which, not in words but in deeds, strive to uphold peace, must in every way encourage the peaceful aspirations of their peoples."

After pointing out how, in accordance with this, " the Soviet Government in every way promotes the pooling of the efforts of the Soviet people who are fighting for peace with the efforts of the peoples of other lands," N. M. Shvernik remarked :

" There is no doubt that the rapprochement among the nations, of which your message speaks, presupposes the development of political, economic and cultural relations and ties among the peoples on a basis of equality. There is also no doubt that a most important step on this road must consist of eliminating any discrimination against the Soviet Union on the part of the American authorities.

" It is the duty of all peace-loving peoples steadfastly to pursue a policy of preventing war and preserving peace, not to permit an armaments drive, to achieve the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the atomic weapon, with the establishment of control over the implementation of such prohibition; and to facilitate the conclusion of a pact of the five Powers for strengthening peace."

Nikolai Shvernik ended his message by requesting President Truman " to convey to the American people my greetings and the best wishes of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

" After studying the joint resolution adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, transmitted together with the message of the United States President, Mr. Truman, of July 7 of this year, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, combining the work of both Chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—deems it necessary to state the following :

"1. Expressing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union for peace, the Soviet Government steadfastly pursues a policy of strengthening peace and establishing friendly relations among States. This policy had its inception in the Decree on Peace adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1917, as soon as the Soviet State was formed. Since then the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has remained unchanged, being directed towards strengthening peace and friendly relations among the nations.

"After the Second World War, when, as a result of the joint efforts of the Allies, the forces of the aggressors had been routed and the aggressive States disarmed, an international organisation was set up for preserving peace and preventing the outbreak of new aggression, the conditions were created for establishing lasting peace. As is known, the Soviet Government has assumed the initiative in the matter of strengthening international security by coming forward with the proposal for a general reduction of armaments, including as a primary task the prohibition of the production and utilisation of atomic energy for war purposes.

"Consistently defending peace and expressing the indomitable resolve of the peoples to prevent the danger of a new war, the Soviet Government has twice submitted proposals that the United States of America, Great Britain, China, France and the Soviet Union unite their efforts with the aim of upholding international peace and security and conclude among themselves a pact of peace. The initiative of the Soviet Government met with the ardent support and approval of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world. The Soviet people cannot understand on the basis of what peace-loving motives the United States Government to this

day rejects the proposal of the Soviet Government for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Powers.

"After the outbreak of hostilities in Korea and the open armed intervention of the United States of America in Korea, the Soviet Government has repeatedly come forward with proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict. Recently the Soviet Union again came forward with the proposal to put an end to the bloodshed in Korea which has led to the negotiations on an armistice and a cessation of hostilities in Korea.

"The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union rests on the complete and unconditional support of the peoples of the Soviet land in which there are no classes or groups interested in unleashing war. The Soviet Union has no aggressive plans whatever, is not threatening any countries or any peoples. The armed forces of the Soviet Union are not waging war anywhere and are not taking part in any hostilities. The peoples of the Soviet Union are completely engrossed in carrying out tasks of peaceful construction. The Soviet State is developing the construction of new huge hydro-electric stations and irrigation systems and is creating the conditions for a further uninterrupted rise in the living standards of the country's population.

"2. The resolution of the United States Senate and House of Representatives declares that the American people deeply regret the existence of 'artificial barriers' which separate them from the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"The President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must declare that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union does not place any obstacles to the rapprochement of the Soviet people with the American people, as well as with other peoples, and does not set up any obstacles to the establishment of business, trade and friendly relations among them.

"This, however, cannot be said of the foreign policy pursued by the organs of power of the United States of America. This is attested to not only by such facts as the systematic refusal of the American authorities to issue United States entry visas to workers in Soviet culture and even showing them the door despite previously received legal permission to enter the United States, but also by a number of other measures of the United States Government which are of a discriminatory nature in relation to the Soviet Union. This is confirmed, for instance, by the following fact :

"a) In December 1949, the American immigration authorities on the Virgin Islands, without any grounds whatever, issued an order on the strength of which the crews of two Soviet fishing vessels, 'Trepang' and 'Perlamutr' which entered St. Thomas for small repairs and to take on water, were prohibited from going on shore.

"b) In July 1950, in the port of Baltimore, the American authorities subjected the Soviet boat 'Krasnodar' to a general search and, in violation of generally accepted international customs, after the search police agents remained on board until the boat put to sea.

"c) On March 18, 1948, the American authorities arbitrarily seized the Soviet ship 'Rossia' after it had arrived in New York port, a ship which is the State property of the Soviet Union, referring to a suit filed by two passengers of this ship.

"d) In March 1949, the New York immigration authorities ordered the Soviet representatives who attended the United States Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, to leave the United States within one week, under the threat of taking administrative measures against them in case of failure to comply with this order.

"e) In October, 1950, two Soviet diplomatic couriers were detained at the New York State airport Broome, notwithstanding American diplomatic visas in their passports.

"f) In March 1951, the Department of Commerce issued an order to annul licences for the export of scientific and technical literature to the Soviet Union.

"g) Of late, in front of the building of the U.S.S.R. delegation to the United Nations in New York there have been organised, with the connivance of the police, gatherings of hooligans who hinder the normal work of the delegation and threaten the personal safety of its staff. On August 2 the First Secretary of the delegation, A. S. Polyansky, who enjoys diplomatic immunity, while leaving the delegation's building was subjected, before the very eyes of the police, to an attack by ruffians who struck him on the head with sticks.

"h) On June 23 of this year, only a few days before the President of the United States of America forwarded the resolution of the United States Congress to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., N. M. Shvernik, the Government of the United States of America denounced the trade agreement concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the United States in 1937.

"i) On June 2 of this year Congress adopted a law demanding that countries receiving United States so-called economic and financial aid virtually cease trade with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies under the threat of such aid being discontinued.

"The prohibitory lists, published on June 7 of this year, in accordance with this law, include almost all commodities circulating in international trade.

"j) On August 2, even after the address of the United States Congress to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the House of Representatives adopted a new law which, under the pretext of preventing shipments of strategic materials, envisages measures aimed at terminating trade with the Soviet Union and countries friendly to the Soviet Union.

"The discriminatory measures in the sphere of trade indicated above have led to the fact that trade between the U.S.S.R. and the United States during the last five years, beginning with 1946, has dropped by more than five-sixths and has reached an insignificant level.

"Thus, all these facts testify that the organs of power of the United States of America pursue a policy of discrimination in relation to the U.S.S.R. and raise artificial barriers, hindering the free intercourse of the Soviet and American peoples and separating our countries from each other.

"The legitimate question arises, how to reconcile with the actions of the American authorities indicated above the statement contained in the resolution of the United States Congress on the necessity to eliminate barriers in relations between the peoples of both countries.

"The Soviet people have no doubt that the American people, like all other peoples, do not want war. However, as history shows, questions of war and peace are not always decided by peoples. Statements of many responsible representatives of the Government of the United States of America, as well as of members of the United States Congress, contain direct calls for unleashing aggressive war against the peoples of the U.S.S.R., for employing the weapon of mass annihilation of the peaceful population. Such statements, which contradict not only the interests of peace but also the elementary requirements of human morality, should have been condemned by the United States Congress.

"3. The Government of the United States of America came forward as the initiator in forming the North Atlantic military alliance directed, as is evident, against the U.S.S.R. It has set up a wide network of military bases on foreign territories close to the borders of the U.S.S.R. and, in violation of the obligations it has assumed, is remilitarising Western Germany and reviving Japanese militarism. Simultaneously a gigantic armaments programme is being carried through in the United States of America.

"The United States Government has invariably rejected all the proposals of the Soviet Government directed at strengthening peace and international security. Thus, as yet no agreement has been reached on the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Powers, on the prohibition of the atomic weapon and on the establishment of control over the implementation of this prohibition, and also on the reduction of armaments and armed forces. The Congress resolution expresses the thought that the way is now open for utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes, yet, there is no doubt that only after prohibiting the atomic weapon can atomic energy really be utilised for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of the peoples.

"The Soviet people are daily becoming convinced that the policy and deeds of the Government of the United States of America are at variance with its verbal declarations concerning the preservation of peace and equally so with the peace-loving aspirations of the American people, and are creating conditions for a further deterioration of relations with the Soviet Union, although the United States of America has not been threatened, and is not threatened, by any danger from the Soviet Union.

"4. Of course, one can only welcome the address of the United States Congress to the Soviet people and its appeal for strengthening friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, a verbal address with an appeal to facilitate the improvement of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and the strengthening of international peace can yield positive results only if the deeds of the United States Government, the policy and actions of the Government of the United States of America, are not at variance with it.

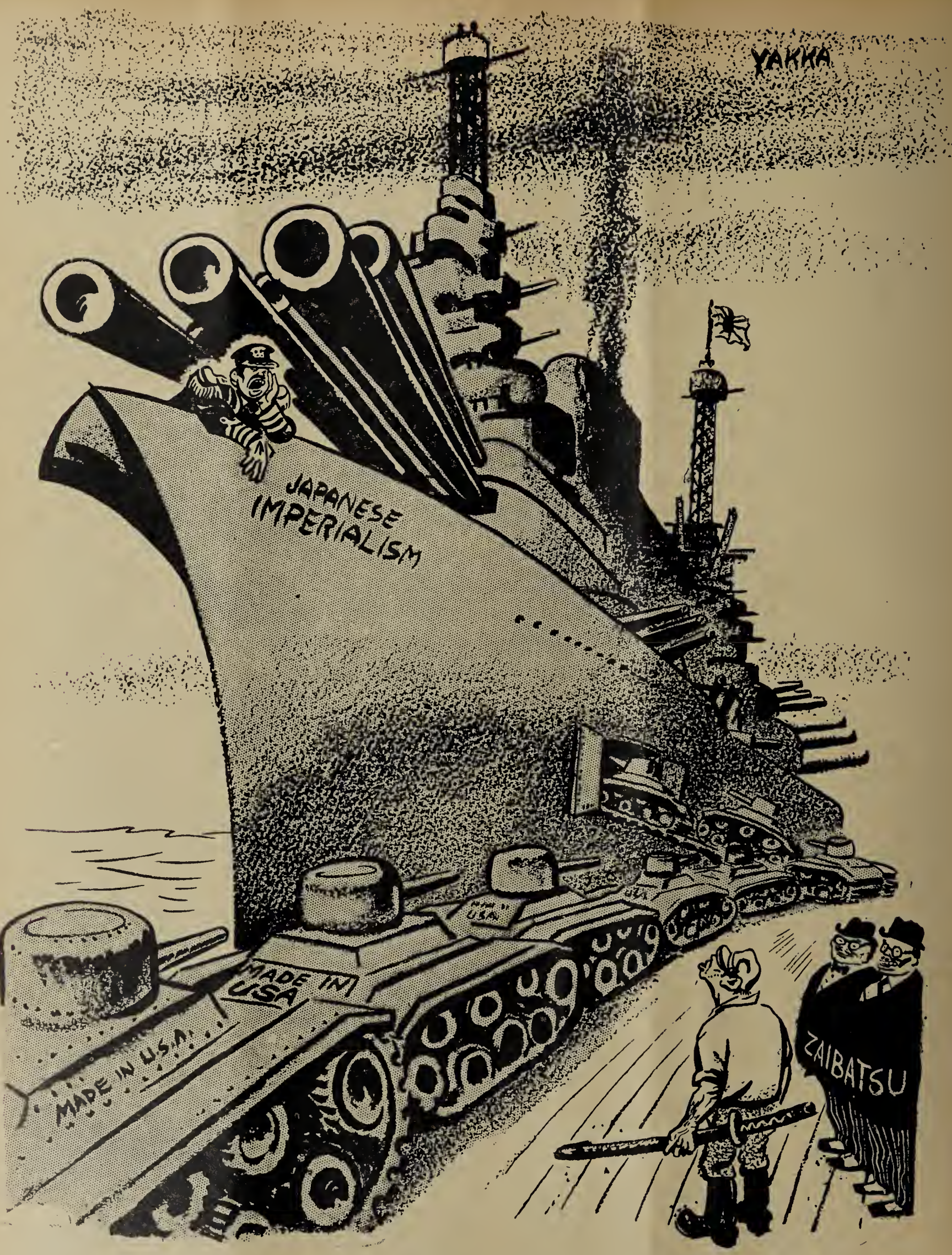
"Since, however, the United States Congress declares that it seeks roads to improving relations with the Soviet Union, it need have no doubts that such aspirations of Congress conform to the peace-loving aspirations of the Soviet people and the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

"The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet considers that one of the serious steps on this road could be the eliminating of the discrimination against the Soviet Union in all spheres of international relations which hinders normal relations between our countries.

"A still more important step in improving relations between our countries and strengthening peace among the peoples could be the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Powers, which other States that strive to strengthen peace could join.

"The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics does not doubt that all peoples who desire to preserve peace would hail the conclusion of such a pact with great satisfaction

"The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet expresses the hope that the Congress of the United States of America will make this resolution known to the American people."



" You'll Be Needed Too"

JAPAN

U.S. War-Base in the Far East

★ BY A JAPANESE WORKER

" JAPANESE help (in the Korean war) is non-belligerent and in accordance with United Nations recommendations " says a recent U.S. note, which also rejects a Russian proposal that foreign troops should leave Japan within a year " as this would prevent American troops helping to ensure Japanese security."

The truth is quite otherwise. Despite the fact that there is a clause in the Japanese constitution specifically renouncing war and rearmament, Japan is being reinforced as a war base: its industries, temporarily producing peacetime goods, are reverting to military production. Any political objectors to American plans are carefully branded with the usual epithets, arrested, and are thus, the Americans hope, disposed of for good.

As for American troops being interested in ensuring ' Japanese security,' their real job is to ensure economic domination in what is left of the imperialist world.

The facts prove this. The Economic Stabilisation Board of Japan reported last November that war orders from June (outbreak of Korean War) to the end of October last year amounted to 20.3 billion* yen for goods and 18.8 billion yen for services including repairs, totalling 39.1 billion yen. (The official exchange rate is 360 yen to the U.S. dollar.)

In these circumstances it is not surprising that in the U.S. draft peace treaty with Japan, America wants no reparations clause, knowing full well that the amount due to China alone would interfere with the U.S. war programme.

The U.S. occupation authorities announced on May 16th a programme of U.S.-Japanese economic co-operation which includes the use of Japanese industry to help build up what they call ' democratic might.' It is U.S. policy on Germany after the First World War all over again, complete with U.S. Government and private loans; the only serious restriction is that Japan must not go in for her pre-war dumping: her export prices must, in other words, conform to U.S. levels.

Japanese capitalists are naturally hand in glove with their American counterparts. They are doing well. They rake in the profits while the U.S. Forces keep demonstrating workers off the streets and active trade unionists in prison. During the last fiscal year, the average rate of profits of the six leading banks was 118 per cent *of capital* as compared with 97 per cent the year before. The State Railways (there are both State and private railways in Japan)

*American billions (equals a thousand millions or one milliard).

are said to have an income of over 130 billion yen, largely coming of course from transporting military personnel and supplies. 48 per cent of freight cars are used for the latter alone. The Yawata Iron Works with a capital of 800 million yen have an anticipated profit of 1.6 billion yen this year, or *precisely twice their capital.* The rate of surplus value, that is, the wealth created by each worker but not paid for, obviously is enormous.

From May to October last year, ten leading textile corporations made a total declared profit of 6 billion yen. Actual profits are believed to be at least 30 per cent above the declared figure.

REBUILDING OF JAPANESE WAR INDUSTRY

WAR brings high profits to capital, and Japanese industry is being quickly put back on a war footing. According to official data, the American occupation authorities have increased war orders placed with Japan to a *million dollars a day.* The total value of U.S. war orders placed to date is around 300 million dollars. In the iron and steel industries for example, the production target for 1951 has leapt to four million tons as against 2.5 million for 1950.

The machine production industry is getting into war gear too with a big comeback for the former Mitsui and Mitsubishi monopolies. Other firms reverting to war output are Japanese Nippon Seiko who are producing precision instruments among other things. At their Hokkaido plant they are turning out 40 cm. guns and at their Akabane plant, according to the Japanese newspaper *Rodoshia,* it is planned to produce one hundred 45-ton tanks monthly. Three factories, Isikawazima, Sagamighara Tank Factories,and the Kanegafutsi Diesel Company, are manufacturing tanks for Korea and a Japanese company has been given a contract to produce new type napalm bombs.

The Pine Sewing Machine Manufacturing Company at Utsonomiya is producing machine guns and so is the Hiroshima branch of the Japan Steel Manufacturing Company. The naval arsenal at Yokosuka, recently restored and now employing 10,000, is working to full capacity. At the Fuchu Factory in Tokyo, jeeps and small lorries are repaired. The Akabane arsenal, also in Tokyo, has 6,000 workers repairing jeeps, tanks, small caliber guns, machine guns and rifles. The Nippon Tokushioko, Nippon Sangyo and Komapu Seisakushyo Companies, producing and repairing parts for American heavy tanks, are working to full capacity on war orders. Jeeps, trucks and other automobiles are also being repaired at the Shimomaruko Plant of East Japan Heavy Industries, by Fuji Motors, Ikagai Motors and by the 7,000 workers at the Sagamihara arsenal.

The Japanese produced no heavy trucks prior to 1945, but by early 1950, were manufacturing 65 a month, as well as over 2,000 light and medium tanks. By November 1950, production had gone up to 250 heavy and more than 3,000 light and medium.

One of the larger Japanese aircraft companies, Nakajima, is to be restored shortly. Although finished steel has still not reached the wartime level of 450 thousand tons a month, it rose from 315 thousand tons in June to 360 thousand tons in November last year. Long-range artillery and anti-tank guns are being supplied to the Americans by the plants owned by the Mitsubishi and Koyo Trusts.

The textile industry also has an important bearing on the war programme. Japanese textile production is oriented to American needs and according to the Japanese paper *Sangio Keitzaias* Japanese textile firms have received orders for 6.6 million yards of tweed, which is sufficient to make 1,800,000 U.S. uniforms. They have also received orders for 1,800,000 pairs of American underwear.

Textile exports last year were 46.7 per cent of total exports. In the period January to August 1950, 729.65 million square yards were manufactured—a post-war record. During 1951, Japan plans to export 235 million pounds worth of textile fabrics which will be 52 per cent of total exports, earning the foreign currency enabling Japan to buy abroad the raw materials she lacks.

Coal is of course essential to heavy industry and the May 1950 production figure of 3.2 million tons surpassed the monthly average for 1935. Intensive rationalisation is going on in this industry and Mitsui Mines, one of the largest corporations in Japan, is out to boost her capital production by about one sixth this year with the aim of discharging 8,500 of their 56,000 miners. The overall target for the industry is to reduce the price of coal, which was 3,100 yen in July 1950, by 20 per cent in three years.

The shipbuilding industry is also being revived, the sixth shipbuilding programme authorising the construction of 173,000 tons of shipping. These orders are concentrated in the big shipbuilding corporation while the small and medium yards are on the verge of bankruptcy. The Nagasaki, Kobe and Kawasaki shipbuilding yards, used for repairing large ships, are being restored.

(十二) 抗戰第四年，無耻的美帝眼看日本在中國再前進，將對己不利，於是在一九四一年與日本訂立了「日美諒解方案」，承認「滿洲國」由日本佔領，其餘由美國控制。

12

Japanese-American plans to conquer China (Chinese cartoon)

BUILDING OF JAPANESE ARMED FORCES

THE U.S. authorities are not only making an arsenal of Japan. They are also planning to restore the Japanese armed forces, and assisting in this work is a group of former Japanese generals including War Minister Shimoura, Lt.-General Kawabe, Major-General Hattori, chief of the Operations Department of the General Staff, Lt.-Colonel Hara of the 'Demobilisation Bureau' and Lt.-Colonel Hajimoto. The U.S. authorities do not have to stoop far to get down to the level of these disreputable militarists. They are mocking their own war dead.

Japan's principal armed forces already numbers 200,000. There are in addition 255,000 police of whom 125,000 are local. They are known as the 'Reserve Police Corps' which is being equipped with heavy arms and is in fact an under-cover army. Recently Director of the Central Juridical Bureau Chashi told parliament that the Police Reserve Corps could be converted into a regular army at a moment's notice. Mr. Kanichi Kawakami said in the Japanese National Assembly on January 27, last :

" The Reserve Police Corps in Kumuni is said to have tanks and armoured cars. The Reserve Police Corps in Hokkaido, Hachinoe, Chiba and Kurihama are said to be training with anti-tank guns and trench mortars. Their drill regulations are foreign-made and their commanding officers attached to each corps are foreign military officers.'

These 'foreign military officers' are in fact U.S. Army lieutenants.

In addition, there is a secret underground force —the 'Reclamation Corps'—made up of more than 120 thousand former Imperial Army men. The Japanese Maritime Security Bureau is

equipped with some 300 naval vessels and is building new ships as well as repairing old.

In addition to the purely military forms, American policy is to encourage the resurrection of Japanese Fascist organisations. Here, the American Legion is playing a leading part and under their command Japanese militarist bodies are establishing a joint organisation for dealing with "subversive activities in Asia."

The Commander of the American Legion, Earl Cocke, visited various countries in the Far East with the idea of encouraging such anti-democratic bodies as he could find. According to certain U.S. Senators, Cocke's visit was financed by the American National Association of Manufacturers and resulted in a plan for the joint organisation of all Japanese militarist bodies, provisionally named the Japanese Black Flag League. Forming part of this League are the Black Dragon Society, the Nippon Kakumei Kikuhata Doshikai and many others. The leader of this League is war criminal General Kazushige Ugaki, also head of the underground fascist organisation, KATO.

In an interview Cocke stated that to start with, funds to finance the League will be provided by the Headquarters of the U.S. troops in Tokyo and by Departments of the Japanese Government. The American Legion and the American Association of Manufacturers will also supply it with large funds while regular expenses are to be defrayed by the Japanese monopolists.

There is also to be a 'defensive' Army of 300,000 men as well as a volunteer Army under the nominal control of the United Nations.

Hattori, an American agent, and Kawabe, are said to have helped the U.S. Forces in planning operations in the Korean War.

The Japanese Navy is likewise to be reformed under the direction of Rear-Admiral Tomioka, a former chief of the Naval General Staff, and an air force of 3,000 planes is to be created within two years.

All this shows clearly that the Japanese contribution to the Korean War is far from non-belligerent; there is also the fact that Japanese seamen and dockers are already working in Korea, and that technical workers in radio and telecommunications have been sent there to instal receiving and transmitting apparatus.

Japanese manpower is also being used directly in the Korean war. For example 10,000 Japanese mechanics are used to service American aircraft, and Japanese merchant shipping is being leased to the American forces. From July 1st to the end of October last year, 248 Japanese ships were mobilised for transporting troops and material to Korea. U.S. captains were in command. Japanese workers are also used on the docks and it is known that

Soldiers of the military organisation known as the "Reserve Police Corps."

A Chinese cartoon entitled: "The way to death (the proposed American peace treaty) and the way to life (the Soviet proposals)"

at least 247 have been killed. Japanese workers are also forcibly mobilised to work in factories, hospitals and so on under U.S. management.

A dispatch from the New China News Agency dated June 4th states that recently the ashes of 4,500 Japanese killed in Korea were brought back to Yokohama. "The American authorities forbade the relatives of the killed Japanese to hold funerals or tell anyone about the matter." This dispatch goes on to quote a Telepress Washington report saying that 10,000 members of the Japanese Police Reserve Corps were fighting for the Americans in Korea in February of this year, and that an American, General Taylor, is working in Tokyo on speeding up the formation of a Japanese territorial army for combat in Korea. It will be equipped with the latest American artillery and planes.

To say that allowing Japan to re-arm is treason to the war dead and to the hours of youth given in the long years before 1945 is stating the obvious. It is obvious too that militarism and fascism are only obnoxious to the American ruling class when they are lined up against it. When they can be used in an aggressive alliance against progressive forces, not only are ghastly and tragic crimes condoned, but they are resorted to by the Americans themselves.

Japanese rearmament must be seen in context as a part of the overall plan to hold bases throughout Asia from which to threaten and one day to start a new world war with the aim of establishing the rule of American imperialism over the world. It is for us who put so much into fighting fascism to put equal energy into stopping this betrayal.

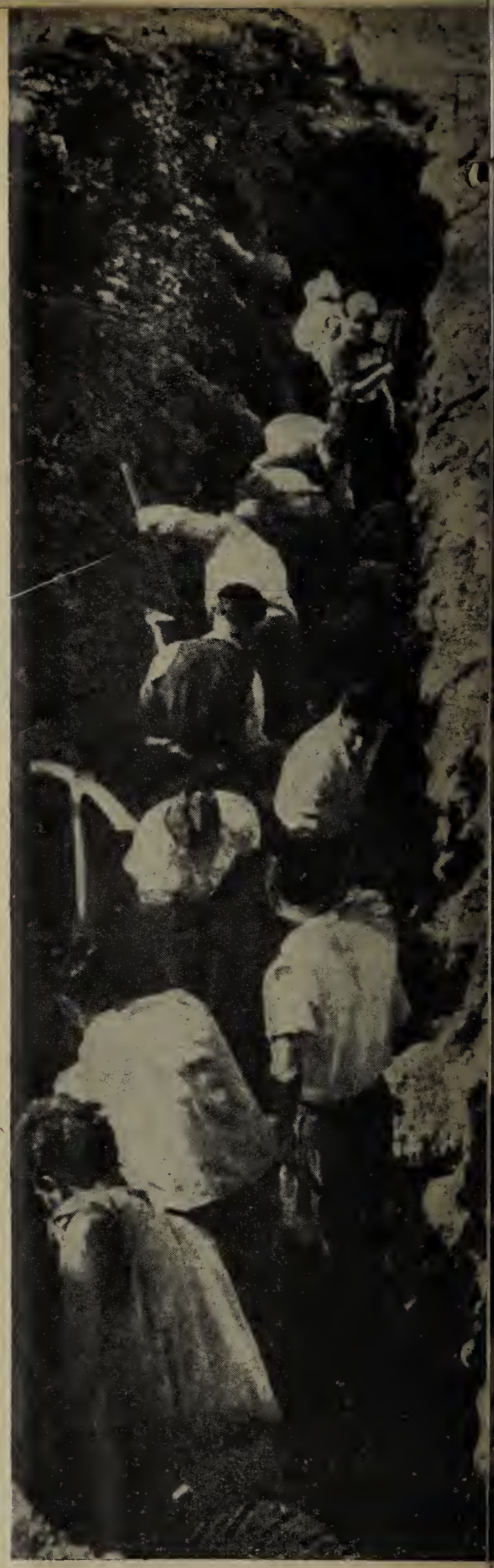
Amid the Ruins of War

The People of Cassino Organise a "Reverse Strike"

By MADDALENA GRASSI

WINTER 1943-44: for months and months the battle between the Allied and German troops has been raging on the Monte Cassino line, half-way between Naples and Rome. Forty-two localities are covered by the combat zone. The suffering of the population is terrible, the destruction almost incalculable. With the end of the battle the smiling countryside has become a waste land.

Seven years go by. But the whole region is still in the same state as it was left in by the last American bombers. It would be useful for those who sit and listen to talk of a new war without a shudder to visit this devastated area. They would learn a double lesson: they would see the destruction caused by war, and they would see the incapacity for reconstruction or



The construction of a road by the "strikers in reverse."

The region of Cassino, destroyed by the war and left to its fate by the Italian Government.

any form of creative effort of a government which, like the Italian Government, is taking part in preparing for another war.

The Government promised to carry out reconstruction. But the 138,000 inhabitants of the forty-two localities in the Cassino area have been waiting seven years for the Government to keep its promise and take some interest in their poverty.

In the town of Cassino, 11 per cent. of the population are unemployed, 27 per cent. are cooped up in hutments and 8 per cent. live in dilapidated hovels. More than half the children do not go to school through lack of books and clothes. In other localities things are even worse.

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More than half of the delegates at the Congress for the Reconstruction of the Cassino District were women.

There are places where three-quarters of the population live in half-destroyed houses and eat meat less than once a month. In Terella, the people have been waiting seven years for the streets and public squares to be cleared of debris. Go to San Donato, Vallemaia, Belmonte Castillo, San Giovanni, to any locality in the area, and you will find nothing but ruins, debris and poverty.

Officially, theoretically, the State set aside 10,000 million lire for reconstruction work. But they have never been used. Even the most urgent work has not been started. Villages perched up in the mountains are accessible only by mule-tracks that are almost impassable. Water pipes are dry or burst, holes caused by shells have not been mended. In localities that are famous for their industries, like San Donato, the workers wander the streets, unemployed, and the shops of the cabinet-makers, wood-carvers and stone-cutters are closed.

In this tragic area, every family mourns one of its members. War damage reparations work out at 1,082,633 lire per person, but on the average only 11 per cent. of this has been paid over.

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FACED with the Government's irresponsibility, the people of the Cassino area decided to do what the Government wasn't doing: they would reconstruct. This was the beginning of what the General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., G. Di Vittorio, at a meeting held amid the ruins, was to call "the epic of the strike in reverse."

The epic began simultaneously in ten localities, in San Donato, where all trace of the streets had disappeared, in San Elia, and elsewhere. The unemployed set to work, aided by their wives and children. The young people, at a loose end through unemployment, worked with enthusiasm. The ruins provided the building materials the Government had refused. Before long new walls and houses marked out the streets, which were given symbolic names: May Day Street, Peace Street, Youth Street. And under the hot sun, untiringly, the work went on.

Inspired by the C.G.I.L., Cassino workers were able to develop their "reverse strike," not only increasing the number of building sites, but drawing the rest of the population into this form of struggle, against the Government, for a better life. Peasants, intellectuals, tradespeople, all helped the "strikers." Unity grew, bringing a mature fighting spirit based on the workers' new consciousness of their creative power. As the Government refused all credits, and as no money was available to pay wages, the whole population financed the re-building in their own way. They fed the workers and

Stones from destroyed buildings are collected to build new houses.

helped them in every possible way, showing what the people can achieve when they unite in action.

But all this was only a beginning. As the debris disappeared and the walls rose and the streets appeared, the workers' political consciousness grew too. The building work was accompanied by more and more demonstrations and meetings, at which the workers insisted on regular payment by the Government for the work done. The Government sent repressive police forces out against the "reverse strike" and the reconstruction, just as it does against normal strikes. The police indulged in baton-charges, imprisonment and all sorts of persecutions.

A river-bed is cleared of rubbish which was obstructing it.

But the workers proved stronger. The Government was obliged to pay out hundreds of millions of lire for the work done. Now three great building sites have been opened and the reconstruction of an electric power station has begun which will keep 4,000 workers employed for three years.

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THE bodies mobilising for and directing this struggle were the Reconstruction Committees, representing all sections of the population.

These Committees organised a Congress at which were represented all the forty-two localities of the Cassino area. The delegations were made up of men and women who had distinguished themselves during the "reverse strike." The number of women in particular revealed the popular character of the movement: they formed more than half the delegates.

G. Di Vittorio chaired the Congress, which was impressive not only by its size but also by its enthusiasm. In attendance were people who had never before in their lives taken part in a Congress and who had come many miles on foot, often without food, in order to attend. The hall where the Congress was held was not big enough to hold everyone. More than 4,000 people had to stand, in and outside the room, packed up tight one against the other without being able to move or leave the hall. They wanted to see, to hear, to speak. For all of them, it was a very great day.

Faced with the Government's indifference, all the delegates stressed the population's firm resolve to fight on. Some of the women, many of whom were making their first public speeches, made very moving contributions to the discussion. In simple words, they told the tragic story of their families. "I am twenty-five," said one of them, "my arms are strong and capable of work; my husband is jobless, and our child is hungry. So I carry stones and lime so that our reverse strike will win." Another said: "I go to the places where the fighting was hottest during the war, and pick up the metal from shells. I sell it for ten lire a kilo so I can give my family something to eat.

In spite of the police, the women of Cassino continue to collect these remnants of war. They brought one piece to the General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., asking him to tell the Italian people that it was through this war debris that today people are able to eat in Casino. One old man said: "Everything is destroyed in our district, we have nothing left, but now we have the C.G.I.L. to lead our struggle."

Throughout the day, the Congress heard speeches from peasants and agricultural workers, engineers, lawyers, municipal councillors, Christian Democrats, Independents, Communists. The unity the Government had tried to break was strengthened in the struggle. Everyone recognised that in order to go forward for work and peace it was necessary to maintain this unity, along the lines of C.G.I.L. policy aimed at carrying out its Labour Plan.

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THE experience at Cassino provided a general lesson. The reverse-strike struggles organised by Reconstruction Committees with the assistance of the C.G.I.L., the work undertaken and still continued by the unemployed and the tremendous unity which was created in this way brought about a big victory over the Government, which is now obliged to pay over large sums for reconstruction in the Cassino area, sums it would far sooner have devoted to preparation for war. The workers' unity forged in this struggle will never be destroyed, but will be strengthened. It will make the forces of peace victorious over the forces of war.

Before these struggles, there was hardly a single democratic organisation in any locality of the Cassino area. Now the democratic parties have offices in them. The women, the youth, the peasants are organised. New leaders have sprung up; arrested by the police, they have proved their loyalty to the people's cause. The Government's violent reaction will not succeed in overcoming the creative determination of the men and women of Cassino, any more than it will conquer the fight of the whole Italian people for peace, work and freedom.

The Railway Workers' Strike in the Argentine

by JUAN PUEBLO

LAST January General Peron's government brutally crushed the heroic strike of the railway workers in Argentine. Seven months later the railwaymen were once more on strike, and this time again Peron resorted to brutal repression, mass arrests and wholesale sackings.

And yet, not so long ago Peron liked to boast of the "loyalty" shown by the railway workers especially towards the regime. The general policy of his government, and the so-called "nationalisation" of the railroads, carried out in 1948, had given rise to great illusions amongst the railwaymen. They worked with enthusiasm because they believed in what they had been told, that "the railroads no longer belonged to the British, but had become the property of the Argentine nation." Many workers who had been influenced by this propaganda joined the Peronist party.

Less than three years later, the large bulk of the railway workers rose against Peron's government. Their struggle is a sign of the evolution undergone by the working class of the Argentine in the course of the last few years.

After being swept off their feet by the Government's demagogy, the workers had changed their minds; they were getting further and further away from the Peronist leaders and were entering the fight against their policy.

A TYPICAL FASCIST REGIME

GENERAL PERON'S government, fascist by its origin as by its aims, had won the support of large sections of the working class, thanks to a boundless demagogy, full of "anti-capitalist" talk, and also owing to certain social security measures.

Peron's speeches against the big

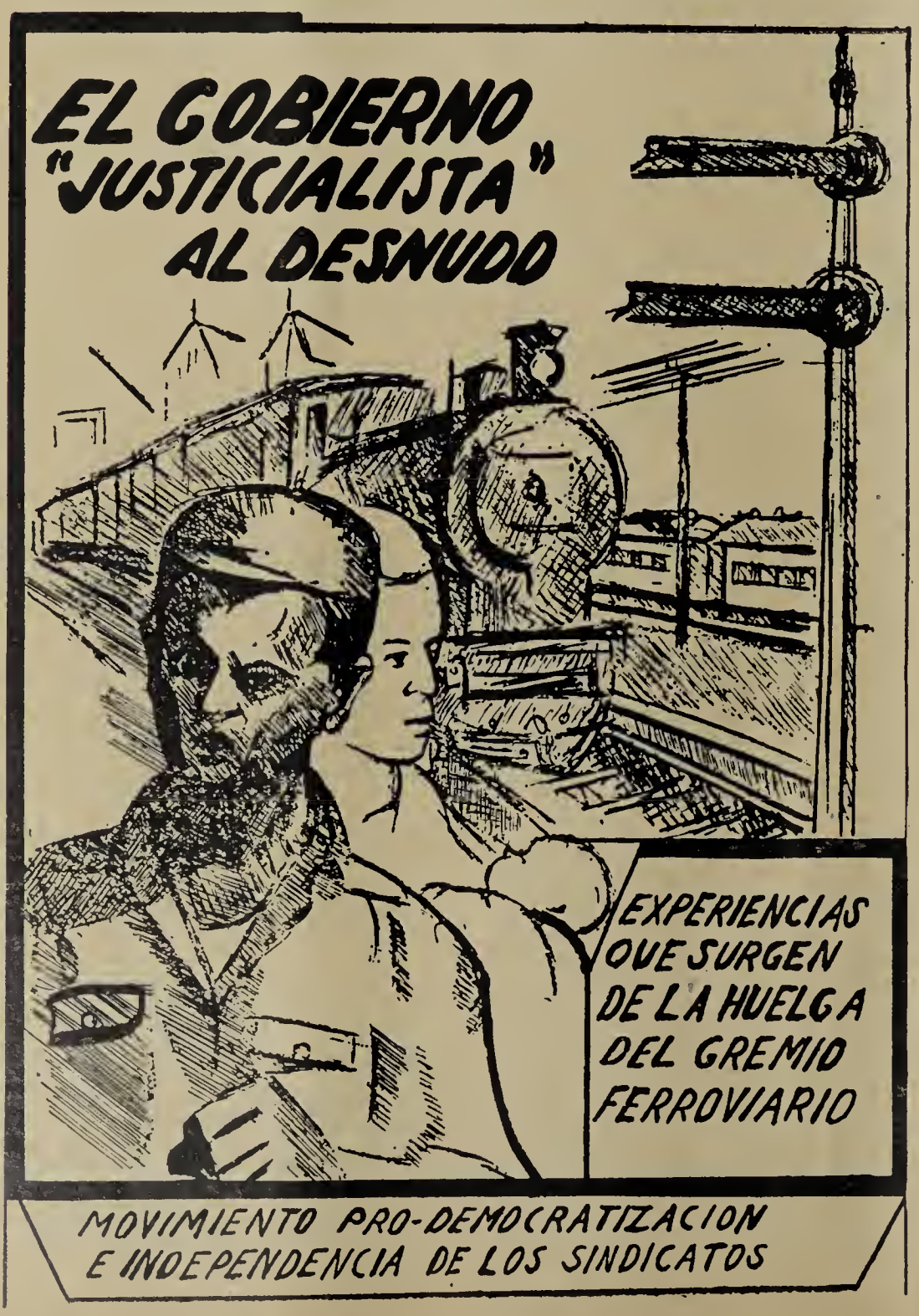
landlords and the financial oligarchy which had governed the country before he took power, his lavish promises that he would improve the living conditions of the masses, his repeated statements against North American intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and his jugglery on the so-called "third position" in international affairs, had succeeded in swaying and fooling large sections of the working people.

At the same time as he developed this unrestrained social and nationalist demagogy, claiming his regime to be "the workers' government," Peron was perverting the State machinery and the whole national life into neo-fascism, and transforming the trade unions—at the head of which he placed his devoted agents—into instruments of his policy.

The serious economic difficulties which the Argentine is at present experiencing, together with Peron's increasing submission to the United States imperialists and to their war preparations, have caused widespread popular discontent.

The working class of the Argentine, crushed under the burden of soaring prices and living costs, and inadequate wages, faced with systematic attacks against its trade union rights and the almost total suppression of every kind of democratic freedom, becomes more and more conscious of the enormous swindle of which it has been made a victim at the hands of the Peronist leaders.

Reproduction of the cover of an illegal trade union pamphlet on the railwaymen's strike.



PERON THROWS OFF THE MASK

INSTEAD of the "Estado Justicialista"—the State of Social Justice—which it had been promised, the working class, whenever it puts forward its demands and defends its rights, is faced with a fascist State, placed at the service of the big landowners, of Big Business, and of imperialist monopolies, as well as with the "hierarchy" and police of the Peronist General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

The workers are thus learning through their own experience that they must have no illusions whatsoever about a government which is but the servant of the ruling classes; they are discovering its true nature as a class machine. They are becoming conscious of the fact that they must rely only on their own unity, on their own strength, on their own action; and that they must get rid of the ideological influence still exerted by the bourgeoisie and the big landowners, of whom Peron is the ardent champion.

Throughout this evolution within the working class of the Argentine, the "Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions," together with the unity committees affiliated to this Movement in the factories and the various industries, has acted as a fighting and independent force which has played a considerable role.

During the years of the so-called "Social Justice" period, and despite the actual suppression of the fundamental right to strike, over two and a half million workers in different industries went on strike on several occasions, despite the brutal repression by the Government and the betrayal by their trade union leaders.

In the course of that period, very important industrial disputes broke out, such as the strikes carried out by the sugar workers, the bank employees, the seamen and dock workers and those of the printing trades.

The railway workers' strike has been the climax in this evolution of the Argentinian working class. Peron's Government was forced, by this action of the masses, to throw overboard its "labour" and "anti-capitalist" demagogy, and resort to the use of re-

pressive force in order to break the workers' economic struggles.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE STRIKE

ONE of the main features of the railwaymen's strike has been that it was not confined to the struggle for a wage rise. From the start, the workers launched their drive against the general policy of the Government.

Together with their claims for higher wages, the railwaymen have fought for trade union freedom and for the right to elect freely their own trade union leaders. Their action was not directed against a private employer or undertaking, but against the Government, which, as owner and manager of the State railways, was assuming the role of an employer.

The majority of railway workers' wages were on an average about 400 Argentine pesos per month (14.20 A pesos = one U.S. dollar) which, after all the numerous compulsory deductions had been made—for pension, social security, trade union dues wages for holidays such as October 12 and May Day, forcibly paid into the "Eva Peron Fund"—were actually reduced to 330 pesos monthly. And it is reckoned that the minimum wage in the Argentine, to meet elementary needs, should be 1,200 pesos monthly.

The railway workers had insistently and repeatedly put their claims before the management of the State Railways and also before the leadership of their national union, the Union Ferroviaria, led by the Peronist boss Pablo Carnero Lopez. After waiting for several months, during which the workers' claims were torpedoed, the track and station staff of the two railway stations, Plaza Constitucion and Estacion Sola, started to act on November 15th by carrying out work stoppages in turns.

On the following days, the movement spread to other railway lines: General Roca, San Martin, Urquiza and Sarmiento; and other branches of the staff joined in the movement.

During their strike, mindful of the experience gained in previous disputes, and knowing that they could not rely on the support of the Peronist trade union leaders, notoriously hostile to the movement, the workers established unity committees in every place of work, for each branch of the line, with a central committee co-ordinating the entire network, which was called the Emergency Consultative Committee.

Whatever their political opinions, the railwaymen were unanimous in stopping work.

GOVERNMENT MANOEUVRES

THE government, the Peronist press, the puppet leaders of the C.G.T. and of the Union Ferroviaria demonstrated from the outset their hostility towards the workers, and also their intention to break the strike.

The Union Ferroviaria leaders padlocked the union hall where the strikers had been holding their meetings, but the strikers met in another hall at Gerli, and unanimously decided to continue the strike until their three basic demands were met:

1. *Monthly salary of* 550 *to* 700 *Argentine pesos for shunters, platform and station staffs, and gatekeepers.*

2. *Annulment of all measures taken in reprisal against the workers outside the framework of their Statute.*

3. *Immediate resignation of the leaders of the Union Ferroviaria, who did not represent the will of the workers and did not loyally defend their interests.*

In the face of the firm stand taken by the workers, the Government was obliged to open discussions with the Emergency Consultative Committee. On November 23rd the railwaymen, putting their confidence in the promises of the Government representatives, who pledged themselves to accept their just demands, decided to go back to work.

Influenced by the Peronists, the workers still kept their illusions about the "justicialismo" and placed their trust in the personal intervention of President Peron.

Their disillusion and indignation was all the greater when Peron publicly condemned the strike and expressed his support of the traitors put at the head of the Union Ferroviaria.

The Transport Minister—with the direct participation of Senora Eva Peron—commenced negotiations with the leaders repudiated by the workers, and established a salary scale from 400 to 575 pesos a month after ten years' service. This was a shameless scoff at the promises which they had made.

The railwaymen woke up to the fact that they had been cheated and expressed their willingness to recommence the strike. "We demand what we have been promised," was their unanimous declaration. On December 14th a meeting of the workers' delegates decided to launch the strike anew, but this time in a general and unlimited form.

The strike paralysed traffic in the region of Buenos Aires, and rapidly spread into the interior of the country, in spite of brutal measures and threats from the authorities and the Peronist trade union bosses.

The Press and Government-controlled radio spread the usual slanders against the workers; they labelled the strike as "unpatriotic," "an outrage against national sovereignty," "inspired from abroad. . . .."

The leaders of the Union Ferroviaria took the same open stand against

the strike, to which they attributed "a political character," asserting that it was "inspired by Communist and Socialist agitators who were trying to overthrow the Government."

EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

THE movement increased from day to day. More than 60,000 workers were on strike. The railwaymen had the sympathy of the population. The Fraternidad Ferroviaria trade union, organising rolling stock personnel, who did not participate directly in the struggle, expressed its solidarity with the strikers and offered its mediation in the conflict.

At the same time as this movement was growing, the workers in other industries (cold storage workers and meat packers, road transport workers, Buenos Aires tramwaymen, etc.) prepared to enter the fight for their own demands, but the Government hastened to grant their claims in order to prevent an extension of the strikes.

The Transport Minister published a decree ordering immediate resumption; but the workers did not turn up for work. Faced with this fighting unity, the Government was forced to call in once more the Emergency Consultative Committee to negotiate and find a solution.

The representative of the Transport Ministry declared he would accept the three basic demands formulated by the workers. Confident in this agreement, the railwaymen decided to defer the strike and organised a demonstration in front of the offices of the Union Ferroviaria, to demand the resignation of the Peronist leaders who had betrayed them and their replacement by leaders freely elected by the workers.

In order to prevent the leadership of the Trade Union from passing into the hands of democratically elected leaders, the Peronist C.G.T. bosses, resorting to one of their usual tricks, ordered the "intervention" (placing under direct Government control) of the Union Ferroviaria, and nominated three notorious employers' agents as trustees with full powers to administer this organisation.

BRUTAL REPRESSION

WHEN, however, the workers staged a protest march, carrying placards, their union flags and even the portraits of Peron and his wife Eva, to demonstrate in front of the union headquarters their opposition to the control of their union by the Government, and to demand the free election of leaders whom they could trust, they were met by the mounted police with a sabre charge, while at the same time a special police squad was throwing tear gas bombs at the demonstrators.

Indignation among the masses reached such a pitch that many of the workers who were members of the Peronist party publicly tore up their membership cards in protest.

When the Government realised that the angry workers would resume the strike once more, it published a decree granting them two monthly bonuses of 125 pesos each. Meanwhile the workers were holding meetings in which they continued to demand the fulfilment of the promises made them with regard to trade union democracy and to the reinstatement of the dismissed railwaymen. They clearly understood that their rights and economic gains would remain in jeopardy as long as they were deprived of a truly democratic trade union organisation, independent from the Government.

On pay day the railwaymen were only given one 125 pesos bonus. No answer was forthcoming to their claims for a rise in the wage scale of the unskilled workers and gatekeepers, the family minimum wage, the reinstatement of dismissed strikers, the right to meet freely and to elect democratically their trade union leaders.

Faced with this situation, the railwaymen went on strike for a third time on January 23rd. The whole Government machine was set in motion and poured out floods of propaganda against the strikers. The Labour Minister declared the strike illegal, called in the police, and ordered that the strikers' jobs be filled by scabs.

General Peron himself—who in November, 1950, had declared at the congress of the Distributive Trade Employees' Union that "he would never use the police against the workers"—made a violent speech, in which he announced that all railway workers were being put under military requisition.

The army and police arrested thousands of workers at their homes or on the streets, and compelled them by force to return to work. Hundreds of others were jailed incommunicado. The newspapers published the first lists of dismissed railwaymen and announced that the mass sacking would continue.

A military mobilisation decree ordered all the men to return to work under penalty of being prosecuted under martial law. The bulk of railwaymen were thus forced to go back to work; but they remained conscious of their own strength and ready to resume the struggle.

Hundreds of workers, among whom were Peronists, members of the Radical Party, Communists, Socialists and others who belonged to no party, were kept in jail strictly incommunicado, so that their families and friends could not find out where they were. One hundred and eighty of them were charged with "attempting to disrupt the security of the State" and prosecuted under the most fantastic indictment. The judge entrusted by the Government with the carrying out of this monstrous trial, Dr. Miguel Vignola, pronounced a sentence of indictment against the railway workers, charging them, in fact, with attempting to exercise their trade union rights.

The railwaymen did not feel beaten. The Emergency Consultative Committee was reconstituted with those of its members who were not in jail and other workers elected by the rank and file. In the depots and railway workshops and on every line, solidarity committees were formed to help the prisoners, the dismissed workers, and their families. This solidarity was carried out with the support and the active participation of other sections of the working class and of the people, who expressed in this manner their sympathy towards the strike.

A FOURTH STRIKE MOVEMENT

THE Peronist trade union bureaucracy demonstrated its hatred of the strikers by organising a raid on the headquarters of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria, one of the oldest unions in the Argentine. This organisation, in the ranks of which trade union democracy was still maintained, was scheduled to hold its congress on May 14th, and the government and the C.G.T. bosses feared that this congress might give an opportunity to the mass of the railway workers to express their strong protest against the brutal repression of their strike.

On May 9th a gang of "toughs," specially recruited by the Peronist leaders, raided the offices of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria. Guns and clubs in hand, these paid gangsters compelled the leaders of the union to hand in their resignation. Once more, the true face of Peron's "justicialismo" was thus revealed to the workers.

The strikers were determined to maintain their unity and fight on to victory.

The engineers, drivers, firemen and other railwaymen who were members of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria immediately set up a "National Committee for the Legal Recuperation" of their union, and launched a big drive against the Peronist leaders imposed by the Government on the trade union organisation.

Under strong pressure from the masses, the Government was forced to free a large number of the arrested railway strikers. However, those whom it considered as strike leaders were kept in prison.

When several months had elapsed and calm was apparently restored the Peronist leaders thought they had the situation well in hand. But a new walk-out took place on August 1st, this time mainly amongst the engineers, drivers, firemen and other skilled workers, members of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria.

Once again the Government decreed military requisition of all railway workers, tried to break the movement by force, ordered the arrest of hundreds of them, while at the same time Peronist provocateurs were committing acts of sabotage on several railrods with the aim of "justifying" the repressive measures taken against the strikers. The men resisted for several days and finally had to return to work; but their action showed that the Government repression had not broken the workers' fighting spirit, and that they maintained their firm resolution to recover their trade union rights and freedom.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

THE dispute on the railroads has stressed the fighting spirit of the working masses of the Argentine, but also the illusions whlch still persist amongst numerous workers as regards the true nature and the promises of the Peronist government. Such illusions largely explain the waverings which could be observed throughout the movement.

It has been possible to crush the railwaymen's struggle because at every one of its different stages there was never complete unity among the several branches of the staff. While the strikes in November, December, and January had involved particularly the unskilled station and track workers organised in the Union Ferroviaria, the walk-out in August was staged by the drivers, firemen, engineers and the skilled personnel, members of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria.

The painful lessons inflicted by the Governmental repression which hit, one after the other, the different branches of the striking workers, showed that this lack of unity was the most serious mistake made throughout the movement. Only a united, closely welded action by *all* workers can lead to victory.

There have been other weaknesses. During the first period of the conflict, the Emergency Consultative Committee allowed free play, to a certain extent, to Government intrigues, by failing to inform adequately the rank and file of the strikers on the details of the negotiations being carried out with the Government representatives.

Moreover, the strikes were not always called after sufficient preparation. Thus the January walk-out was decided by the Consultative Committee and not, as it should have been, by a meeting of the delegates sent by the respective unity committees for each line, which would have given the workers' struggle greater solidarity and a more conscious determination. Similarly, the August walk-out was but a partial movement launched without the necessary preparations. It is not enough to present just claims, and even an almost unanimous feeling of indignation and a strong determination to fight among the workers are not enough by themselves. It is also necessary to organise and to prepare carefully every strike action, on the basis of the broadest unity amongst the different branches of the staff as amongst all political and trade union groups.

Other weaknesses can be pointed out, such as the inadequate solidarity movement among the other sectors of the working class and the lack of necessary co-ordination with the workers in other indusutries, who had also presented their own claims; the latter enabling the Government to settle separately these other industrial disputes and by so doing to isolate the striking railwaymen, concentrating against them the whole repressive State machine.

HOW THE WORKERS CAN BENEFIT FROM EXPERIENCE

DESPITE all this, very positive lessons can be derived from the railwaymen's struggle. As the dispute developed, these men understood the urgent need to achieve broad unity; this is the reason why they established unity committees at their places of work. The workers' unity of action, within those committees, which amounted to actual united front organisations, enabled them to launch three successive strikes which could only be broken by means of unprecedented repression.

Moreover, the railway workers' strikes were a very serious blow at Peron's régime, which they helped to unmask still further before the workers, underlining the contradiction between the official speeches and actual Government action.

Having learned by their own experience, the masses who once supported the Peronist régime are getting further and further away from their leaders and are beginning to realise that they can only achieve their claims and defend their rights through unity of action amongst all workers.

It is to the credit of the Movement for Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions that it had foreseen this evolution of the working class in the Argentine and always followed a correct policy of unity with the Peronist working masses. Instead of adopting the sectarian policy of confining themselves within the narrow frame of small illegal unions, remaining isolated from the broad masses, these men started to work from within the Government unions, in the midst of workers belonging to the Peronist party, or with other political beliefs, in order to develop among them all the struggle for their most pressing demands.

The valuable experiences derived from this fight stress, once more, the need for achieving unity among the rank and file and for developing the independent action of the working masses. They show that unity of action among workers of all political, religious and trade union tendencies, at the place of work as on a local and national level, is necessary to fight successfully for better wages and for improving working and living conditions. They also stress the necessity of tactical manœuvring when facing the enemy and of using methods of action adopted to diverse local conditions, in order to rally the masses. They tend to show that sectarianism in the trade union movement must be eliminated in order to organise joint action of all workers; and that this work must be carried out wherever the masses are to be found, including inside Fascist trade unions, against all obstacles and overcoming all difficulties.

The railway workers' strike in the Argentine—in spite of the errors and weaknesses which it has brought into relief—has shown the correctness of the recommendations made to the trade union movement of Latin-America by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau at its Bucharest meeting, as well as of the resolutions adopted in its recent session in Vienna.

As the W.F.T.U. General Secretary, Louis Saillant, recalled in this Review,* three fundamental recommendations were made by the Executive Bureau to the Latin-American trade union movement:

1. *To step up the struggle for economic and social demands and to link it up all the time with the fight for national independence and peace, using different methods of action according to concrete local conditions;*

2. *A determined drive for rank and file united action in the factories, in the various branches of industry and agriculture, around immediate objectives capable of rallying the broadest masses of workers, thus preparing favourable conditions for the achievement of organisational trade union unity.*

3. *To improve organisational work at all levels of trade union activity and to fight for democracy in the trade unions, particularly in those under the control of reactionary governments which pursue an unremitting policy corruption inside their ranks.*

The resolutions adopted by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau should be analysed and studied by all active trade unionists—not only by the leaders, but also by all the workers—in order to hasten their implementation among the broad working masses, to achieve unity among all workers, which is indispensible in the fight to win their claims and ensure their rights, to defend democratic freedom and national independence, and to safeguard peace.

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*See *World Trade Union Movement*, No. 11, 1951.

PROTEST SENT BY THE W.F.T.U. TO GENERAL PERON

The President of the W.F.T.U., G. Di Vittorio, on August 13, 1951, sent the following cable to General Peron, President of the Argentine Republic:

"In the name of 78 million organised workers throughout the world, the World Federation of Trade Unions protests against the brutal violation of the most elementary principles of democracy and humanity by the Argentine Government, which deposed by violence the elected Executive Committee of the Fraternidad Ferroviaria and imposed governmental administration. The World Federation of Trade Unions expresses the strong indignation of the workers of the entire world at the brutal repression of the Railwaymen's strike, a legitimate defence of democratic and trade union liberty, and demands the release of all workers imprisoned for this action."

At the same time the President of the W.F.T.U. informed the National Trade Union Centre of Uruguay of the sending of this protest, and asked them to convey to the workers of the neighbouring country, **"The warm and fraternal solidarity of the workers of the world organised in the W.F.T.U. to the valiant railwaymen of the Argentine in their heroic struggle in defence of freedom and trade union rights."**

The Trade Unions Internationals In the Fight for Unity and Peace

IN the middle of July two important trade union meetings took place in Vienna, the Administrative Committee meeting of the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International (from 10th to 14th July) and the Administrative Committee meeting of the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (from 16th to 20th July). Observers representing many unions not affiliated to W.F.T.U. also took part in these meetings, from Austria, Argentina, Great Britain, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Finland, at the first meeting and from Austria, Great Britain, Belgium, Sweden, Iceland and Norway at the second, as well as representatives from Unions not yet affiliated to the Transport T.U.I.

The Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions Internationals

THE Administrative Committee heard two important reports, that of Henri Jourdain (France), General Secretary of the International, on the tasks of the metal workers in the struggle for unity, social and economic demands and peace, and that of Emile Otto (German Democratic Republic), member of the Administrative Committee, on the contribution of metalworkers to the fight for peace.

At the conclusion of its work, the Administrative Committee called on all workers in the metal and engineering industries in the capitalist countries to strengthen their fraternal solidarity in the fight for essential demands, whether they belonged to the Trade Unions International or not.

The Administrative Committee decided :

1. To intensify the campaign developing in all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries to defend and increase the purchasing power of workers' wages;
2. To assist in strengthening the campaign to secure equal pay for equal work;
3. To develop and raise to a higher level the drive undertaken against speed-up and longer working hours;
4. To organise such action as would give stronger international expression to the workers' determination to win real holidays with pay;
5. To launch a special campaign on social security, the right of young workers to apprenticeship and against the exploitation of immigrant labour;
6. To develop a plan of action to broaden the struggle for the allocation of the necessary raw materials to non-military production;
7. To continue and develop further the campaign against the Schuman Plan;
8. To work for a broad movement for full employment on production for peace, based on active co-operation between the workers and the general population and on normal trade relations between capitalist countries, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In order to develop unity of action and to give further impulse to the workers' struggle for their basic interests, the Administrative Committee de-

cided to call two international conferences, the first in Europe and the second on the American continent.

The Administrative Committee made an appeal to all metalworkers to carry out an energetic struggle for the development of non-military production and against the production of war material and to cause the plans of the imperialists for a new world war to miscarry.

The struggle for peace, says the appeal, must be carried out in close co-operation with Peace Committees, with women's organisations, and in general with all organisations fighting for peace. The Administrative Committee asked that metalworkers and their families in all countries sign the appeal of the World Peace Council for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

As well as signing this appeal themselves, the members of the Administrative Committee, and the observers present at the meeting, sent a proposal to the Metal Workers' Trade Secretariat of the International Confederation of " Free " Trade Unions and the Metal Workers' International of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions to sign the appeal and to defend jointly the economic and social demands of the metalworkers.

The Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International

IN the course of its meeting the Administrative Committee dealt with the following questions :

1. The activities of the Trade Unions International and the tasks of the workers in the struggle for their social and economic demands and for the strengthening of unity (Reporter, S. Moraru, Rumania, Secretary of the Trade Unions International).

2. The results of the Conference of Transport Workers of Latin America (Reporter, R. Avila, Cuba, member of the Administrative Committee).

3. The crisis of railway transport in the capitalist countries (Reporter, S. Massini, Italy, Vice-President of the Trade Unions International).

4. The task of the transport workers in the struggle for peace (Reporter, R. Shvalek, German Democratic Republic, member of the Administrative Committee).

The Administrative Committee stressed in a resolution that the carrying out of war preparations by the governments of the capitalist countries, led by the U.S., has caused the daily deterioration of the conditions of transport workers : the leading capitalist groups in the Marshall Plan countries and the American imperialists deem it useful, from the military and strategic point of view as well as from the standpoint of their profits, to favour the development of roads and road transport in opposition to rail transport, and to cause unrestrained rivalry between the two kinds of transport.

This policy of the American imperialists, who look for a way out of the economic crisis at the expense of the other capitalist countries and are preparing for a new war, leads, in these countries, to the scrapping of railway lines, depots, workshops and stations, to the reduction of personnel, to dismissals and an increase in unemployment. The crisis in rail transport is, therefore, a product of the reactionary policy of the warmongers, led by American imperialism.

The Administrative Committee stressed, moreover, that parallel with the offensive against the vital interests of the transport workers, repression and persecution of the workers and their leaders have increased in the capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, in spite of such repression, the transport workers are fighting with ever-growing determination, for the defence of their rights and their liberties. The mighty movement for united action is spreading and reaching deeper down among the rank and file.

The Administrative Committee particularly greeted those workers who, in carrying out this struggle, have drawn nearer to and united with all workers, regardless of their trade union affiliation, political and religious creeds, nationality and race.

The Administrative Committee called on all transport workers, on all members of the Transport Workers' Trade Unions International and on all other trade unions to give an affirmative reply to all the proposals of unity of action put forward by its leaders and organisations.

It also charged the Secretariat of the T.U. International to envisage steps for the preparation of two regional conferences of transport workers on social and economic questions, to be called in 1952.

Peoples of the World For Peace

We publish the following two documents, from two very diverse countries, on the people's struggle against war preparations and for world peace.

The first is a resolution adopted by the Labor Workshop (a committee for discussion and policy formulation) of the People's Congress and Exposition for Peace sponsored by the American Peace Crusade, held in Chicago (U.S.A.) from June 29th to July 2nd. This Congress was made up of more than 5,000 delegates from the entire United States, representing many racial, political, religious and economic groups. Workers and trade unions were strongly represented.

The second document is a report sent to the W.F.T.U. from Bangkok, Thailand, on the activities of the National Peace Committee of Thailand and its campaign for signatures for the Five Power Peace Pact Appeal. The success of the campaign for signatures on the Stockholm Appeal, despite intimidation and slander by the government, has led the National Peace Committee to redouble its efforts in the present campaign.

Resolution of the Labor Workshop on Peace

LABOR has a special stake in peace. It is labor that does most of the dying, most of the fighting, most of the paying. In every country of the world, it is the working people who have the least to gain from war, the most to gain from peace. It is the working people of each country who can most readily agree that war is unnecessary. Workers who do not profit from war have no incentive to make war on workers of different nationalities.

Labor is against war because only under peace can the basic aims and purposes of the trade union movement be realised. A war situation strikes at the very heart of why our unions were organised. War establishes an official government policy of lowering the standards of living of the American people. War brings wage freezes, compulsory arbitration of wages, and the drastic restriction of our rights as trade unionists. War undermines civil rights, especially of the Negro workers and workers of other minority groups. War abolishes free collective bargaining, the free choice of jobs, the freedom to use traditional weapons to achieve redress of grievances and speedup. War inevitably must impoverish the people.

In short, war endangers the very existence of trade unions by virtually suppressing every normal function of our organisations, all of which were founded for the well-being, economic security and enlightenment of the working people.

Labor is against war because we know from past experience that a nation cannot divert its resources to war production and not do irreparable damage to the people's security and happiness. We are against war because there is no need for war. The alternative is peace.

We hail, therefore, the instructions of our government to our military leaders to negotiate a truce in Korea. We hail the transfer of international differences to the conference table where they belong. As trade unionists we are in full accord with a policy of negotiation because we know the value of negotiations, the wisdom of "talking it over."

We consider "cease fire" negotiations in the same light as we do contract negotiations. An issue most vital to our union memberships is as much at stake in the truce negotiations as the question of peace. That issue, of course, is the standard of living which we organised to improve. It is the economic impact of war on the working people which is one of the most alarming results of war.

As long ago as the first of this year, a copper miner had to work a full hour and a half longer to buy the same basket of food he bought in June of 1946. Who stole that hour and a half?

The answer is in the super-profits of American corporations who earned more than twice as much last year as their peak earnings in World War II. It is in the budget for a war economy. It is in the presence of corporation executives and generals at the head of every government agency who have arranged to squeeze the workers between frozen wages and rising prices, who very carefully managed to place the burden of taxation on those of us who lose the most in war —the workers and their families.

The torpedoing of our living standards is accompanied by frantic propaganda to convince us that war is good for us. The will-o-the-wisp of war jobs is Wall Street's pain killer. It is the same false theory that Hitler used to soften the resistance of the German labor movement to *his* war. German workers learned too late that war is a bunco game and that they were the suckers. We American trade unionists do not propose to be suckers. We know that war is the incubator of economic calamity.

Perhaps not all of us will agree on this characterisation of labor's stake in peace. Perhaps there are differences among the various sections of America's labour movement as to assessing the blame for international or domestic tensions. We feel certain, however, that there are *no* differences among us as to the common bond we share in peace. We feel certain that no single section of the population, no one grouping within the labor movement has a monopoly on the desire for peace and the better life for American workers that peace makes possible.

The 80 billion dollar war budget, if spent in peaceful pursuits, would bring unprecedented prosperity to America. Valley authorities such as T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), a nationwide housing programme, a gigantic public roads programme, the construction of thousands of new, badly-needed schools, new hospitals, new recreational facilities, new scientific facilities, improved transportation, and a thousand and one other peacetime projects would employ more workers than the war economy and would lead to the kind of life for American workers that war makes impossible.

Peace is not possible without labor's energetic participation in the expanding coalition for peace. That participation must flow from the common bond that unites all workers. The desire for permanent, lasting peace has always been part of the working man's credo. To translate that desire into organisation is our purpose.

Immediately we want the shooting stopped, the plans for war ended, the negotiations started. Immediately we want to carry forward our traditional programme of economic and political freedom for our members. Immediately we want President Truman to end the "war emergency" with the cease-fire truce and to end all the by-products of the emergency including the wage freeze, the scuttling of the fight for F.E.P.C. (Fair Employment Practices Commission—to make illegal racial discrimination in employment—Ed.), discriminatory taxation, and all proposed restrictions of labor's and the people's constitutional rights.

For the future we want a permanent end to wars, a world where unemployment and hunger are unknown, a happy, prosperous, free America.

Report on the Peace Movement in Thailand

THE National Peace Committee of Thailand called upon the Thai people to endorse the Appeal for the Five Power Peace Pact. In the period since June 2, when the campaign was begun, many men and women, people of various religious and political views and covering all occupations including writers, dramatists, journalists, lawyers, monks, merchants, students, workers and farmers have signed the Appeal. During the first week 4489 people signed the Appeal, four times the number which had signed the Stockholm Appeal during the first week. By June 23rd, 23,053 signatures had been obtained. Many prominent people from all walks of life have signed for peace.

Against the slander of reactionaries that the peace movement is the exclusive design of the communists, Mr. Kulap Saipradist, well-known writer, said before the beginning of the campaign: "Must we change and eat grass if the communists eat rice? And must we put aside our dresses if the communists put on dresses, in order to prove that the communists are always wrong, and that we are always right?"

Calling upon the people to sign the Appeal, Mr. Isra Amantagul, assistant editor of the newspaper "Siam Nikorn," said: "The voice of the atom bomb is rumbling, but the voices of all peace-loving people expressed in unison, would be loud enough to silence the voice of the atom bomb."

Thailand students are taking an active part in the peace campaign. The president of the Peace Committee of the College of Moral and Political Sciences, Miss Prathurn Singha, pointed out that education is injured by war and war preparations.

On the anniversary of the Korean war, the National Peace Committee of Thailand issued an appeal to the Thai people, pointing out the duty of the people of Thailand to demand the evacuation of their army from Korea, the cessation of aid for the suppressors of the Malayan and Vietnam peoples, the cessation of "sanctions" against China, the repudiation of the policy which prevents the expression of the desire for peace. The National Peace Committee called upon the Thai people to demand an improvement in the living conditions of the people.

The people of Thailand are becoming increasingly conscious of the necessity of fighting for peace and ending the crisis of war.

ECONOMIC NOTES

UNITED STATES PROFITS FROM WAR PREPARATIONS

The top men of the big American monopolies, put in key positions for the organisation of war economy, protect the interests of the trusts they represent. Here is some evidence of this:

Charles B. WILSON, President of the **General Electric Company,** has been lent by this trust to occupy the position of director of the **Office of Defence Mobilisation.**

Profits of the General Electric Company in 1949: $125 mil. 639,051; in 1950: $173 mil. 424,702.

David B. CARSON, lent by the **Sharon Steel Trust** is in the **Iron and Steel Production Office.**

Profits of Sharon Steel in 1949: $3 mil. 325,964; 1950: $9 mil. 284,643.

Cyrus CHING, lent by the **United States Rubber Company** (of the **Du Pont de Nemours** group) is director of the **Office of Wage Stabilisation.**

Profits of the United States Rubber Company in 1949: $15 mil. 100,072; in 1950: $24 mil. 657,647.

Melvin COLE, lent by the **Bethlehem Steel Trust,** is also in the **Iron and Steel Production Office.**

Profits of Bethlehem Steel in 1949: $99 mil. 283,539; 1950: $122 mil. 976,071.

During the first quarter of 1951, profits in the United States reached the record annual level of 26.7 billion dollars, which is 67% more than for the first quarter of 1950.

COLONIAL PROFITS IN FRANCE

The recorded profits of 240 big French companies increased in 1950:

41% more than in 1949

556% more than in 1946.

For the 24 Colonial companies included among the above the increase is:

94% more than in 1949

1200% more than in 1946.

For the 9 Indochina companies included in the colonial companies, the increase is:

118% more than in 1949

2850% more than in 1950.

IS ANY FURTHER PROOF NEEDED TO SHOW HOW MUCH COLONIAL EXPLOITATION AND COLONIAL WAR BENEFITS THE CAPITALISTS?

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

RUMANIA

Care of Workers' Health

During the years of people's rule in Rumania thousands of new medical and sanitary institutions and hospitals have been erected. Old institutions have been supplied with new modern equipment. In comparison with 1945 the number of hospital beds has risen by 60 per cent. In the villages 2,000 first-aid centres have been organised. The Rumanian Government is taking great care of the well-being of mothers and infants. There are 3,600 maternity lying-in hospitals and consultation centres for women and children.

Before the establishment of a people's government in Rumania an average of 22 per cent of the children of this country died in early childhood. At present, thanks to preventive measures and to the improvement of material and living conditions the mortality of children is reduced to a minimum.

The Republic's Five Year Plan provides for a considerable amelioration of public health. By 1955 over 2,000 new dispensaries, 50 district travelling clinics, 800 maternity lying-in hospitals, and 12 centres for sanitary education will be newly opened. At the end of the Five Year Plan the number of people passing through sanatoria and rest homes will reach 300,000.

Izvestia, 24.7.51.

ITALY

Workers Oppose Government's "Civil Defence" Bill

The Government's "Civil Defence" Bill which, in reality, consists of a series of clauses of a distinctly fascist character and contrary to the Republic's Constitution, has given rise to nation-wide popular protest and to work stoppages in the factories.

When the Bill was under discussion, G. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., declared in Parliament:

"As the workers' representatives, we cannot fail to oppose this Bill with all our energy. The Government has attempted to minimise it, but it is quite clear that it is exclusively directed against the workers as a whole. This law seeks to keep the workers in subjection, to render them incapable of defending their jobs and their bread, and to preserve the domination of the exploiting castes. The majority itself demonstrated the reactionary character of this law by rejecting all the amendments which were proposed, so as to keep it in the form desired by the Government. In fact, you are seeking to abolish the Constitution. You even rejected the claim that a state of danger to the country's security be declared by the President of the Republic instead of by the Prime Minister. This proves your distrust even of the Chief of State, and that your intentions are of such a seditious nature that you fear that the Chief of State may refuse to validate them.

"You are making a mistake if you imagine that you can stop the people's struggle for improved living conditions and a better future. Neither by this law nor by any other will you be able to prevent the working class from becoming the ruling class of the nation; nor will you succeed, even by this law, in impeding the development of big nation-wide workers' strikes, because they will continue with still greater energy to defend their bread and their living standards which you, on orders from the American multi-millionaires, are seeking to reduce. You will never be strong enough to prevent a great strike.

"Christian-Democrat colleagues, do not betray the Constitution, do not betray democracy! If you continue to divide the nation, then we shall be the ones to restore its unity, to save the Constitution, democracy and peace."

Unita, 12.7.51.

WEST GERMANY

From Empty Threats to Real Action

As is well known, the West German Trade Union organisations have been forced by pressure from the workers aroused by ever-growing price increases, to cancel 104 wage and salary agreements. During the negotiations over new wage settlements, it was again clearly shown that the right-wing D.G.B. leaders do not even think of forcing the employers, through active trade union struggle, to fulfil the workers' just wage demands.

Until now every negotiation has resulted in the workers being cheated of their just demands by a rotten compromise, as was the case recently with the miners.

The so-called "Trade Union Proclamation of Struggle" is therefore not to be taken seriously. The D.G.B. leadership merely decided "to recommend" the D.G.B. Federal Committee, as the next highest organ to the National Congress, to protest against the economic development in Western Germany, but not, as one would logically assume, by calling out the workers to strike against the price increases and for a cost of living increase. No: simply by withdrawing all trade union representatives from the economic and political boards of the Republic.

This is indeed a "terrible" threat! This "withdrawal" is only what the West German workers have been demanding from their D.G.B. leaders for a long time. Well can the workers see for themselves what the collaboration of their right-wing D.G.B. leadership with the employers and the Adenauer Government has brought them up till now: unemployment, fall in their real wages and continuing attacks of the employers on the workers' rights.

This "threat" to abandon collaboration should not, and in fact cannot, be taken seriously. The right-wing D.G.B. leadership, by their policy of collaboration, bear the full responsibility for the catastophic economic development of Western Germany.

Neither will the "threat" be taken seriously by the West German Government, particularly as they are all united on the question of the Schuman Plan and remilitarisation. Adenauer and his Minister for Economic

Affairs, Erhard, as well as the West German warmongers, know full well what partners they are dealing with.

It was not for nothing that Christian Fette, the new D.G.B. President —hailed by the employers after his election as 'a man who offered every guarantee that the workers' demands concerning their living standards would not grow out of bounds'— spoke with the Minister for Economic Affairs, Erhard, shortly before the famous "threat" was uttered.

They are also united in pushing on further in the drive for remilitarisation and war preparations, and, all together, they dream of a 'Drive to the East.' Arno Scholz actually asserted in the "Telegraph" (Social-Democratic organ) that 'the most serious efforts must be made to defend Europe at least on the Vistula.' It is a shame when so-called workers' leaders clamour for a new war. And it is therefore high time that the workers closed their ranks and waged a united fight against every war preparation.

The struggle for higher wages forms part of this resistance to war preparations. Every pfennig wage increase which the workers gain is a hit against the warmongers' plans.

West Berlin workers must therefore demand of the D.B.G. leadership that they end the collaboration policy; that they earnestly fight for the just wage demands of the workers; that they provide for real joint management in the factories; that they put an end to the split in the working class and to the division of Germany.

West German and West Berlin workers can be sure that they have the full support of the workers in the German Democratic Republic and democratic Berlin in the struggle for the carrying out of their demands.

Tribune (Berlin), organ of the F.D.G.B. 31.7.51.

UNITED STATES

Peace—No More War!

Dr. D. E. B. DuBois, the Negro veteran of all that is truly progressive in America is now—at the age of eighty-three—jailed and awaiting trial as a 'foreign agent.' His callous arrest . . . is a danger signal to the whole world of the extremities of ruthlessness to which Truman and his fellow 'liberals' are prepared to go. But Dr. DuBois' statement in the "Arena" is an affirmation of life, a declaration of humanity crushing aside the crazed hypocrisies of the brokers of death.

"I want progress; I want education; I want social medicine; I want a living wage and old age security . . . I want freedom for my people. And because I know and you know that we cannot have these things, and at the same time fight, destroy, and kill all around the world in order to make huge profits for big business; for that reason I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry PEACE—NO MORE WAR."

World News and Views (London) 23.6.51.

AUSTRALIA

Help for African Seamen

The crew of the ss Aloe, which flies the South African flag and is owned by the South African Government, came to the Seamen's Union when the ship was in Freemantle recently to seek assistance in getting their grievances rectified—and those grievances were many.

On inspecting the vessel we found that in the sailors' mess-room there was only three sets of knives and forks and four cups for ten men, while on the firemen's side it was even worse as there was only two cups for all of the engineer's department. The crew's refrigerator was out of commission and had been since just after leaving South Africa, despite continued requests that it be repaired.

We then had a look at the sleeping accommodation and we found conditions that were almost unbelievable in the year 1951. Each man had only one blanket issued to him, none of which were new. Mattresses and pillows were old, torn and filthy (of course, no covers were provided) and, as far as the crew knew, had been in the ship since she first went into commission.

Then to the bathroom and lavatories: the former was small and the men washed in buckets, but the latter we could smell before we entered. The pipes were rusty and broken and couldn't be made to work unless renewed. One of the crew then drew our attention to the deck head of the accommodation. We could see daylight through it and it was obvious that whenever there was any weather or rain the quarters would be flooded.

There were other complaints such as food, certain repairs in the engine room and on deck that were added to the already formidable list. On approaching the Master we were informed, among other things, that it was none of our business. However we convinced him it was our business, so he suggested we should see the agents, Messrs. Millers' Timber and Trading Co.

On approaching the agents they also stated it wasn't any of our business, but on being informed by us that their ship mightn't sail unless the complaints were rectified, they then agreed that it could be our business and would look into the matter.

Next morning the Master ordered the crew to shift ship to Cages Roads, stating that when the vessel was out there the repairs would be started. But the crew believed from past experiences that once the Master got them out there nothing would be done, so decided not to shift her.

He then, however, became very belligerent and informed them that because of their actions in approaching the "Communist" Australian Seamen's Union he would on their return to South Africa lay charges against them under the South African Anti-Communist Act (same as Menzies' Act) and have them all imprisoned.

The crew were so fed up with their rotten conditions that unanimously they decided they'd risk it and informed the Master they weren't prepared to go to sea until the list of repairs, etc., submitted to the Agents by the Union were completed.

Consequently everything the Union asked for was agreed to, including new mattresses, pillows, blankets, common menu and all the repairs were completed to the satisfacton of the Union and crew within 48 hours.

The Master was also informed by the Union that if he carried out his threat of using Prime Minister Malan's Anti-Communist Act to prevent the crew of this vessel from improving their rotten conditions, the Maritime Unions of Freemantle would show their disapproval of his Fascist-like act by leaving his ship tied up at the wharf when he returned to this port.

Seamen's Journal (Australia) June-July 1951.

CEYLON

Child Labour

At long last the Government has decided on legislation to abolish child labour in Ceylon . . . certain sections oppose the abolition of child labour on the ground that such a step woud result in greater hardship and misery to certain families of the lower working class.

The proposed legislation has a loophole, for it does not protect children in domestic service. There are thousands of children ranging from 7 to 14 years who are worked like slaves from morning till night in Ceylonese homes. The adoption of the Children Ordinance and Domestic Servants Ordinances supposed to give them protection. But this is only in theory. Cases of cruelty are not infrequent. Only a small percentage of these cases come to light when the victims have to receive medical treatment after brutal handling.

Appalled by the cruelty inflicted by certain employers on their child servants, the public conscience has been stirred.

New Commonwealth, August 1951.

INDONESIA

Starvation Grows

The Indonesian workers' conditions of life are regularly growing worse. While prices are increasing every day, wages are very backward in compari-

son. As a result of the Sukarno-Sukiman Government's policy the Indonesian workers work for miserable wages but the foreign imperialists have increased the profits they draw from Indonesia by 200 per cent.

The Indonesian population's situation is such that in fact large sections of it are starving. The Cheribon Resident declared that the Indonesian people suffers from underfeeding. Beriberi is prevalent in certain areas of Java . . . the result of a shortage of vitamin B. Several more diseases resulting from underfeeding, shortage of vegetables etc., are prevalent. Dr. Purwo Sudarmo of the Indonesian People's Food Institution has made a close study of the Indonesian population's food. In his report he says that the Indonesian people's food is the worst in the world.

The American 'Work Food Survey' also speaks in detail about this. According to its publications the calorie-value of the average food of the Javanese population is . . . 2,050 calories. This is a shortage of at least 600 calories. This underfeeding has among other things a very bad influence on newborn babies.

The Indonesian Government has not introduced any methods to improve this situation. On the contrary the situation is growing worse and worse especially as 50 per cent of the national budget is used for the police, army and other war purposes. Only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the budget is destined for public health.

So the police is maintained at the cost of public health and is mainly used against the workers. When the workers revolt against their woeful situation and launch a fight against it, they are put into prison or murdered and accused among other things of theft or guerilla activity.

The Indonesian workers are in no way intimidated however as is proved by the wide strike movement which is not only going on continuously but is also regularly spreading. At Djakarta the whole Indonesian personnel embracing 2,000 persons in the large printing works, Kolff & Co. struck work on June 8th last. This strike was directly caused by the fact that two of the workers who submitted demands for bonuses for the whole personnel to the management, were dismissed. By the united fight of the workers the management was obliged to withdraw their dismissals. This victory is very important when you know that this print shop is considered as being 'vital.' As you may know, the Indonesian Government some time ago issued a ban on strikes in vital industries . . . . They (the workers) also carried out several actions to impose a bonus on the occasion of Lebaran.* The Executive of the Plantation Workers' Trade Union conducted talks on the subject with the foreign employers for three months. These talks closed on June 11th with an agreement containing a victory for the workers.

Over 400 Indonesian seamen from the ships 'Oranje' and 'Johan van Oldebarneweldt' belonging to the Dutch Steamship Company organised a joint meeting, at which the workers elected a delegation from both ships which submitted their demand for a Lebaran bonus to the management.

For the same reason the workers at Djakarta literally closed down the trams and buses. Because 2,000 workers of the Garudan Indonesian Airways struck work, the whole inland air traffic was stopped. At the Batavian Oil Company, not only the drivers but also the clerks stopped work. 700 workers at the Cerdesius dockyards also went out on strike.

Dutch Trade Union News,
July 1951.

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*Muslim holiday

SOUTH KOREA

Worse than Belsen

In conditions worse than Belsen or Buchenwald extermination camps, 400 diseased and wounded men and women suffer and die in quarters built for 120 in Seoul municipal hospital. Within a few minutes of walking into the buiding I was physically sick, cabled Robert Miller, B.U.P. correspondent, from Seoul, yesterday. The living and the dead lie side by side.

Though . . . money has been allotted to alleviate the sufferings of South Korean civilians the place is more like a medieval torture chamber than a hospital. Maladministration, bureaucracy and callous indifference of (South) Korean officials is largely responsible. The one trained surgeon, Dr. Meyer, of Copenhagen . . . has been removed because he talked too much. He says . . . "I raised too much hell in person with South Korean Government officials."

In a cement-floored room which had once been a latrine, was a gaunt and quivering man in an ecstasy of pain. A Korean doctor sent for some D.D.T. but explained the hospital had no sedatives. "We are just about out of medicine and we have no transport to get any more!" he said . . . A weak voice called from the next room. It belonged to a naked 12 year old boy, whose eves flooded with tears as he tried to choke back a cry of pain.

Feebly he pushed down a brown army blanket and exposed a raw shrapnel wound the width of his thigh. Not even a piece of gauze covered the thigh bone, exposed clean and white. The boy went into a spasm and his body shuddered. Then the pain became more than his courage could stand and he screamed.

Reynolds News (London)
1.7.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 6.

ALGERIA.—In Algeria, the Algerian Front for the Defence of Liberty has been set up, which includes the Communist Party of Algeria, the Oulémas (an organisation of the Mahommedan religious chiefs), the Democratic Union for the Algerian Manifesto, and the Movement for the Winning of Democratic Liberties. The A.F.D.L. will fight for the annulment of mandates of politicians elected under governmental repression, for ensuring full franchise of the Mahommedan people, against the repression and the terrorist methods of the Administration, against French Government intervention into religious affairs. The A.F.D.L. calls upon all Algerians to achieve unity.

FRANCE.—Paris Metro fares are increased by 30%. Tickets cost now 7.5 times more than in 1947. The C.G.T. and democratic organisations have made strong protests.

IRAN.—While the British Mission in Iran holds discussions with the Mossadegh Government, 3,000 workers demonstrate in the streets of Teheran. Forced back by troops, they organise meetings in the suburbs, protesting against imperialist intrigues.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Agricultural workers in the province of Hesse strike in support of wage demands.

August 7.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Power station workers decide on a big movement "for the strict application of work to rule" and refuse to work overtime, in protest against the refusal by the Electricity Board of their demand for a 10% wage increase.

FRANCE.—Thc protest movement against bombing outrages on Paris bookshops and distribution centres of the democratic Press by Fascist bands increases considerably. Meetings have been held in the factories, and numerous protest resolutions have been passed.

EGYPT.—The journalists decide on a 24-hour strike in protest against Government measures to curb the freedom of the Press. It is carried by a 100% vote.

ITALY.—500,000 farmers in all the provinces of Tuscany stop work for a whole day. Demonstrations are carried out in different agricultural centres in this region, and committees are formed to put the principal demands of the farmers: rapid approval of a law on reform of farmers' contracts; the fixing of collective agreements for agricultural workers; discontinuance of police provocation in the rural districts.

August 8.

ITALY.—The setting up in Florence of the Atlantic Air Command causes imposing protest demonstrations and work stoppages in all centres of Sienna Province. The trade union organisations proclaim a general strike of one hour, which is a complete success.

NETHERLANDS.—A violent skirmish takes place between soldiers and police in Eindhoven, provoked by the general discontent of the Dutch people against an increase in the duration of military service.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The National Council for Civil Liberties protests to the Foreign Office against their failure to protect British subjects abroad. This protest is motivated by the ill-treatment by American occupation authorities in Austria of young people on their way to the Berlin Youth Festival.

U.S.S.R.—The newspapers publish the messages exchanged between the President of the United States and the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Shvernik, the resolution adopted by the U.S. Congress and the reply of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. proposing the conclusion of a peace pact between the Five Great Powers.

U.N.O.—The W.F.T.U. representative, at the meeting of the Economic and Social Council, draws attention to the need for increasing workers' wages, developing the construction of cheap housing, increasing income tax on the profits of the monopolies and enforcing full exercise of trade union rights.

August 10.

U.S.S.R.—A delegation of Soviet miners, led by I. Rossotchinski, president of the Central Council of Miners' Trade Unions, leaves Moscow for Bucharest, to participate in the celebration of Miners' Day.

August 11.

KOREA.—Pak Hen En, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Korean People's Republic, sends a protest note to U.N.O. against the use of chemical bombs by the American Air Force.

TUNISIA.—The Tunisian Government expels Mr. Abderrahman Bouchama, member of the World Peace Council and President of the Algerian Committee of Partisans of Peace. Arrested during the night, Mr. Bouchama is kept all night in the police station under guard before being served with the expulsion order.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The strike of agricultural workers of Hesse, which was declared illegal by the Frankfurt Labour Tribunal, is abandoned under the employers' pressure with the complicity of Right-wing leaders of the Federation of Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions, just at a time when harvest requirements were making it thoroughly effective.

INDONESIA.—The Government undertakes a big repressive action against progressive organisations,, such as the S.O.B.S.I., the Communist Party and the Partisans of Peace Movement. In East Sumatra, and especially in Medan, hundreds of people are arrested.

August 12.

RUMANIA.—Miners' Day is solemnly celebrated for the first time in this country. All the newspapers publish the law awarding decorations to the best miners of Rumania.

UNITED STATES.—In Detroit, a meeting for the defence of peace is organised by the local Auto Industry Workers' Union, with the participation of many thousands of workers from the Ford factories. Paul Robeson, who launched an appeal for the fight for peace, security and friendship between the peoples, is acclaimed with enthusiasm. Speeches by Marcantonio, Charles Hill, and the leaders of the local trade union organisation are also warmly acclaimed.

August 13.

KOREA.—The President of the Korean Democratic Women's Union, Pak Den Ai, is decorated with the order of the "State Flag." Pak Den Ai has already received the Stalin Peace Prize for her outstanding achievements in the fight for peace.

BERLIN. — The Women's International Democratic Federation issues a declaration in which they warmly support the resolutions made by the Bureau of the World Peace Council in Helsinki on July 20. They proclaim their determination to participate actively in efforts to bring about the conclusion of an armistice in Korea and the broadening of the campaign for a peace pact between the Five Big Powers and for co-operation between the peoples in the economic and cultural spheres.

POLAND. — The Union of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy adopt a resolution protesting against the banning by the Adenauer Government of the activities of the Union of Victims of Nazism in Western Germany.

FRANCE.—The Bordeaux Assize Court gives a verdict acquitting the sixteen coloured workers of Basse-Pointe (Martinique), who had been falsely charged with the murder of a plantation administrator and kept in prison, in spite of the absence of any evidence, for three long years.

August 14.

AUSTRALIA.—The Australian authorities withdraw the passport of Jack Brown, President of the Australian Railways Union, on his return from Vienna (Austria), where he took part in the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International.

PRAGUE. — The World Peace Council states that the total of signatures obtained in forty-eight countries for a Peace Pact, has risen since July 13 from 338,841,398 to 430,868,591. Seven countries have already finished their campaign: Albania with 865,885 signatures, Bulgaria with 5,627,000, China with 343,808,541, Hungary with 7,148,000, Poland with 18,053,000, Rumania with 11,060,141 and Czechoslovakia with 9,020,522.

GREAT BRITAIN.—End of Regulation 1305, making strikes illegal. Thus the long struggle of the workers since the end of the war against this infamous Regulation forces the Labour Government to re-establish the legal right of the workers to strike as it existed in 1939.

August 15.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Confederation of Ship Building and Engineering Trade Unions unanimously decides to demand an immediate increase in salaries of £1 per week for the 2,500,000 members of this Confederation.

AUSTRALIA.—Trade unionists in the State of New South Wales stop work in many towns to commemorate those who died in the war against Japan and to protest against the intended American peace Treaty with Japan. The mass movement for the signing of a petition against Japanese rearmament is fast increasing.

ALBANIA.—The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic decides to found three high schools in Tirana: Polytechnic, Agricultural and Normal. This decision lays the foundation of higher education in Albania.

INDONESIA.—New arrests of progressive militants in Java and Sumatra. The wave of repression increases. The police search offices of progressive Trade Union locals and the Headquarters of the S.O.B.S.I., many leaders of which are imprisoned.

August 17.

CANADA.—The National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress makes an appeal to the President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Shvernik, stating that the National Council expresses the opinion of the majority of the Canadian people in calling on the governments of the Five Great Powers to realise energetically and without delay the proposal contained in Shvernik's letter to President Truman, i.e., to call a conference of the Five Great Powers to prepare a peace pact, the stopping of the armaments race, the banning of atomic weapons and the renewal of peaceful trade relations.

INDONESIA.—On the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the Indonesian national revolution, the Netherlands United Trade Union Council (E.V.C.)

sends a message to the S.U.B.S.I., pledging their support in the struggle of the Indonesian liberation movement, and promising to intensify their efforts for the repeal of the Round Table Pact, and for solidarity with the Indonesian workers' movement.

August 18.

U.S.S.R.—A delegation of French doctors, invited by the Ministry of Public Health and the Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, arrives in Moscow.

ITALY.—Fourteen thousand Leghorn dockers go on strike to oppose the unloading of war material brought by the American ship "Extravia."

The Italian population carries out lively demonstrations in protest against the setting up in Florence of the "South European" headquarters of the Atlantic Pact, a branch of Eisenhower's headquarters.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The strike of agricultural workers of Lower Saxony is abandoned, at the demand of the D.G.B. (Trade Union Federation of Western Germany, under reactionary leadership), similar to the preceding strike in the province of Hesse.

August 19.

GERMANY.—A huge meeting takes place in Berlin to mark the end of the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace. A million young people, representing 104 countries, take a solemn oath to fight with all their strength for peace and for the conclusion of a peace pact between the Five Great Powers.

GREAT BRITAIN.—About 3,000 Londoners take part in a protest demonstration against the ill-treatment by American occupation troops in Austria of young British delegates to the World Youth Festival.

August 20.

HUNGARY.—The entire population celebrates the anniversary of the Constitution of the People's Republic.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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For the International Conference in Defence of The Rights of Youth

by JACQUES DENIS

General Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

AUGUST 19th... Night is falling over the vast Marx-Engels Square and the tremendous vista of the Unter den Linden. The shafts of the projectors sweep over the endless sea of youthful faces stretching down to the distant Brandenburg Gate.

Three times voices are raised in a mighty wave which breaks over the rostum: *"We swear!", "We swear!", "We swear!."*

The participants in the 3rd World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace had just made the final pledge at the close of an event which, in this summer of 1951 so heavy with the threat of war, breathed a spirit of peace and optimism.

And as the multi-coloured fireworks burst above their heads, everyone began to think of his return home where he would make the noble words of the pledge a guide in the struggle of all young people:

"We, the participants in the Festival, conscious of the danger menacing humanity, conscious of our responsibility in the common fight of the peoples for peace, in the name of many millions of peace-loving young people in all countries make this solemn oath:

"to dedicate all our strength to the struggle to prevent a new war;

"to unmask and to halt the plans of the enemies of peace and humanity;

A section of the participants at the huge demonstration in the Walter Ulbricht Stadium.

From morning until late afternoon the huge procession, in compact groups of two columns of twenty-four persons, marches down the Unter den Linden to the Marx-Engels Platz.

BELOW: **Reflecting a new spirit of friendship and co-operation between the People's Democratic Republic of Poland and the German Democratic Republic, the Polish delegation marches into the Walter Ulbricht Stadium for the opening of the Festival.**

"to fight against the armaments race and for the improvement of the living conditions of youth;

"to strengthen the friendship and the peaceful co-operation of the peoples and of the youth of all the countries;

"to safeguard, to consolidate and to extend our unity in the struggle for peace, a unity which has been so magnificently expressed by our Festival and to win for this active struggle new millions of young people.

"We pledge to contribute with all our might to the campaign for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers, which will lay the foundations for the peaceful co-existence of the peoples.

"At this solemn hour we pledge to remain true to the cause of peace."

* * *

NEVER before had youth made so enthusiastic a pledge through more qualified representatives. Never before had there been such a mighty demonstration of youth's determination to fight for the most noble of all causes. Twenty-six thousand young people from 105 countries took part in the Festival, plus more than 2 million youngsters from all parts of Germany. Every political opinion, every religious belief, every section of society, and every trade was there, with a tremendous representation of working youth.

There were the Soviet youngsters, unforgettable examples of an entire youth looking towards the future it is building, placing the wonders of progress in the service of the happiness of mankind. There were the young people from People's China, from all the People's Democracies, their eyes shining with confidence, and full of stories of their victorious labour. There were the young men and women from the countries where the people are fighting for freedom against those who are striving to spread the war to the whole world : the young people from Korea and Viet-Nam, bringing the desire for peace of the peoples who are fighting and suffering. There were the boys and girls from countries in which exploitation, terror and discrimination prevail and where the young people are fighting at the side of their elders to change this situation.

Impossible to forget after this Festival which owes so much to them were the young Germans upon whom rest such heavy responsibilities at the present time, but who show themselves so remarkably worthy of them by the enthusiastic fight they are waging for the demilitarisation, democratisation and unity of their homeland.

* * *

ONE hundred and five countries ! This success can be measured by recalling that the already impressive Budapest Festival of two years ago brought together 10,000 young people from 82 countries. Is not the fact that the size and representativeness of the delegations, particularly those from the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries have in-

France's widely-known peace partisan, Raymonde Dien, who held up a trainload of war equipment destined for Viet-Nam by lying across the railroad tracks and whose arrival at the Festival was triumphantly acclaimed by 10,000 singing youths, greets An Gi-Sun, Heroine of the Korean People's Army.

As representatives of a country in the forefront of the great world peace movement, the Soviet delegation was acclaimed with great enthusiasm and friendship.

creased in this way a faithful and striking picture of the giant strides forward taken by all the forces of peace?

One fact which must be stressed is the extent of the *active* contribution made by the delegates to the success of the rally. More than 4,000 young people from 46 countries took part in artistic performances, more than 2,000 athletes, from 42 countries took part in the XIth World University Summer Games, breaking 42 records, and several hundred meetings took place between the different delegations and between young workers in allied trades, providing an unrivalled opportunity for an exchange of ideas and experience.

The underlying theme to all this, apparent in each Festival event, was the preservation of peace. The meeting between the best young signature collectors will undoubtedly stimulate the campaign for a Peace Pact. Several hundreds of them, with a total of nearly half a million signatures to their credit, met together on August 10th to exchange their experiences.

* * *

MUCH more could be written about the Festival, but there must be a limit, so, having sketched this incomplete picture, mention must be made both of those who helped towards this success and also of those who would have dearly loved to be able to stop it.

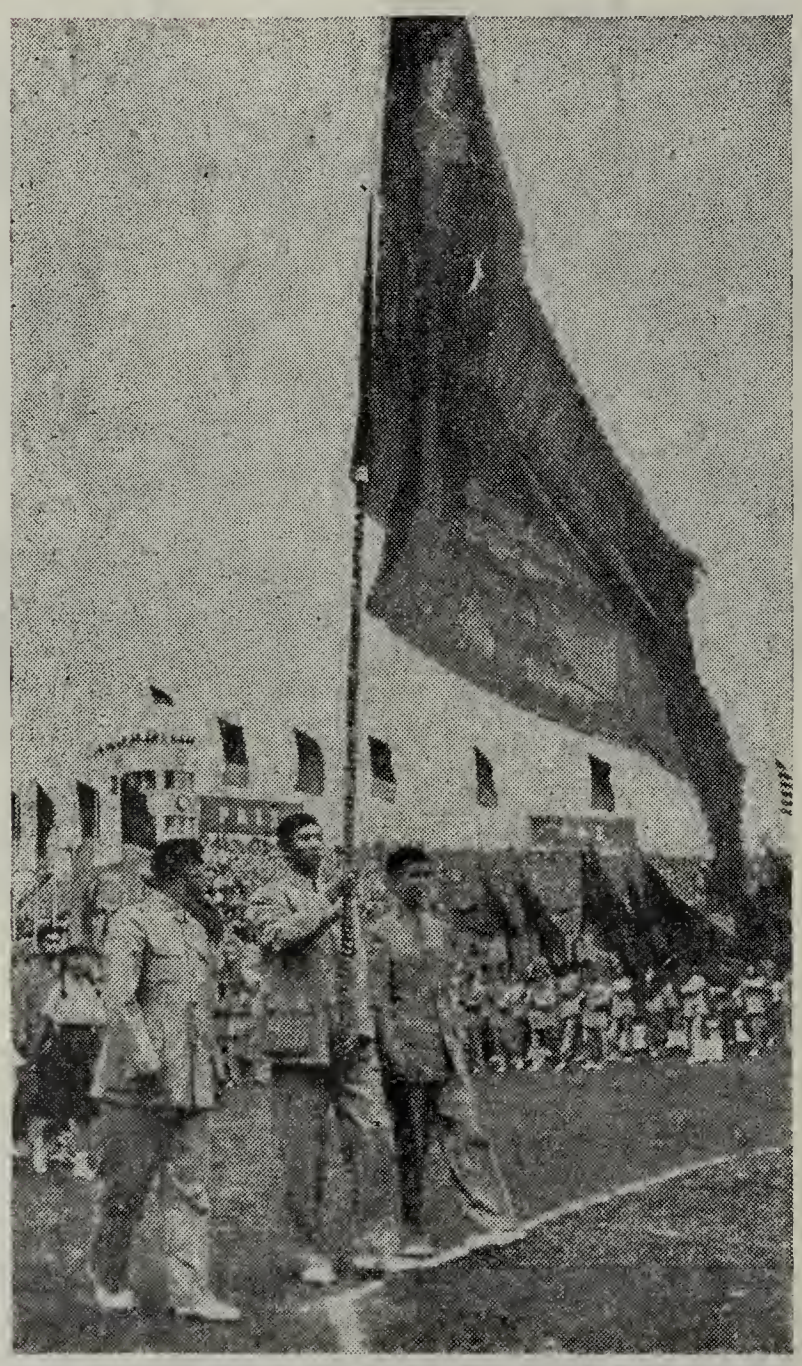
Help came above all from the vast peace movement to which the peoples are rallying. Help came from the workers and their organisations. The fact that so many young workers with modest means were able to place their holidays in the service of peace, is largely due to the admirable solidarity campaign. Very many trade unions helped and gave impetus to solidarity action—in Australia, India, Latin America, Western Europe, and so on. The first reports coming show us that on their return home, these young workers proved themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them, by reporting back on their activity and by bringing the new strength they have gained from contact with their brothers from other parts of the world to bear in the service of the common cause.

These young Greeks, a symbol of the fight against terror and repression in Greece, are showing their solidarity with the youth of the world in the struggle for peace and friendship.

Who does not know those people who would have liked to prevent the Festival's success? They are the people who are conducting the war preparations, who are making scandalous profits out of poverty and suffering, who feel each peaceful demonstration as a direct blow, who pursue our great international organisations with their hatred : in other words the American multi-millionaires and their acolytes. Not all the delegates to the Festival had been aware of this fact, but they soon found it out.

No international demonstration since the 2nd World Peace Congress has been the object of such fury. The entire apparatus of pressure and repression was brought to bear. For months previously, slanders vied with threats. Then, when it proved impossible to convince the youth that they were wrong in wishing to meet other young people of every nationality,

The delegation of the United States of America demonstrated that increasing numbers of the youth and people of America are uniting to defeat the progress of its war planners in business and government.



The delegation of the Chinese People's Republic—that old country which is being made new by the power of the working class, is taking its place as a mighty bulwark of peace.

origin and outlook, under the banner of happiness in the service of peace, then a vast war machine was put into action. Passports, entry and transit visas and means of transport were refused. When the whole gamut of police interference proved insufficient, the Yanks resorted to armed force. Two thousand French, British and Italian youth were held up at Innsbruck where they were subjected to disgusting acts of brutality, some of them receiving bayonet wounds. At the zone frontier in Germany, the Wehrmacht, camouflaged as Western police, opened fire on the young Germans, killing and wounding several of them. During the Festival, hundreds of young Germans who went into Western Berlin to express their desire for peace were savagely injured by Reuter's police.

But their attacks were without avail. With young workers, particularly those from the Paris Renault automobile plant, at their head, the 2,000 young people in Innsbruck smashed the blockade and every one of them got through. Tens of thousands from Western Germany broke the iron curtain placed in their way by the Bonn mercenaries. No provocation was allowed to develop in Berlin and to disturb the Festival in any way whatsoever.

Thus the hysterical measures taken against the Festival only succeeded in making more apparent to numberless young defenders of peace the gravity of the danger, and the origin of the policy seeking to split the world into two in order to plunge it into war. At the same time, they enabled the young people, with the aid of valuable popular solidarity (particularly from the railwaymen and factory workers of Austria) to demonstrate the growing strength and effectiveness of the peace movement.

* * *

WHY was their attack so shamelessly savage? We have already examined certain reasons of a

The mammoth demonstration in the Marx-Engels Platz with the German youth, 1½ million strong, grouped in the centre of the Square. Translation of the placard carried by the German youth: "Friendship with all peoples gives us strength for the fight for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany."

general character. One must add the fact that this was a youth demonstration, and this is a sphere in which the enemies of peace are very sensitive. For youth has a very special role to play in the plans of these individuals. Youth is intended as cannon-fodder to be readily sacrificed. The arms race and the swollen war budgets, the wars actually in progress, the intensified remilitarisation of Western Germany and Japan, the entire warmongering policy and its consequences impose an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the people, primarily the workers.

One is entitled to say that these consequences, brought into strong relief at the last session of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, are bearing particularly heavily on the younger generation, which has always been the object of savage exploitation and victim of wage discrimination because of age, and discrimination in economic and social rights.

Today, it is becoming obvious that there is a deliberate policy in the countries where war is actively being prepared, aiming at systematically worsening the already difficult conditions of youth. They are attempting to forbid them access to a peaceful life, with a trade, a job and a home, so as to provide them with one outlet only—the army and fascist gangs.

Nor did Mr. Marshall of the famous plan conceal this fact when he recently declared that if the U.S.A. was to supply the dollars and war material, it was Europe's job to provide the soldiers.

Adenauer and Spaak inaugurating a "European Youth Camp" in Western Germany which was intended as a counterblast to the Berlin World Youth Festival.

Cartoon by Yefimov.

Peace—in dozens of languages—was the keyword in Berlin, as is revealed by this photograph of the demonstration in Walter Ulbricht Stadium showing young people spelling out "PEACE" in English, Russian, and German.

The readers of this article have only to look around them to see that in every country subjected to the policy advocated by Mr. Marshall, apprenticeship schools and vocational training centres are being closed down, the young people are the first to be thrown out of their jobs and the last to be re-hired, the employers are attempting to drag down the entire wage scale by extending the reduction due to age and by introducing new wage categories for young beginners. In France, Western Germany and elsewhere, young employed workers or those exhausted by privation, are invited by recruiting sergeants to join the army, with bonuses, good pay and the promise of . . . learning a good trade!

A typical and not an isolated example is the special page published by the French newspaper "Le Figaro" containing army advertisements directed at young people who wish to learn a trade. One of these advertisements promises children of 12, 13 and 14 years of age the possibility of making secondary studies on condition that they sign up for five years on completing their studies.

* * *

BUT these abominable plans are meeting with determined resistance from young people who have the support of all the older generation. There are increasing numbers of actions in which parents and adult workers fight effectively alongside the youngsters concerned, for a trade and jobs and against disgustingly low wages, victimisation, etc. One particularly important initiative was taken by the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) in organising a Conference of working youth, extensively prepared by mass action throughout the country.

Thousands of local preparatory conferences brought hundreds of thousands of young people together. In campaigns organised to prepare the Conference, jobs were obtained for thousands of workers, the opening of hundreds of training schools and courses was forced and successes of all kinds were won: raising of young workers to higher grades, marriage loans, application of work contracts and existing legislation, obtaining of sports grounds, and so on. At the same time, this activity has increased the participation of young people in trade union activity. According to very incomplete figures, by June 30th last, 27,214 young people in 38 provinces had joined the CGIL and the number of youth commissions for 59 provinces had risen from 1,548 to 3,113. The National Conference which is to meet in Florence in mid-October will undoubtedly draw up a still more impressive balance sheet.

Youth is showing a magnificent spirit in the day-to-day struggle in every country. Young workers are among the most heavily exploited sections and they also find the path to unity more easily than other sections. They are not dogged by the memory of old quarrels which sometimes make alliance more difficult. And once the young people have found the path to unity, they follow wholeheartedly. How many of them are taking part in the difficult struggles now in progress, and more than ever after the magnificent unity rally of the Festival!

The World Federation of Democratic Youth is aiming at putting into effect a mighty initiative which will stimulate still further youth's action in defence of peace and for the satisfaction of its just demands, and will forge its unity still more strongly alongside the popular forces.

Our Council, which met immediately after the

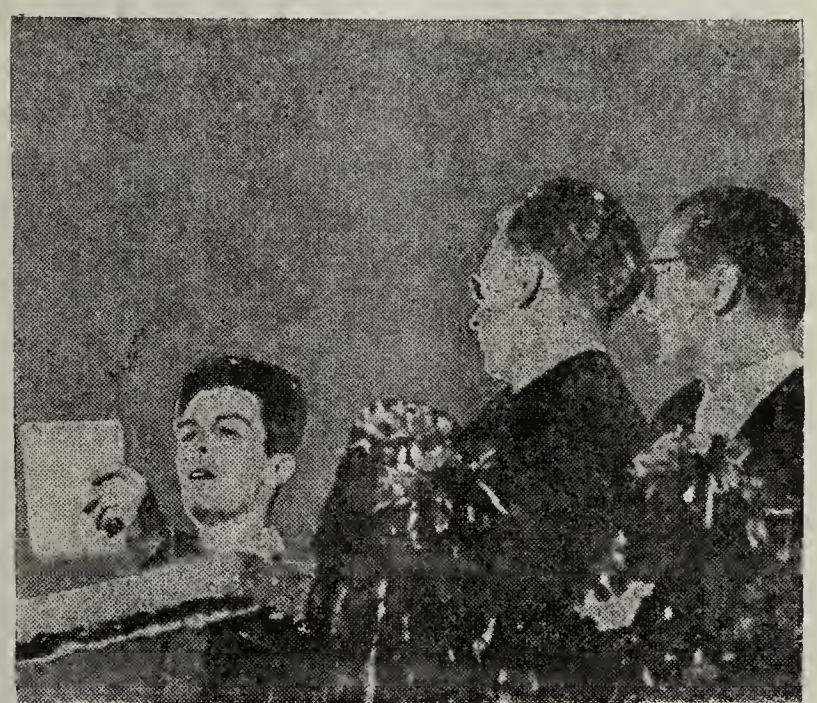
Festival, enthusiastically decided to give its support to the admirable initiative taken by young workers in the Wester sugar refinery in Amsterdam. These workers, meeting last July to draw up their demands, contacted all factories and organisations in their country and all international organisations—W.F.T.U., International Confederation of "Free Trade Unions," the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Youth Assembly, the International Union of Socialist Youth and International Christian Working Youth, to propose the organisation of an International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth in 1952.

This initiative has already met with wide support in Austria, Italy, France and other countries. In giving our support to this initiative, we expressed the opinion that it would be the task of this Conference to paint an accurate picture of the situation of youth since the end of the war, to show the characteristics of its present conditions and to determine the responsibility for the bad conditions of the younger generation. It will be possible to exchange the already rich experiences of the struggle and of unity in the struggle; and it will be possible to describe the inspiring prospects of winning a happy future.

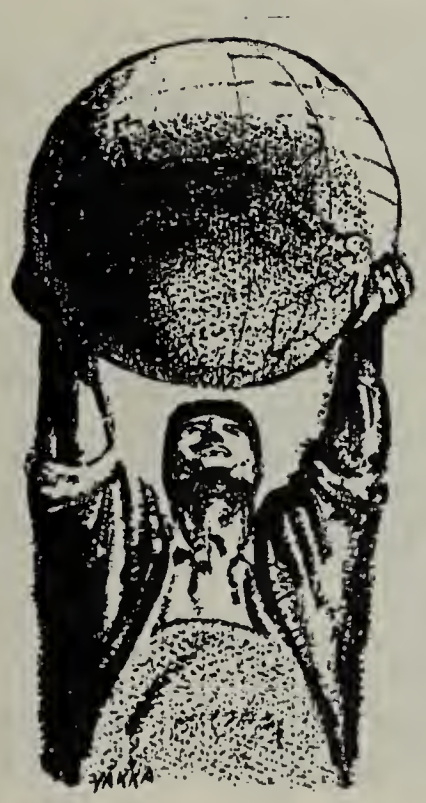
How can such a result be conceived without the participation of young people of all origins, all occupations and all political and trade union affiliations, mirroring that unity which is daily being forged in action? Representatives of all sections of youth must take part, including those who, although they do not share our views as to the *causes* of our common difficulties, share our desire to *end* them.

Every young person greets with deep enthusiasm the W.F.T.U.'s acceptance of the proposals for collaboration on this basis. There is no doubt that this collaboration will bear fruit by making a powerful contribution to the preservation of peace and the betterment of living conditions. There is no doubt that, in their millions, young workers throughout the world will find the path to unity in the struggle and will re-join the great organisations of the working class, the trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U. There is no doubt that these young people will, alongside the older generation, be active fighters in the cause of unity against the despicable splitters.

At all events, this is our ambition and we shall not spare our efforts to achieve it.



The huge Festival closes with the stirring and impressive pledge to fight for peace and a better future, read by Enrico Berlinguer, President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.



DOMINIQUE DESANTI

In Berlin the Youth of 105 Countries Swear to Defend Peace

THE fortnight during which everybody in East Berlin was twenty years old threw the warmongering press into confusion. More than two million young people from Germany and elsewhere greeted their contemporaries from five continents with the word "Freundschaft" ("Friendship"), amidst flags, banners, national anthems and people's songs and dances.

This Festival, which left its imprint deep in the minds of everyone, meant far more to the young people than the joy, the badges and the addresses they exchanged there. No one came back from Berlin quite the same person; the slogans "Peace in Korea," "Peace in Viet Nam" have a new meaning when one has seen the face of one of the young people who, day after day, are still confronting death, danger and mourning. For the young people who went to the Festival, the fight for peace has become a battle for near and dear friends.

For fifteen years, this town echoed to the sound of marching jack-boots, to the degradation and contempt of mankind. And now, for two weeks, half of this same town welcomed the future of five continents.

The young Germans from the West are daily told over the radio, in the cinema, in the street, in the newspapers, in the schools and churches, that hunger and dictatorship begin right in Berlin, just beyond the Brandenburg Gate on the eastern side of the Potsdam square.

They wanted to go and see for themselves. All along the artificial frontier which, according to the Americans, had been established "to protect civilisation from the menace coming from behind the iron curtain," they found sentinels at the ready, their fingers on the machine-gun trigger. But these sentinals were under American control . . . and they fired. The youngsters got through to the other side . . . and were met with cheers, flowers, and banquets. The wounded youngsters in hospital were treated as guests of honour.

Some days later, the Mayor of West Berlin invited the young people attending the Festival to come over to the side of "civilisation" for discussions. They went over, shouting "Peace, friendship, German unity," shouting what they believed. They were met by the police, who fell on them with truncheons and rifles . . . just as Hitler's police had beaten up the Hamburg dockers and the Ruhr miners.

A Single Fight

I REMEMBER our arrival. There were four of us of French nationality who by chance had got into a very international train. Each of us had been through prisons or death camps, each of us had seen loved ones die at our sides. The first Germans in the first station we passed through, who shouted "friendship" had a good many memories buried deep in our hearts to overcome.

A forty-year-old man shook my hand and said: "I was a soldier in France. Then I went to the Russian front; it was then I understood what war meant. Never again . . . I swear it!"

When we saw the black uniforms of the people's police force, other memories awakened in our minds. But the three men, aged between 22 and 27, came up to us and said: "We are workers. We were made into soldiers before we were 18 years old, and were taken prisoners in the U.S.S.R. It was there that we learned how and why we had

been deceived. We came back determined to build a peaceful country."

Imagine the atmosphere. A train full of Malays and Italians, Czechs and Greeks, Iraquis and Africans; and travelling with us from the frontier to Berlin, three members of the people's police who told us their stories. One of them showed us his photograph taken with a group of railwaymen saying: "In the U.S.S.R. I learned a trade; railway engineer. I stayed there until 1949 as a free worker. When I left, the people from my factory and my district came to the station to bid me goodbye, shouting: 'Come back, comrade, whenever you like, but without a gun.' I became an 'activist' on the German railways. Then, one day, wishing to serve the German Republic still more directly, I joined the people's police force; I wanted to be a guardian of the country we are building."

We then realised that there were not two Germany's, but two types of Germans; those who still allowed themselves to be fooled and those who had discovered the truth.

Few of us slept the night before the meeting between the French and Vietnamese delegation. Joining us and our friends from Viet Nam was the fight for peace, but there were also their dead, victims of Frenchmen. The twenty-year-old youth,

American-controlled guards at the "ready" along the zone frontier did not resitate to shoot on occasion, causing several casualties. Wounded youngsters managing to get through the lines to East Berlin were looked after in hospital and treated as guests of honour.

Peace and friendship reigned in Berlin—no "dirty war." Here Tu-ong, a delegate from Viet-Nam, chats with French friends.

La Van Cau, who proffered me his only hand, had had his other arm smashed by French bullets. His arm hung useless and La Van Cau, who wanted to complete his mission, had asked his sergeant to cut it off, on the battlefield, without anaesthetic or surgical instruments . . . Now I had before me the round smiling face of La Van Cau. His father had been a poor peasant whom the landowner was entitled to beat before the eyes of his weeping but powerless son. The desire for justice was born in La Van Cau from the moment he began to think. But it was only after the liberation of his village by the People's Army that La Van Cau learned to read. His love for the new regime, which had given his parents land and had opened the door to life for him, silenced his sorrow and made sacrifice a natural thing. La Van Cau placed his only hand in our French hands. We shall never forget his face, nor the gentle smile of the tiny Vietnamese woman shock worker who tends several weaving machines in a textile factory composed of huts, sleeps in a dormitory and gets up during the night to try out new methods of rationalising her work. We shall not forget the sparkling black eyes of the writer, Nguyen Dinh Thi, who during the Festival itself, wrote a poem to Henri Martin, the French seaman sentenced to five years' penal servitude for distributing leaflets against the war in Viet Nam, just as one writes an urgent letter to a beloved friend. All together, the arms of the Frenchmen around the shoulders of the Vietnamese, we sang our promise: "We shall banish hatred and war forever."

The American Way of Life

I HAPPENED by chance to witness the meeting between the Americans and Koreans. Around the long tables were labourers from Chicago, optical workers from New York, students, Negro Americans and white Americans. Two of the Americans had been seamen in the Far East at the end of the war. They learned to think when they saw American freedom and democracy at work. Now a twenty-year-old Korean girl was telling them: "I was 15 years old when my school was closed down on orders from the Americans carried out by Syngman Rhee. At 17, I already knew we would not be allowed to live in freedom. I joined the guerillas; I cut my hair short and sacrificed my dreams of happiness; and I went into the fight with my partisan comrades because the Americans had crossed the frontier which they themselves had established." She spoke of the loss of life and of the bombing. She was followed by a frail little nurse, born in 1932, who told how the Americans bombed the tents bearing Red Cross markings and how she had to carry the patients on her back into the forest. "I'm ashamed," said a New York optical worker. "I shall fight for peace and true democracy so I can one day be proud of my people."

In Berlin, all of us realised that henceforth, there would be no peace of mind except in the fight for peace because only this fight would allow us to think without a feeling of remorse of the faces of our new friends.

An 18-year-old Scottish miner told me about his journey to Berlin. At Innsbruck, in Austria, where 2,000 delegates had been held up and brutally treated on American orders by the occupation forces, he, together with some of his compatriots, went to see the British Consul who said that he could do nothing to get them through, but that he could give the delegates food, drink, and transport . . . but only back to Britain. The delegates' reply was: "Home through Berlin." And they marched through the town bearing their flag aloft and playing a funeral march. "A little later," continued the young Scotsman, "I got away from the station in order to try to make a telephone call. The post office was under French control, but there was an American colonel shouting orders,

particularly an order to prevent the delegates from sending telegrams or telephoning."

A New Zealand delegate from a religious organisation, asking under what law the delegates were being so handled, was told: "Listen, buddy, all I'd like to do is get the order to put a bullet through you!"

The young Scotsman had not previously thought much about international politics. "This has made me think," he said.

The arrival in Berlin was, for practically all delegations, the reward for a long struggle: passport, financial, visa and travelling difficulties; clashes with governments and police.

"Here we are behind the iron curtain," an Italian Catholic said to me. "We were told just the opposite of what we are seeing with our own eyes. We are meeting with happy youngsters looking with arms outstretched towards the future. We were told that there was fear and unhappiness here; we have found happiness and boundless prospects. Soviet, Chinese, Polish and even German youth have opportunities of which young Italians only dream. The police here shout 'Friendship' and look after us. Our own police force beats us up."

Each of these 25,000 young foreigners will describe what he has seen when he goes back home. Those who know them, who have confidence in their sincerity, will listen to them and repeat what they tell. And the war propaganda will henceforth come up against tens of thousands of eye witnesses who will be able to say: "They are lying."

They now know that youth's international movement for peace goes beyond occupations, race, and beliefs. They know that the peace camp does not wish to impose any political regime or ideology. They also know how strong they are. And when they pledged themselves to devote their strength to the fight for peace in their own countries, they did so with confidence. Every time they express their desire to live, they will see in their mind's eye, the youth of five continents shouting "Friendship."

It is not without significance that this understanding was acquired in Berlin. That city, whose name has meant "Imperialism and War" since Frederick II of Prussia, through Bismark down to Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler, henceforth means for millions of young people the rejection of war, hatred and death.

Berlin has just begun to live among the youth of the world.

Some Questions Left Unanswered by the Right-Wing Leaders

OUR readers will remember that a year ago the Trades Councils of the Cameroons and Sudan, affiliated to the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), took the initiative in organising a Pan-African Trade Union Conference at Duala, in the Cameroons, under the auspices of the W.F.T.U.

They will also remember that the splitters' organisation which calls itself the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), the hired defender of colonial interests, at once manœuvred to have the French Government ban the Pan-African Conference, which was proposed by the Cameroon and Sudanese workers. The French Government, docile to the demands of the American imperialists, inspirers and protectors of the I.C.F.T.U., passed a decree in January 1951, forbidding the functioning of the W.F.T.U. on French territory.

After this violent measure the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. thought they had a free hand in Africa to follow their sorry, disruptive role among the African workers. At the beginning of March 1951, they wanted to organise in Duala a so-called "African Trade Union Conference" in the place of the conference under the auspices of the W.F.T.U. which they caused to be forbidden. The workers of the whole world, and particularly the workers of the colonial countries, know that this miserable attempt to divide them **suffered a resounding defeat.**

A fact that is not so well known and which should be made known without further ado, is that at the inaugural meeting which took place on March 3, 1951 of this still-born "Conference," the African workers present in the hall publicly put some very pointed questions to the right-wing leaders which even now have not yet been answered.

It is important to emphasise that these questions were put not only by workers affiliated to the C.G.T. such as Jacques N'Gom, Secretary of the Cameroon Trades Council, but also by members of other organisations such as the Secretary of the Cameroons Union of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.). Such unity on the part of the workers, victims of colonialism, and the concrete questions which they put were very embarrassing to the splitters of the I.C.F.T.U. Instead of replying they precipitately concluded their abortive "Conference" in the midst of protests from the African workers.

Here are the questions which they put:

"Can the delegates of the I.C.F.T.U. tell us why the Administrative has so kindly put this municipal hall at the disposal of the foreign organisation which you represent although it has so often refused it to trade union organisations in the Cameroons, despite the fact that this building was put up with the money from our taxes and by the hands of the Cameroon workers?"

"Mr. Snell, you declared that your trade union organisation, the American C.I.O., fights against racial discrimination. Can you tell us what action the C.I.O. took against the sentencing and execution, under American racist laws, of the seven Martinsville Negroes?"

"Why did the C.I.O. approve the Marshall Plan for war and unemployment? Why did you vote your confidence in Mr. Truman's Government which is freezing the workers' wages and allowing striking workers to be beaten up?"

"Mr. Lafond, representing Force Ouvriere (France), in connection with the Labour Code for the Overseas Territories, you declared that the National Assembly should restrict itself to determining the main lines and leave the questions of detail to Local Overseas Territory Governments. Do you believe that the present Colonial Administration, which is conducting savage repression against the overseas trade union movement, would do anything which would benefit African workers?"

"Mr. Sercu, delegate of the Belgian Labour Federation, can you tell us about the campaign waged by your Federation against the racist and arbitrary regime installed by the Belgian Government in the Belgian Congo where the right to strike is banned by law?"

"What do the I.C.F.T.U. delegates think about the principle of equal pay for equal work? Can you tell us what the I.C.F.T.U. has already done for the African workers?"

"You are against politics in the trade union movement. So are we. But why do you engage in political discrimination? Why do we see here in the Cameroons an alliance between the leaders of Force Ouvrière and De Gaulle's R.P.F., an anti-Negro Party par excellence."

"Gentlemen of the I.C.F.T.U., are you for or against the Stockholm Appeal? For or against war?"

Although these concrete questions were put to the I.C.F.T.U. disruptors six months ago, the workers of the Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa are still waiting for replies.

AFRICAN WORKERS FIGHT FOR UNITY AGAINST THE SPLITTERS

● By Abdoulaye Diallo

Vice-President of the W.F.T.U, General Secretary of the French Sudanese Confederation of Trade Unions.

IN the plans of the imperialist warmongers, the Continent of Africa plays an increasingly important part. After the historic defeat which the Chinese people's army inflicted on the Kuomintang fascists supported by the United States, the latter tried to find an alternative in Africa, where it is building military bases and looting the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country. As for French Colonial big business, it seeks profits by serving Wall Street's plans for war.

The speeding up of war preparations, a source of fabulous profits, brings in its train an increasingly intensified exploitation of the African manual workers; an ever more ruthless political repression and ever more brazen attempts to split the working class. What the capitalists have at stake in this part of the world can be gauged by the huge profits which they are pocketing, as for example the Unilever Trust which is one of the greatest plunderers of Equatorial and West Africa. This giant group which is tied up with the British, French, Dutch and American monopoly interests, declared in 1948/9 a profit of 10 billion 223 million francs, and in 1949/50 a profit of 19 billion 156 million francs.

The African workers are becoming more conscious of the first condition for victory, united action, in their day to day struggle against the yoke of colonial enslavement.[1]

They learn to discern between their true friends and those who pretend to be, between the right-wing leaders, the tools of colonialism, and the honest trade unionists who organise, under the banner of unity, a genuine and effective struggle against colonial capitalism and for peace.

This explains at once the smacking rebuff suffered by the so-called "African" Conference organised by the I.C.F.T.U. last March, at Duala (Cameroons), and the success of the 3rd Conference of Overseas Workers held at Paris on the 24th to 26th May on the occasion of the 28th Congress of the C.G.T.

The Third Conference of Workers from Overseas Countries

AT this conference, during which they listed the demands and aspirations of the African workers and evoked the struggles carried out and the victories already won, the delegates forcefully stated their confidence in the C.G.T. and the W.F.T.U., which organise the workers' fighting forces in a spirit of unity, in a co-ordinated struggle.

The French Government and the Overseas Territories' administration, fearing this unity and this co-ordinated struggle of the exploited workers more than anything else, did everything in their power to prevent the delegates reaching France, and set up barriers and obstacles in their way with the

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[1] See in "World Trade Union Movement" No. 6 (June 1950) an article by A. Diallo: "The Consequences for the African Workers of the London Conference," also No. 2 (January 1951), "The Scourge of Colonialism."

same zeal as that which they had shown three months earlier in facilitating the journey to Douala of the I.C.F.T.U. delegates. Visas were refused to delegates regularly elected from Madagascar and Morocco, so that a Madagascan worker living in France, and a French worker respectively had to represent their brothers from these two territories. Only Togo and Gabon were not represented at the Conference.

With remarkable unity, which had been one of the main features throughout this Conference, the delegates denounced the policy and the colonialist intrigues not only of the I.C.F.T.U., but also of their affiliate, the " Force Ouvriere " disruptive federation whose right-wing socialist leaders servilely carry out the orders of the American imperialists, and openly betray the African workers for the benefit of colonial capitalism.

It was demonstrated at this Conference that the I.C.F.T.U., as well as the "Force Ouvriere" leaders, strive to prevent the development of the genuine African trade union movement. In the resolutions adopted by the abortive I.C.F.T.U. "Conference" at Duala, they appealed to the goodwill and understanding of the colonial governments and administrations, thus expressing their submission to these governments and administrations and the relinquishment of all opposition. As for " Force Ouvriere," it is known that its National Committee confirmed, no less explicitly, its colonialist policy, when it adopted in May 1951 a resolution concerning North African trade unionism. This resolution declared: " . . . The National Committee believes that it is necessary for North African trade unionism, in its activity and growth, to be closely bound to our central administration in France."

If the "Force Ouvriere" group actually had the influence among the workers which its leaders wish for, the North African trade union movement—and this is even more true as regards Equatorial and West African Unions—would be, and would remain for ever, a cog in the wheel of the "Force

Following the Conference of Workers of the Overseas Territories, the delegates took an active part in the Congress of the French C.G.T. (May 27-June 14, 1951).

Side by side on the platform of the C.G.T. Congress are (from right to left): Gaston Monmousseau, Secretary, Benoit Frachon, General Secretary, and Djimba, delegate of the Trade Unions of Chad.

Ouvriere" bureaucratic machine, whose leaders are nothing but stooges of the imperialist government.

It should be stressed that the delegates affiliated to the C.G.T. not only denounced the Scab International's and "Force Ouvriere's" colonialist policy. In greeting the C.G.T., as a fraternal delegate, the Secretary of the C.F.T.C. (Christian Workers' Union) of the Dahomey railwaymen, Edoh Corneille, declared that the African workers would never support an organisation such as "Force Ouvriere" or the I.C.F.T.U. And Fiankan, of the African Railwaymen's Federation, exposing the policy of the splitters, told of the support given by the C.G.T. to the then striking railwaymen, although they were not affiliated to this trade union Federation. "We cannot afford," he said, "not to work together with the C.G.T."

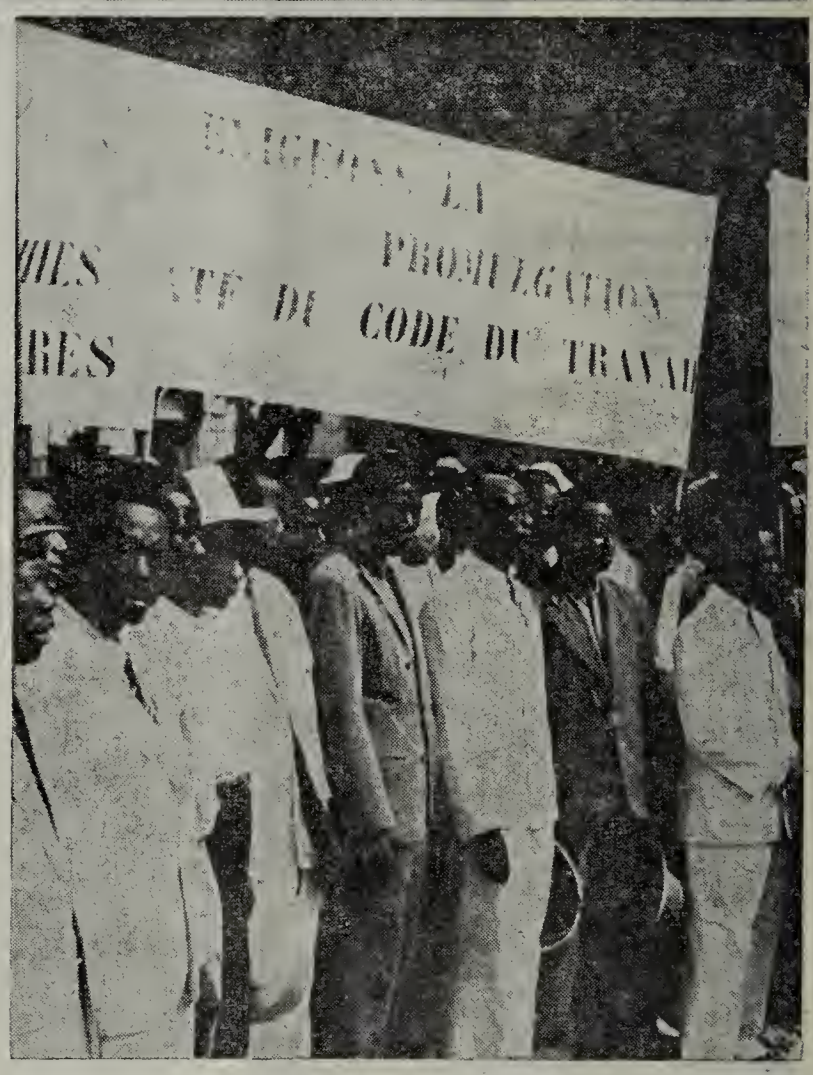
The Spirit of Fighting Unity

THROUGHOUT the whole Conference evidence was given of the necessity of united action in the workers' struggle.

Firstly, unity among all African workers, because they are all victims of the scourge of colonialism. "The Whites don't work," said a Chad delegate, "but they have the money. The Africans work hard, but remain penniless. It is the Africans who build the houses and the Europeans who live in them. The Africans live in bamboo or thatched shacks. In the hospitals the Whites have the beds and the Africans the mats." No African worker can escape from this unrelenting exploitation, and they must all unite against it.

Secondly, unity with the workers of the motherland, who cannot liberate themselves from capitalist exploitation unless they help the colonial workers to free themselves from the colonial yoke. "It was," said a delegate, "the French workers, and among them the metal workers, the building workers, the dockers, who collected penny after penny, to pay the expenses of the journey and the stay of their comrades from overseas. This gesture has a very great significance, an international significance which will do much to advance not only the trade union movement in the territories under French imperialist control, but also the French trade union movement itself and the international trade union movement in general."

Finally, unity with all the workers of the world, victims of imperialist oppression and exploitation. Speaking of the Algerian dockers' systematic refusal to load material for the war in Viet-Nam, Djermana, Algerian dockers' delegate, declared: "It is our duty to help a brother people who are fighting, arms in hand, for their freedom . . . One oppressed people must not be used to oppress another."



The 1951 May Day demonstration in Konakry, French Guinea. The workers have inscribed on their banners one of the principal demands of the workers in colonial territories: "We demand the immediate promulgation of a Labour Code."

Parallel with the idea of unity, the delegates developed another theme, that of the organisation, on the spot, of a real and effective struggle for better living conditions. Every trade union must resolutely defend even the smallest day-to-day demands of the workers, without allowing themselves to be turned away from this aim by consideration of administrative "legalism." "Anything which could improve the life of the workers," said Diop Becaye, delegate from Senegal, "is termed illegal by the employer and the administration, but is quite legal for us."

This struggle must be based on strong and militant trade union organisations. The African workers fully realise that. Bakary Djibo, delegate from the Niger, said: "In spite of systematic opposition from the colonial administration, which understands that our strength lies in our organisation and which resorts to every means to prevent us forming trade unions and regularly collecting dues, the small peasants of the Niger are determined to organise themselves together with other workers, such as food industry workers, journeymen, building workers, woodworkers and civil servants." The very hatred shown by the colonial administration for the C.G.T., proves to the African workers that this trade union Centre effectively fights with them and for them against their oppressors.

Guidance for Future Struggles

THE resolutions passed as a result of important and fruitful debates show the way and provide clear guidance for the African workers' struggle for peace, for trade union liberties and for better living conditions.

In a motion greeting the people of Viet-Nam, the delegates demanded that measures be taken "to put a stop to the infamous recruiting of cannon-fodder by the colonialists in the different territories, and to promote a mass campaign for the immediate repatriation of soldiers from the Expeditionary Force to their countries of origin."

Another resolution dealt with the "Labour Code" then under consideration by the French National Assembly, and called on the workers to "request their elected representatives to obtain rapid en-

At Dakar (Senegal) during the 1951 May Day demonstration, a delegation was charged with delivering the list of workers' demands to the local authorities. While waiting the return of their delegates, the demonstrators applaud an impromptu dance.

dorsement of a truly democratic Labour Code, which, in particular, must in no way interfere with the right to strike nor restrict trade union activity."

As the colonial administration fears, above all, that the workers if educated will increase their capacity for struggle against colonialism, it therefore sabotages general education and technical training for the coloured workers. The Conference adopted two resolutions calling on the workers to fight for adequate credits for public education, for the creation of technical schools, for professional and technical training, and for full employment for the technicians and workers thus trained.

The Conference further demanded that agricultural workers' wages and benefits be put on the same scale as those of office and industrial workers. The small and middle peasants must be guaranteed free disposal of their land, without being forced to cultivate certain crops requested by the colonialists and without having to fear the confiscation of their best lands by the capitalist companies. Finally, cultivation of foodstuffs for the local population should be developed, while the colonialist practice of reserving the best land for the exclusive cultivation of products destined for export should be abandoned.

The Conference also claimed the extension of the Statute covering conditions of work for public servants to the African territories and Madagascar, guaranteeing equal employment rights for the native workers; it also demanded equal treatment for European and colonial workers under the insurance scheme covering accidents at work, family allowances and social security.

It was finally decided that the trade union delegations should meet at the end of October at Bamako (Sudan), where they will check on the implementation of the decisions taken at the Paris Conference. There is no doubt that in assessing progress, the African workers can see the correctness of these decisions and develop their struggle for better living conditions in the spirit of still greater unity.

Report of the American Trade Union Delegation that visited the Soviet Union and Countries of Europe in July 1951

The following is the full text of the report of the American trade union delegation that visited the Soviet Union and countries of Europe in July 1951. *On August* 9 *this report was read out at a press conference in New York.*

The American trade union delegation that visited Europe in July 1951 was composed of representatives of workers in the American Federation of Labour, the Congress of Industrial Organisations and independent unions from coast to coast. They came from the following industries: automobile, mines, shoe, sheet metal, fur and leather, electrical and machine workers, distributive trades, department stores and hotel and restaurant workers. The delegates also represented a wide variety of political opinions.

The delegation spent five weeks in Europe and visited France, Italy, Poland and the Soviet Union. In addition, the delegates were able to spend a limited time in Berlin, Vienna and Prague.

The delegation went to Europe at the invitation of the European trade unions. In each country we were invited by the leading trade union federations and met both trade unionists and their leaders.

One thing that we found in every country we visited was a deep desire on the part of the people for friendship with the American people. Wherever we went workers expressed this sentiment. In some countries the degree of unity of the workers, in their own interest, was greater than in others, but in all countries we were made aware of this desire on the part of all workers for friendship, and the most important message we were asked to bring back was that of peace.

Similarly, even though conditions of labour varied in the countries we visited, we found that everywhere the working people have much to gain from friendship with the American people, just as we have much to gain from the things our delegation saw in the course of our visit.

Here are some observations we made of labour conditions in the countries we visited:

On its arrival at the Moscow airport, the American delegation is cordially welcomed by representatives of the Soviet Trade Unions.

"Contrary to the horror stories on the so-called 'Iron Curtain,' this delegation had complete freedom of movement in the Soviet Union."

FRANCE

In France we met many trade union leaders, representatives of various kinds of trade unions, in addition to visiting workers right in the factories. We met the leaders of the Electrical Workers' Union, the Metal Workers' Union, the miners, the paper box workers, the fur and leather and shoe workers, as well as the General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, Brother Frachon. From all of them we heard this message of friendship, international solidarity of labour and peace.

The delegation visited an airplane engine plant outside of Paris called the Hispano-Suiza Plant. We met workers and leaders of all three major unions in France: the General Confederation of Labour, which has the overwhelming majority of the workers unified in its ranks, the Force Ouvriere, and the Christian-Democratic Union. For example, in this plant out of the 3,400 workers, 1,860 were members of the C.G.T., 269 were members of the Force Ouvriere, 299 were members of the Christian-Democratic Union, and 380 were members of the independent Union of Engineers.

We soon learned that the division of workers into many federations within the same factory inevitably weakens the workers' strength and therefore worsens their conditions. For one thing, a very large percentage of workers were not members of any union. Their pay and working conditions reflected this. They earn an average of 37.5 cents hourly. Without exception all workers told us that they were unable to meet the tremendously high cost of living on this wage. Prices have sky-rocketed in France just as they have in our own country. Workers informed us that the employers are making exorbitant profits, while they, the workers, are unable to make ends meet.

The delegation had an opportunity to observe the housing conditions of the workers and saw the most miserable hovels and shacks that it is possible to imagine, with horrible plumbing and toilet facilities.

However, this report would be incomplete if it did not make clear that the workers of France are uniting more and more and are fighting for better wages and working conditions. The majority of workers have a strong labour organisation in the C.G.T. In the Renault Automobile Plant, which has about 35,000 workers, the C.G.T. has 28,000 members, the Force Ouvriere 1,700 and the Christian-Democratic Union 2,800.

The C.G.T. functions very effectively as a powerful organisation of labour, with regular meetings, conferences, conventions, and many struggles are conducted for better working conditions. Its concern for the workers goes beyond the actual factory. We were fortunate enough to be able to visit a camp owned and operated by the Metal Workers' Union, where we saw how the union makes an effort to improve the life of its members.

French workers asked for the support of the American trade unions in their struggles against their employers for decent living wages. They pointed out that the employers of America are giving every kind of assistance to the French employers with grants of money and machinery through the Marshall Plan, enabling them to make outrageous profits.

The French workers, on the other hand, are suffering more and more each year. It is no wonder that they call for international solidarity between the French and American workers mutually to improve our conditions.

ITALY

In Italy we met active workers and trade unionists in the city of Rome as well as leaders of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) and its General Secretary di Vittorio.

We discussed problems of American labour and answered their questions. Similarly we heard from the Italian workers about their problems. There, too, workers pointed out the need for greater labour solidarity as an aid to increasing the strength of Italian labour in its struggle for better conditions.

We learned that the C.G.I.L. like the C.G.T. in France, has the great majority of workers in its ranks. It has a membership of five million while the Christian-Democratic Union — the Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions—has 500,000 members and the Social-Democratic Union—the Italian Union of Labour —has 150,000 members.

The C.G.I.L. leaders, including many who are themselves Catholics and Socialists, pointed out to us that when labour struggles take place, all the workers, regardless of their affiliation, participate in them, but that the only guarantee of greater progress of labour is consistent unity within one federation.

One of the most serious problems faced by the Italian workers is unemployment, which has increased greatly. Unfortunately the Marshall Plan has stimulated rather than reduced this unemployment. This example was given to us: Previously Italy produced a great deal of machinery which she had then exchanged for wheat from the United States, thus providing employment to many workers in the machine industry. However, under the Marshall Plan the United States sent a great deal of grain to Italy. Since there is no longer an exchange of machinery for this grain, many machine factories have had to close down and workers have been thrown out of work.

To make matters worse, the Italian industrialists were loaned 200 million dollars under the Marshall Plan to buy machinery from the United States. Thus, while they made tremendous profits out of this transaction, it hurts the Italian workers by causing greater unemployment. Not only that, but the workers, through their taxes, are forced to pay interest on this gift, thereby taking an additional cut in their standard of living.

We were told that there are two million unemployed workers and another two million workers working part time.

This is confirmed by the United Nations figures, which indicate four million unemployed in Italy. When one considers that the total labour force in Italy is only nine million workers, one can get an idea of the terrific rate of unemployment.

As an example of how difficult it is for workers to live in Italy, we were informed that a worker needs about 60,000 lire monthly in order to make ends meet. The average pay is 30,000 lire monthly, or about 50 dollars. This is monthly, not weekly. How can these workers be expected to make a living?

But in Italy, as in France, the story is not complete without indicating the tremendous struggle that the C.G.I.L. is conducting and the many gains it is winning for the workers. In September last year, the workers, through their unions, won a wage increase. They have had to conduct many strikes; they have had a great deal of interference from the employers, the Government and from those who were trying to disunite their organisations. But despite these obstacles they were able to win an additional eight per cent wage increase this last April.

As far as conditions are concerned, we found that many Italian workers work a 48-hour week—eight hours daily for six days a week. Others work longer hours. The union has been able to win a 20 per cent bonus for overtime work in some industries and a 50 per cent bonus in other industries. Most holidays (statutory) are paid holidays, and the workers receive double time for holiday work. Only a small percentage of the workers have paid vacations. The union succeeded in eliminating discrimination of any kind in industry.

In going to and coming from Eastern Europe we were able to halt in the United States zones of Berlin and Vienna. Unfortunately we did not have opportunities to visit factories and discuss problems with workers. However, we did notice one thing of great importance which we feel should be reported. Here was the dividing line of Europe. Here we saw American soldiers serving as occupation troops of sections of Germany and Austria. Here we began to see that the world is divided into two parts and that if there is to be peace these two parts must learn to live together. It is our conviction that this process was not being helped by the presence of occupation armies anywhere—whether they be American or Russian or any other.

We visited Prague while in transit to Poland and the Soviet Union. The day we spent in Prague waiting for the airplane interested the delegation very much. Throughout the city we saw many signs of American traditions, influences and backgrounds in housing, architecture and in many other aspects of life. We saw clean streets, well-organised social order, prosperous people and stores jammed with products. If a person were to take his eyes off the signs in the Czechoslovak language he would think he was in a particularly clean and prosperous American city.

These people, too, continually proclaim their friendship for the American people and asked only to live in peace with the rest of the world.

John Blackwell (of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union of Wallace, Idaho) and Marie Bowden (of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union (A.F.L.), of Los Angeles) talking with a worker in the "Linotyp" Plant in Leningrad.

POLAND

In Warsaw we met both trade union leaders and workers. The things that impressed us most in Warsaw were the terrible destruction caused by the war. We still saw whole areas levelled to the ground. Even though the majority of the devastation has been repaired, there is still a tremendous amount of construction going on in the city. On every street as far as we could see, in every direction, scaffolding was still up in front of every house.

We learned that one out of every 25 workers in Poland is a building worker engaged in constructing new homes; that the most important task of the country is the rebuilding of Poland; that there is no unemployment; that the standard of living is constantly rising; that the workers pay only up to five per cent of their wages for rent; that the workers do not pay for social insurance or for the many forms of social services, including nurseries for their children.

As far as conditions of work are concerned, there is generally a 46-hour week consisting of five days at eight hours and a six-hour day on Saturday. For overtime the workers are paid one and a half and double time. In some industries, like the metal, chemical and mining industries, the workers work a 34-hour week. All workers receive 70 per cent of their wages when they are sick, besides free medical treatment. Workers who have been employed for one year receive two weeks vacation with pay; after three years they receive three weeks and after ten years one month vacation.

We were able quickly to see why these people constantly told us of their hatred for the Nazi fascists who caused this terrible destruction by systematically mining every house and every street and blowing them up with dynamite.

We could see why these people hate war with all their hearts and appeal to us so earnestly for peace between our two countries. We saw that this reconstruction of their country was the most important thing to them—that all their energy is devoted to rebuilding their homes and factories and the winning of a better life. We were able to understand their desire that nothing should stand in the way of this tremendous task.

SOVIET UNION

Fortunately we were able to spend a good deal more time in the Soviet Union. During our three weeks there we travelled by bus, auto, railroad, plane, motor-boat, and motor-launch. We covered over 5,000 miles.

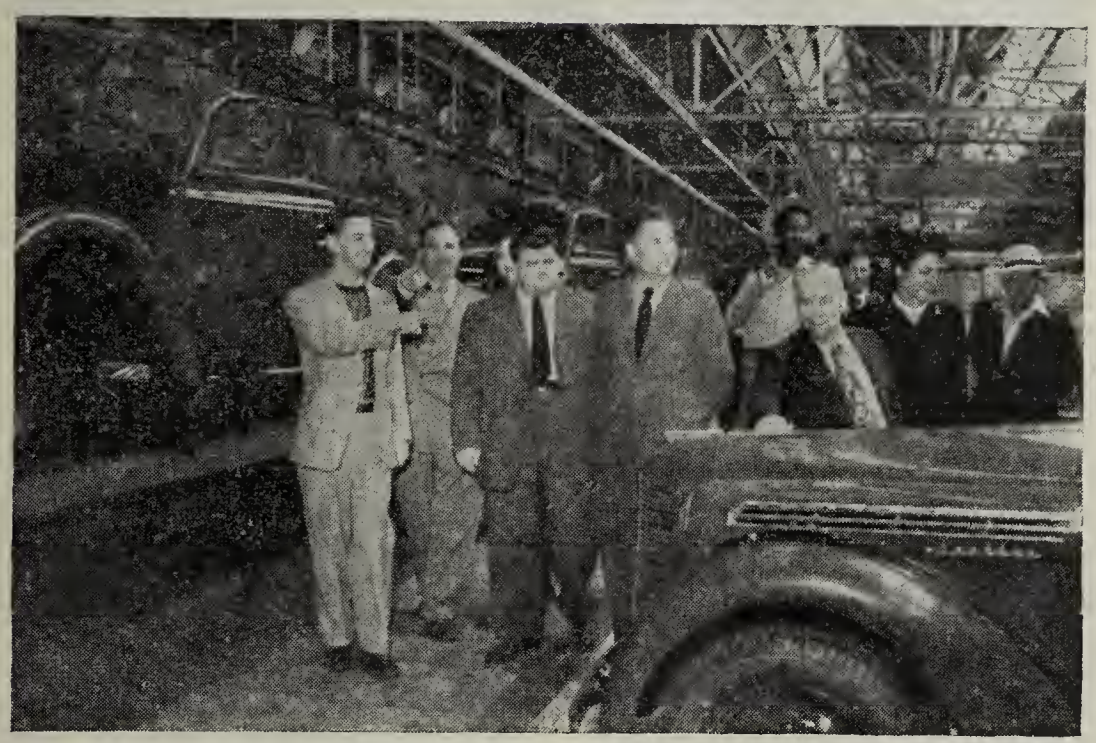
We saw the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Zaporozhe, Simferopol and Yalta. In these cities and their suburbs we saw a steel plant, an auto plant, a tractor plant, a shoe factory, a printing plant, a machine plant, a bakery, an electric power station, a collective farm, the subways, department and food stores, a winery, apartment houses, churches, theatres, movies, museums, parks, rest homes, sanatoria, hotels, children's camps, hospitals and botanical gardens. We were in barber shops and beauty parlours and libraries. We saw and spoke to thousands of workers.

When we came to the Soviet Union and were received by trade union leaders of Moscow as we arrived at the airport, the Chairman of our delegation, in response to greetings extended to us by the trade unions and people of the city, enumerated several questions that influence the thinking of the American people and expressed our determination to find answers to these questions.

Among these questions were the following: Is the standard of living as low as pictured in the United States; are starvation wages in existence; do the workers have enough food; are there inflation and price rises; is there slave labour; why are there no strikes; do people have civil rights; is there a secret police dogging everyone's steps so that fear exists in the country; is there speed-up on the job; is there freedom of religion; is there free speech, press and radio; and most important of all, does the Soviet Union want war?

We spent most of our time in the Soviet Union because it has become abundantly clear that the greatest differences that exist in the world today are those between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that unless greater understanding develops between our two peoples these differences can only widen through the efforts of those who exploit these differences for their own selfish gain, until they would finally explode into a world war—a terrible holocaust that would destroy both our peoples and the world. Therefore we had to find out what this country and its people are like.

We truly saw what they are like. They are ordinary people like people all over the world—like the American people. They, too, want friendship and peace.



The delegates visit the assembly line of the "Moskovitch" Automobile Plant in Moscow.

Here are the answers to the questions asked.

Workers in the Soviet Union make a good living. They are well fed, well clothed and well housed. We did not see any hungry or starving people.

The rents they pay average from three to six per cent of their total wages. This may sound amazing and incredible to Americans, but we personally checked in every factory we visited, spoke to thousands of workers, and found this to be the absolute truth.

Workers receive from 14 to 30 days' vacation every year, depending upon their skill, length of service and productive ability. Their vacations are paid for by government funds administered by the trade unions.

Workers are paid when sick. Women have two and a half months' paid leave for maternity care.

Nowhere did we see any speed-up as we know it on the assembly lines of factories in America. We did see good equipment, modern machinery and safe healthy working conditions. The factories have plenty of air and ample windows and light. There is

Lee Candea, of the A.F.L. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union chatting with Ukrainian collective farm workers of the "Ilych" Collective Farm.

comfortable working space between machines, and, generally speaking, factories and streets are kept even cleaner than homes in America.

Despite the desire of the whole country and people for increased productivity, which is reflected in the payment of special bonuses for improved technique and extra effort, real safeguards are taken against accidents. We found the workers' health, age, physical condition to be the prime consideration regardless and above all else.

During our tour we did not see one worker who could be characterised as a "slave labourer." Workers spontaneously stopped at their machines when they heard that our delegation was visiting their plant and freely answered our questions. Likewise they asked questions about our life in the United States. Without any doubt not a single worker by word, manner or glance indicated any fear to us for the safety of his family or for his life.

This question of "slave labour" became as much of a joke to the American delegates as it is to the Soviet people. So much so that on several occasions when we saw workers relaxing or sleeping in the sun we shouted: "Wake up slave labourer. You are not allowed to do that," or we kiddingly remarked "that poor fellow must have been worked to death."

In this connection our delegation agrees with the report of the C.I.O. delegation to the Soviet Union in 1945 which included James Carey, Allan Haywood, Joseph Curran and Emil Rieve, and which said: "We were impressed with the character of the Soviet trade unions and with their many excellent activities in promoting the interests of the workers in the economic, social, welfare and cultural fields—as well as with the most far-reaching character of the social insurance system they operate which is designed to protect the working people and their families against all contingencies from the cradle to the grave."

What these trade union leaders saw in 1945 our delegation saw on a much expanded scale in 1951. We are, therefore, unable to understand how it is possible for these same trade unionists today, without having revisited the Soviet Union, to repudiate everything they said before and suddenly to unveil Hearst-like stories of "slave labour" in the Soviet Union—stories which are nothing more than figments of their imagination.

It is interesting to observe that contrary to the horror stories of the so-called "iron curtain" as depicted in many parts of our press, this delegation had complete freedom of movement in the Soviet Union. There were no secret police following us around. Instead, in every city we left our hotels when we pleased and walked through the streets without guides or interpreters day or night, whenever we chose to do so. We walked through and around the Red Square in Moscow on many occasions.

The delegation feels compelled to contrast this freedom of movement with conditions in our own country. There were a number of other elected representatives of workers who were scheduled to come on this delegation. Some were not given passports, others had passports revoked, and still others were given restricted time-limited passports. One of the delegates was refused his passport and only after considerable protests were exerted did he receive permission from our Government to travel abroad.

We call the attention of the American people to the need for a changed attitude on the part of our Government on this vital question of freedom of movement.

We saw complete freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. In every city we visited we saw both churches and people attending them. In Moscow several of our delegates who are Roman Catholics went to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Louis on two separate Sundays. As is usual, they found the same people there the second time that they had seen previously.

These people explained that they had been going to church in Moscow all their lives, that they attended church regularly, and that nobody interfered with their right to attend. They said that while their children did not receive any religious training in school, they likewise did not receive any anti-religious training. They pointed out that after the war, since their church had been destroyed, the parishioners petitioned the Government for a church and were given one free. The entire amount of taxes paid by their church to the Government amounts to 200 dollars per year. The priest is paid by the congregation and does no other work outside his religious functions.

With regard to the Jewish people, we learned that under the Soviet Constitution anti-Semitism is a crime against the State with heavy penalties assessed for it. We found out that most Jews in the areas of Western Russia play a prominent part in every aspect of the political, economic and cultural life of the country and many of them have received Stalin Prizes for their contributions in these fields. Jewish synagogues function freely all over the country in addition to Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and other churches.

We learned that the place where Jewish culture and religion is most extensively developed is the Jewish National Region of Birobidjan, where the Jewish people have their own newspapers and schools, and where the Jewish language is taught to the children.

While touring plants and factories we learned that workers who are sick are sent home or taken care of by the hospital attached to the factory or plant without any loss of pay. Absenteeism is very low. Where it exists it is taken care of by workers and trade union organisation through many discussions. Where it becomes incurable, chronic, the workers are discharged and find jobs in other plants.

There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. Everywhere we went we saw "help wanted" signs. Due to the tremendous amount of recon-

struction and peaceful extension of industry more labour is needed. We saw great numbers of women working in all jobs, categories, skills, including drivers of railroad trains.

The workers explained that they did not have strikes in the Soviet Union because their country belongs to them. They explained that they were working for themselves and not for profits to be realised by any employer. Their production is turned back to them in the form of better and more abundant goods, making for a higher standard of living.

They also pointed out that they have effective trade union organisations and strong collective bargaining agreements through which their complaints, grievances and problems are quickly and satisfactorily adjusted with the management. The unions are in a position to deal effectively with the management up to and including the removal of directors who violate the rights of the workers.

We do not want to give the impression in this report, despite the many wonderful and advanced things we saw during our visit there, that everything is wonderful in the Soviet Union. There are some respects in which the Soviet Union would do well to emulate what exists in the United States. Perhaps most important of all we found the plumbing facilities inadequate. In the United States such facilities are also inadequate in certain sections of the country, particularly in communities where the working people—Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans live. Yet the facilities there are not quite up to our standards.

Generally speaking this is also true of the railroads. We realise that because of the devastating destruction of the war the immediate needs of the Russian people were to rebuild both industry and homes. Nevertheless we wish to point out that our railroad facilities are more advanced and much better than those in the Soviet Union.

This was no guided tour. We were not given any planned programme by our hosts. We were not carefully protected and prevented from speaking to people of the country. We informed the trade union leadership of what cities and what factories we wanted to see. They took us to those places. When we visited factories we selected the workers we talked to at random. In addition, we spoke freely to many people in the streets, subways, churches, parks and museums.

By speaking to hundreds of workers in factories we checked the stories of one with the other and against our notes so that translators could not misinterpret what we were being told. In every factory we visited we found one or two workers who could speak English and who conversed at length with the delegation. In parks and theatres many students who were learning English came up to talk to us. So we had many ways of getting the exact and correct information that we wanted and not that which might have been prepared for us.

Everywhere we went we found a tremendous desire for friendship with the American people. Any idea spread by the press that the Soviet people hate us is simply ridiculous. Any idea spread in certain quarters of our country that the Soviet Government hates us is equally ridiculous. There is such love and support by the people for their leaders that if this were the case then there would be no question but that any hatred of America by the Government would influence the people likewise to hate America. This is true in our country where large numbers of people are influenced by the policies of our Government.

In all truthfulness there is a burning hatred there for those in America who call for war with the Soviet Union, for those who advocate the dropping of atom bombs and for those who are in favour of continuing to spread the Korean war. But for the American people there is only the greatest respect and friendship.

As a matter of fact the Russian trade unionists in Leningrad celebrated our Independence Day—July 4th —with the American delegation with the wish that America should be free, independent and at peace with the world.

The greatest proof of the truth of all this is the overwhelming reception accorded to the delegation by the children. In every instance, in children's camps and theatres, where they were performing, in parks, streets and in all cities we were in, children rushed forward asking over and over to send their love to the children of America.

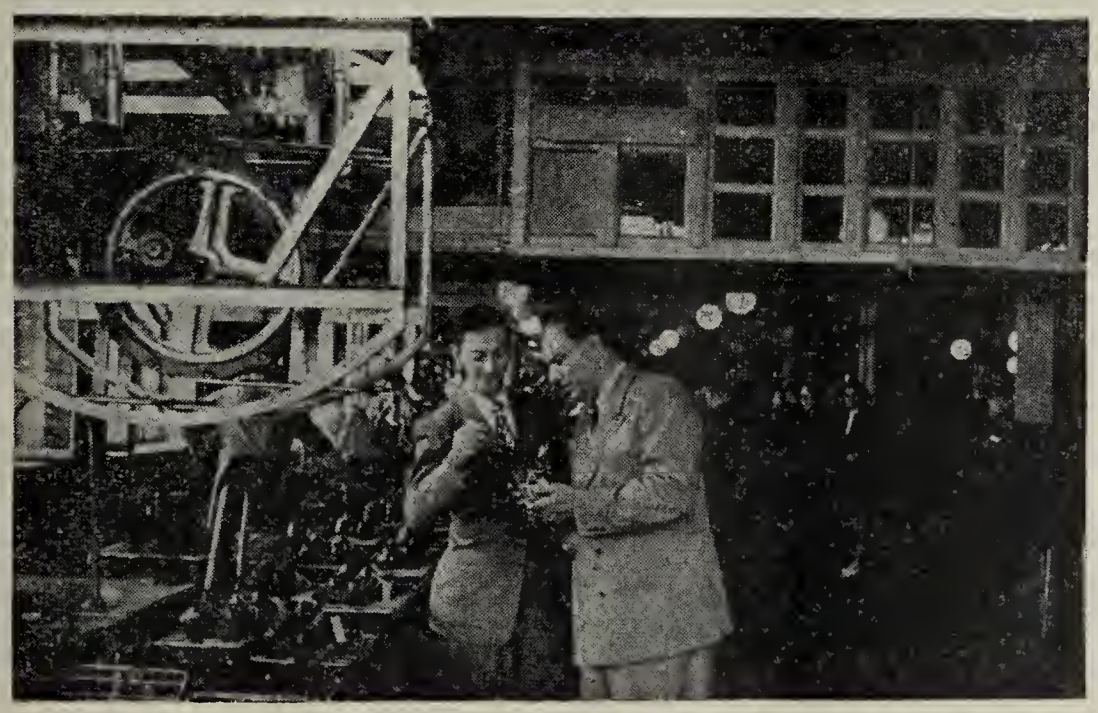
There are those in America who say that the Russian children are indoctrinated by the Socialist society they live in. But if it were true that the Government of the Soviet Union feels that the Americans are their enemies, surely then it would be reflected in the children of this country.

On the other hand, while it may be said that the people we saw in the factories we visited were all prepared falsely to represent their opinions and conditions to us, still no one can say that children can conceal their real feeling. Children cannot be taught to represent falsely love for hatred. And these many experiences convinced us on this point.

So we have come to the conclusion that someone has been trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people.

As to preparations for war, the stories in our country have been completely misleading. We have seen only a peaceful economy with no reconversion for war production. The auto plants we saw continue to produce passenger cars. There were no reconversions in order to produce tanks and airplane engines. Tractor plants continue to produce tractors.

One of the biggest steel plants in the country, in Zaparozhe, is not producing cannons, armour plate or ammunition but is turning out rolled steel for peace-time machinery and equipment, including automobiles. The biggest industry in the Soviet Union is still the production of building materials and the actual construction of housing for the workers. We did not see the construction of one air-raid shelter, and in Moscow we lived in a hotel across the street from the Kremlin.



The delegate of the United Shoe Workers of America (C.I.O.) of Chicago, found his visit to the "Skorochod" shoe factory in Leningrad particularly interesting.

One question was sharply pointed out for this delegation, and that is the absolute equality of all peoples, nationalities and races, regardless of sex, in a country that has very many nationalities. This was shown in the special attention paid by the people, wherever we went, to the Negro members of our delegation.

There is no Jim Crow discrimination against coloured peoples in their housing, work, play or culture, or in any respect. There are no jailings of minorities or lynchings of people because of their colour. Coloured people and minorities eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, go to the same beauty parlours and barber shops. This occurs not on the basis of their passing for white, but because of the conscious policy that there is no discrimination against any human being.

Even though some members of our delegation served their nation in the armed forces of the United States in the last war at battlefronts and saw what damage war can do, this delegation was shocked by the extent of the destruction caused by the last war in the Soviet Union. In Stalingrad, for example, not one single building was left standing.

We learned, therefore, why these people hate war. Several million people were killed. In almost every family bitter memories have remained. We began to appreciate why the most burning desire of everyone in the Soviet Union is for peace. At every greeting, at every farewell, every Soviet worker we talked to cried out for peace. In Leningrad, an old woman textile worker told us what misery the war had caused her family and begged us to convey her feelings, the feelings of the workers in her plant and the feelings of the people in her city, for a peaceful world.

In the bread-making factory Moscow workers told us that they wanted to continue to make more and better bread for their people in a world of peace. Workers in the tractor plant in Stalingrad told us that to them war had meant the death of one-third of their city's population and the destruction of their entire city. How could they possibly want war? In Zaporozhe children in a camp, some whose parents had been killed in the last war, movingly expressed their earnest wish for a peaceful world in which their future to grow up would be secure.

In Yalta, where workers were resting in a sanatoria getting well or vacationing, they flocked around the American delegates asking why any disagreements, arising out of differences in our social systems, could not be negotiated through peaceful means.

We were asked why our Government was ringing the world with military and aviation bases. We were asked why a military alliance aimed at the Soviet Union—the North Atlantic Pact—had been concluded. We were asked why thousands of millions of dollars of our economy are being spent for war preparations. We were asked why in the very halls of our Congress Government officials called for war against the Soviet Union. We were asked why hoodlums were permitted to attack the United Nations' Soviet representative Malik and his associates in their car as an over-gesture of enmity. We were asked why peaceful trade between the Soviet Union and the United States had been stopped by the American Government.

Delegates Vincent Moscato (Department Store Workers' Union of New York, C.I.O.) and Hector Jacques (Distributing, Processing and Office Workers, New York) in the orchard of a Ukrainian collective farm.

CONCLUSION

In every country all workers of all political beliefs and convictions—of all religious faiths—young and old, men and women have told us about their earnest desire for peace. They cannot understand, and neither can members of this delegation understand, those few madmen who keep calling for war. How can anyone understand a man who stands up in the halls of Congress and shrieks that we should drop an atom bomb on Moscow? No one can understand how in this day and age a civilised country can increase armaments, make military alliances and instruct its generals to chart out new wars.

We told the Russian people—as we tell the American people—that we want universal disarmament. We want the Russian Army to be disarmed and demobilised just as we want the American Army to be disarmed and demobilised. We exchanged greetings with Russians on the occasion of America's national holiday—July 4th—honouring the American people, at which time we called for the independence of all nations and the freedom of all people. In Yalta, where the historic conference of the war-time allies fighting fascism took place—where our late President Roosevelt enunciated his principles of world peace and freedom—we called upon the Russian people, as we now call upon the American people, for universal, ever-lasting friendship. The only pacts we ask for are peace pacts, not military ones. The only bonds we ask for are those of friendship, not those created by money or by selfish alliances.

We hope that this message will be distributed as widely through America as the message we delivered to the Russian workers and Russian people was distributed through the Soviet Union. We spoke on the radio there and said these same things. Not once were we told what to say, even by suggestion. Not once were we asked what we were going to say. Never did we have to submit a prepared text in advance, nor was anything we said censored.

Our articles and interviews were printed in the Russian papers. This freedom of the press and radio is such that while a tremendous number of newspapers and magazines are printed and read by practically everyone and while almost all people have and listen to radios, there is still a demand for more.

We bring this report to you as a public service in the best interests of the American nation with our most fervent hopes for a greater America in world peace.

(*Signed*) Leon Straus, Vice-President of the International Fur & Leather Workers' Union (New York); Chairman of the delegation.

Hilliard Ellis, organiser of the Amalgamated Local of the United Automobile Workers of America (C.I.O.) Chicago; co-chairman of the delegation.

Stanley Beczkiewicz, President of the Chicago District Council of the United Shoe Workers of America (C.I.O.).

Warren Hoover, President of the Local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (Niles, Ohio).

John Blackwell, Recording Secretary of the Local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union (Wallace, Idaho).

Lee Candea, representative of the hotel and restaurant workers, AF of L.

Vincent Moscato, executive board member of the Department Store Workers' Union, C.I.O. (New York).

Marie Bowden, representative of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, AF of L (Los Angeles, California).

Hector Jacques, Chairman of the District Union of Distributing, Processing and Office Workers (New York).

Henry Batke, Jnr., acting chairman of the Local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (St. Joseph, Michigan).

Fred Saniat, member of the executive board of the Local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (Chicago).

INDONESIA

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

The great majority of manual and professional workers earn so little that their wages amount to only half, or even a quarter, of the minimum essential for a narrow subsistence. Purchasing power was so heavily reduced by the recent rise in prices that the workers succeed only with great difficulty in preventing their families from dying of hunger.

It is therefore not surprising that Soekarno's appeal for harder work met with little success. In Indonesia, millions of florins in profits are disappearing into the pockets of the Dutch and other colonialist employers.

The workers and peasants know that the only way to improve their conditions is by a hard struggle for higher wages and better living conditions.

In their struggle to improve their material conditions, the workers see more clearly that this immediate aim is linked to the general struggle against imperialist domination and for national independence. Their fight is therefore centered on the main enemy, Dutch-American imperialism, and they seek for indispensable allies among all sections of the population.

Foreign capital is protected by the terms of the so-called Round Table agreement. Indonesian employers are unable to expand their business. The same situation exists for them as was the case in the Netherlands under Nazi occupation when Dutch economic life was subordinated to the interests of Nazi Germany. Dutch import and export firms fix the price of raw materials in such a way as to drive Indonesian firms out of business. Crisis is spreading and there are many bankruptcies. These facts show that not only the workers and peasants, but also the national bourgeoisie is suffering from colonialist exploitation.

The Indonesian trade union movement is clearly aware that the working class is the main element in the national liberation movement and that its path to victory coincides with the path towards national unity.

De Waarheid, Amsterdam, 6.9.51

FINLAND

PLUMBERS' COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE

The Finnish plumbers' struggle in defence of their rights has now been in progress for the past 6 months. Back in 1949, these workers were expelled from the Metalworkers' Federation on the grounds of an "illegal" strike. In the summer of last year, the plumbers set up their own Federation. But the right-wing social-democratic leadership of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation declared it "illegal" and refused it entry into the Confederation.

The present strike, which began last February 8th followed the refusal of the employers, assured of the backing of the right-wing leaders of the Trade Union Confederation, to conclude a collective agreement with the Plumbers' Federation.

The right-wing social-democratic press is pouring out slanders against the strikers. The newspaper "Suomen Sociali-Demokratti" particularly distinguished itself in this campaign, issuing pamphlets against the plumbers and statements attributed to workers who were alleged to have refused to take part in the strike, such material being nothing other than obvious forgeries. But none of these manoeuvres met with success.

Recently, with the active help of the right-wing trade union leaders, the employers launched an intensive campaign to recruit strike-breakers, both at home and abroad. In a number of Finnish towns, hasty instruction was given to numbers of young plumbers. Since it was not easy to find enough scabs in Finland, the employers started a clandestine recruitment drive in Sweden.

Two weeks ago, a number of plumbers arrived at Tampere from Sweden. These Swedes could not understand why the Finnish workers kept away from them. When the situation was explained to them, they declared that they did not wish to act as strike breakers and that they would go back home. In this way, the Swedish workers expressed their solidarity with the Finnish workers.

The plumbers' strike could not have lasted for so long if it had not had the backing of other sections of the workers who, at many meetings, called on the Government to stop recruiting strike-breakers and to satisfy the justified demands of the plumbers. Collections are being organised in the factories for the strike fund. On one Helsinki building site, the workers decided to contribute part of their wages every week to the solidarity fund for the plumbers; another building site took a similar decision.

The democratic press is supporting the strikers and condemns the treachery of the right-wing social-democrats. The newspaper "Tiuekansen Sanomat" declared: "The right-wing leadership of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation went as far as recruiting strike-breakers in Sweden in order to smash the strike. But fortunately, the desire for unity of the working class is stronger than the intrigues of the right-wing leaders. The striking plumbers are waging a just fight for the rights and interests of the entire working class, and all decent people back their struggle. No honest worker will make himself the agent of the capitalist employers or will agree to becoming a traitor."

The attempts made by the right-wing leaders of the Finnish trade union movement to smash the strike prove once again that the splitters of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation are working hand in glove with the capitalists of whom they are the obedient tools.

Trud, 11.8.51

TRIESTE

THE AGONY OF A CITY

Here are the facts. According to the figures furnished by the Unified Trade Unions, unemployment has increased about 12 per cent. since

April, and at present hits about 15 per cent. of the active population. The average total of protested drafts are fluctuating between 60 and 70 million lira per month, according to information given by the local Chamber of Commerce. Bankruptcies follow each other at the rate of 5 to 6 a month. In small loan establishments the total amount of loans granted are 15 per cent. higher than the total of loans repaid. Industrial production is falling seriously. The Amalgamated Shipyards of the Adriatic are producing at only 75 per cent. of their capacity, the San Rocco shipyards 22 per cent., engineering factories 35 per cent., small industries (soap, varnish, food products, etc.) 16 per cent. Lloyd Triestino, which in 1939 managed 9 shipping lines with 34 vessels, now has only 5 lines with 17 vessels. The Italia Steamship Company, which gave 20 ships to Trieste, now runs only 5 "Liberty" ships and a motor ship.

And now look at the faces and the physical aspect of the workers! The shipyards are giving a dramatic demonstration of the significance for workers of the policy of war and rearmament, the policy of the liquidation of industry, carried out for the greater profit of the American monopolies by the large Italian industrialists and their agents in the government.

Vie Nuove, 12.8.51

FRANCE

PRODUCTIVITY A WEAPON AGAINST THE WORKERS

Bravo, Brothers of the Combe plant!

You have forced the removal of the "Specialist" who had come to indoctrinate you on the benefits of the new method of work called productivity... "American style."

The management of the Etablissements Combe (a large leather tanning firm) aspires to a place in the front row in the "crusade for productivity" which the American millionaires are preparing to launch in France.

And this, they assure us, is for the good of the working class!

We are truly touched by this paternal affection of the American millionaires toward the workers of France!

But it is the kiss of Judas.

The basic purpose is to speed-up production for war preparation, without regard as to what the speed-up can do to the workers' health.

The American millionaires and their stooges are not at all motivated, as you well know, by any concern to improve the living conditions of the working masses; their system of super-exploitation will only end with increasing capitalist profits and worsening the poverty of the workers.

The "productivity crusade" is part of the total plan of the American imperialists, of their plan for world domination and preparation for war.

This is a new step—as recently emphasised by the C.G.T.—an attempt by American imperialism to put its hand on the French economy, to liquidate competing enterprises, and to assure itself of market outlets to the detriment of the national economy, as well as to devise a new means for orienting production in the direction of the American war policy.

The "productivity crusade" has also the aim of turning the working class from its struggle for immediate demands: wage increases, price reductions, sliding scale, etc. This was fully understood by the workers at Combe when they ran the "specialist" out of the plant.

Finally, the fact that the leaders of Force Ouvriére * are showing so much enthusiasm in favour of the "productivity crusade" will contribute to the opposition of workers to this American plan of servitude, of war and of poverty.

They will recall the praises which Force Ouvriére sang to the Marshall Plan and what resulted from it.

They recall also that these leaders provoked a trade union split to weaken the working class and its resistance to war preparations.

By their unity and their increasingly fraternal action within the firms, the workers of all industries will not only defeat the "productivity crusade," this new system of super-exploitation and speed-up, but they will intensify their daily struggle for their legitimate demands, for the improvement of their standard of living and for the defence of peace.

MAURICE

General Secretary of the National Union of Leather and Fur Workers (C.G.T.), in *La Vie Ouvriére,* week of 8 to 14 Aug. 1951

U.S.S.R.

A BRITISHER LOOKS AT PROGRESS IN THE SOVIET UNION

May I, from my own experience on a recent visit in the U.S.S.R., confirm the report given in Mr. Werth's† article of the rapid rise in living standards and technical efficiency? I last visited the U.S.S.R. in 1938 and I was astonished at the immense improvement which has taken place since then in the range, quantity and quality of consumer goods, in spite of the setback caused by the war. Not only is food plentiful and reasonably cheap but a much better selection of other goods, such as household appliances, is now available to the Soviet consumer. I saw electric irons at 60 roubles, electric kettles at 92 roubles, washing machines and refrigerators at 750 roubles (slightly less than the average monthly wage). The shoddiness which was a feature of some pre-war consumer goods has largely disappeared and much stricter attention is now paid to quality. Mechanical toys which I bought for my children are of better quality than those available for an equivalent price in this country. The improvement has been brought about by unsparing criticism in the press and in public meetings, by consumer complaints through the shops, by special quality control departments in the factories, and by the effort of the workers themselves.

This higher standard of production depends on a rising level of technical efficiency and Mr. Werth rightly points to the importance of the new "technical intelligentsia," reinforced every year by hundreds of thousands of young technicians graduating from special schools and institutes. But perhaps even more significant is the rise in the *general* level of skill and the amount of technical education which is carried on *outside* the specialised institutions. At the "Red October" metallurgical plant in Stalingrad we visited the "Palace of Technique." This is not a full-time college or training school but is used by the workers at the plant for short courses, evening classes, spare-time study, and recreation. Here, the engineers and skilled workers give instruction and advice to the less skilled. The latest technical journals and books are available for private study. There are regular conferences with workers from other factories so that technical innovations are rapidly introduced throughout the industry. The whole "Palace" is beautifully designed and lavishly equipped.

Alongside the widespread provision for technical education there is a system of powerful material incentives designed to encourage every worker to raise his qualifications. They do not make the simple division into unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled but have introduced a number of intermediate grades in each industry so that only a small proportion of workers remain in the "unskilled" grade and all the others are classified as having various degrees of skill. Any worker with the desire and the ability can progress steadily from grade to grade with a corresponding increase in earnings at each stage. The Russians show great ingenuity in working out incentive schemes and bonuses to reward higher quality of effort in almost every occupation. Above all, they reward "innovators"—any worker who introduces new methods or inventions, or suggests new ideas for increasing productivity. In every factory the photographs or paintings of the "innovators" and "outstanding workers" are prominently displayed and their achievements are widely featured in press, radio and film.

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* *Break-away Trade Union Organisation.*

† *Alexander Werth, former Moscow correspondent of the Manchester Guardian.*

The results of this sustained effort to improve technique are apparent in the quality of the machinery as well as in the higher standard of consumer goods. The machinery which we saw in the Stalingrad tractor plant, in a Moscow Ball-bearing plant, in a textile combine in Tashkent and on various building sites seemed just as good as modern equipment in Britain. Almost all of it was of recent Soviet production. Heavy industry still retains priority in the national plan and the output of machinery and power is rapidly increasing. The two giant hydro-electric stations now under construction on the Volga at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad will each add an impressive amount to the annual production of electricity. They are closely connected to the immense scheme of afforestation and irrigation which is intended to eliminate the effects of drought over a huge area of Southern Russia. These projects have captured the popular imagination in a way which it is difficult to visualise in the West. Huge maps are displayed to illustrate their purpose and their progress is reported daily in the press.

This atmosphere of rapid progress and rising standards in every sphere was my strongest impression of the U.S.S.R. I found Soviet citizens well aware that they still have many survivals of the past (such as bad housing in Moscow) but confident that they can deal with these problems if only peace can be preserved. In a place like Stalingrad, where scarcely a single house was left standing, one realises the immensity of the reconstruction problem and the cruel setback which the war meant for all their hopes and plans. But industrial production will soon be twice as great as pre-war output, bringing a considerable improvement in living standards. The Russians are living in one of the few countries in the world where prices fall instead of rising. And they have a vision of the future which their children will enjoy. Perhaps this partly accounts for what your correspondent, Mr. Semmens, described as "their appearance of happiness and their confidence in their own government." *It certainly accounts for their overwhelming desire to live in peace.*

A reader's letter in
The New Statesman and Nation
London, 25.8.51.

NOTE: Readers are asked to make the following corrections in the article on Japan published in our last issue (No. 17).

page 15 Col. 1 *last line*: read—30.3 billion;
Col. 2 2*nd line*: read—49.1 billion;

page 16 Col. 1 *line 13-14*: read—The total value of U.S. war orders placed to date is over 300 million dollars.
last line: read—by Nov. 1950 production figures ran into thousands of units.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 21

GUATEMALA.—The General Assembly of the Guatemalan Confederation of Labour (C.T.G.) decides to support the democratic Government of President Arbenz against reactionary and imperialist forces and to intensify its efforts for the organisation of the Constituent Congress of a Unified Central Trade Union of Workers and Peasants.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Seventh Session of the Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth opens in Berlin. Important items on the agenda include a discussion of the results of the Berlin Youth Festival and the preparation for the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth..

August 22

GREAT BRITAIN.—The National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Transport Salaried Staff Association made a joint application for a 10% wage increase for 380,000 railway workers.

RUMANIA.—The 7th anniversary of the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army is celebrated by all Rumanian workers.

BRAZIL.—The Vargas Government announces that the great leader of the Brazilian people, Luis Carlos Prestes, will be tried by default in September, accused of "conspiring against the national security." Luis Carlos Prestes is in the interior of the country, where he is directing the people's struggle for peace and national liberation.

August 24

U.S.S.R.-RUMANIA.—A commercial treaty is concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania whereby the U.S.S.R. will furnish industrial and technical equipment to Rumania. It also provides for an increase in trade between the two countries. In the period 1952-55 the volume of trade will be 50% greater than in the period 1948-51.

ITALY.—The leaders of the F.I.D.A.G. (Italian Federation of Gas Workers—C.G.I.L.) are acquitted by the Rome Court in a trial brought against them in 1948, following a victorious new form of strike for demands, which might be called a "strike in reverse." In order not to deprive the people of gas, the Italian workers in this industry decided to increase the calorific capacity of gas distributed, to the greater advantage of the consumers but prejudicial to the interests of the companies.

DENMARK.—The Peace Committee of Denmark requests the Government and Parliament to withdraw Denmark from the Atlantic Alliance.

CHILE.—Electric Power Workers in Santiago and Valparaiso go on strike in protest against discharges announced by the employers. Students of Santiago at the same time proclaim a strike to demand the repeal of the fascist-type "Law for the Defence of Democracy."

WESTERN GERMANY.—During a Press Conference in Bonn, Christian Fette, president of the D.G.B. (German Federation of Trade Unions, a right-wing-led federation), announces to foreign journalists that he approves a German contribution to "the defence of the West." Thus the leadership of the D.G.B. openly puts itself in the service of war preparation.

August 25

WESTERN GERMANY.—A strike of Hamburg dockers scheduled for August 27 because of the discharge of 22 dockers is countermanded by the right-wing leaders of the D.G.B., who promised to intervene on behalf of the dismissed workers. But in a meeting with the port authorities they not only abandon the discharged workers to their fate, but suggest the dismissal of certain other workers, guilty in their eyes of violating trade union discipline.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Eighteen of Britain's top-level scientists, fourteen of whom are Fellows of the Royal Society, and seven University professors issue a declaration of their determination to do all they can to prevent a third world war.

U.S.S.R.—An Austrian trade union delegation arrives at Moscow. "Izvestia" announces that 110 delegations coming from 28 different countries have visited the Soviet Union within the first six months of this year alone.

—Miners' Day is celebrated. The great progress achieved in the mechanisation of coal extraction is one of the characteristic factors in the march of Socialist society toward Communism.

August 26

U.S.S.R.—A Chinese trade union delegation arrives in Moscow.

WESTERN GERMANY.—More than 50,000 metal workers of Frankfort-Hanau, Darmstadt, and Offenbach go on strike for wage increases. The strike was decided upon by 88.5% of the workers consulted.

August 27

FRANCE.—At Carvin the miners demand the dismissal of a "fireman" (mine foreman) who struck an Algerian miner for refusing to work after knocking-off time. When the management refused their demand, 1,200 miners of pit 14 at Carvin went on strike.

FINLAND.—The Forestry Workers union address a letter of protest to the Government against the use of troops by the Government to float logs on the Kemi River. The letter demanded rigorous respect for their trade union rights.

INDIA.—Prime Minister Nehru declares in Parliament that India is not prepared to sign the Japanese peace treaty drawn up by the United States and Great Britain and that it will not participate in the San Francisco Conference.

UNITED STATES.—It is officially estimated that 97% of the American copper industry is paralysed by the strike of 58,000 miners affiliated to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a member of the W.F.T.U. Trade Department, Miners' Trade Unions International. The bosses of the huge copper monopoly had rejected the men's long-standing claims for higher wages, and had even refused the Government proposal for settlement of the dispute. Forty-two thousand other workers have quit in solidarity with the miners.

August 28

GREAT BRITAIN.—In a telegram addressed to Prime Minister Attlee, the British Peace Committee vigorously protests against the torpedoing by the United States of the Kaesong talks. The Government is requested to prevent the rupture of the talks and to send no more British troops to Korea.

U.S.S.R.—Meeting in plenary session, the Soviet Committee for the Defence of Peace decides to start the campaign for signatures for the conclusion of a peace pact among the Five Great Powers in September.

HAWAII.—Seven leaders of labour and progressive organisations, including Jack Wayne Hall, Regional Director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, are arrested in Hawaii, under the now usual charge of "conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the American Government."

BURMA.—The Government of Burma turns down the projected Japanese peace treaty, established by the United States and Great Britain, which they wish to impose without discussion according to the formula of "take it or leave it."

FRANCE.—Thanks to a four-day action, carried out in complete unity, the metal workers of blast furnace No. 1 of the Longwy steelworks, win an important victory: 10,000 to 11,000 francs wage increase per month.

August 29

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Food Minister announces that the butter ration will be cut by 25% from September 9th. "Guns instead of butter" are imposed upon the British people by the American-dictated rearmament of the Atlantic Pact countries.
— Electric power workers, after widespread "working to rule" and a ban on overtime working, are granted a twopence per hour wage increase, retrospective to June 1st, 1951. This increase applies to 120,000 workers.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Free German Confederation of Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.) addresses an appeal to the members and militants of the D.G.B. (trade union federation of Western Germany) in the name of 11,000,000 trade unionists, against the declaration made by the president of the D.G.B., Fette, on August 24, that Western Germany ought to participate in the "defence" of the West.

CANADA.—Thirty-seven hundred warehouse workers of the Imperial Tobacco Company of Montreal go on strike for wage increases. They repulse an attack by police who tried to seize trucks loaded with cigarettes.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Four coloured voters file application with the Cape Supreme Court to declare the Separate Representation of Voters Act invalid. The Act was passed by the Malan Government to restrict democratic rights to the white minority of the population.

CHILE.—Port workers go on an unlimited strike for wage increases. At Valparaiso and San Antonio all port activity is stopped.

August 30

GREAT BRITAIN.—Protesting against the occupation of land by the army, a large group of farmers, miners, building and factory workers, teachers and women in Wales bar two roads leading to the military camp by forming a living wall of people. A letter is sent to the camp commandant protesting against further confiscations.

HAWII.—Because of popular protests, the seven labour and progressive leaders arrested on August 28, are freed on bail. Bail, originally set at $75,000 per person, was reduced to $5,000 by the judge.

August 31

VIENNA.—The Trade Unions International of Workers of the Building, Wood and Building Materials Industries (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), meets with the participation of many observers from trade union organisations not affiliated to the T.U.I. or to the W.F.T.U. An important item on the agenda is the necessity to reinforce unity of action of all building workers in the struggle for their economic and social demands.

FRANCE.—The National Commission for Collective Agreements meets in Paris. As a result of the desire for union of the French workers, an agreement—the first of its kind—is reached among all the trade union national centres represented in the Commission: C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christian), Force Ouvriere and General Confederation of Cadres. The agreement concerns the guaranteed minimum for all trades, proposed by the C.G.T., of 23,600 francs per month for 40 hours' work per week. This proposal was opposed by the Government and employer representatives on the Commission, which adjourned without taking a decision.
— The "fireman" (mine foreman) of pit 14 at Carvin, whose striking of a worker caused a strike which had lasted since August 27, is brought before the disciplinary committee, and the miners return to work.

UNITED STATES.—Instead of compelling the arrogant bosses of the fabulously rich copper and lead monopolies to negotiate a wage settlement with the miners, on strike for more adequate living conditions, President Truman sides with the employers and invokes the Taft-Hartley law—which he had pretended to oppose—to obtain an injunction to force the men back to work.
— In a joint declaration, 187 progressive trade union leaders belonging to the C.I.O., A.F.L. and independent unions announce the beginning of a campaign to obtain the reversal by the Supreme Court of the verdict against eleven leaders of the Communist Party of the United States on the grounds of violation of the constitution.

POLAND.—The meeting of the Council of the International Union of Students opens in Warsaw. Students' organisations in Belgium, Ceylon, Guatemala, Mexico, Thailand, Reunion Island and French West Africa, are admitted as new members of the Union.

September 1

CUBA.—"Hoy," the daily paper of the working class, resumes publication after one year of confiscation and suspension by the government. The courts having two times ordered that the paper be returned to its publishers, the government has been unable, despite all its efforts, to prevent its reappearance. The sale of the first issue reached 123,243 copies although before the suspension its normal daily circulation was from 25,000 to 30,000 copies.

CHILE.—Despite persecutions and repressive measures ordered by the government, striking coal miners win a victory and obtain a wage increase as well as the right of their trade unions to freely elect their leaders.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Urged on by the workers, the Metalworkers Federation of Hesse announces that the strike which commenced on August 27 at Frankfurt, Darmstadt and Offenbach will be extended throughout all of Hesse on September 3 if a solution is not found.

UNITED STATES.—The United States, Australia and New Zealand sign in San Francisco a "Pacific Pact," a counterpart of the Atlantic Pact of Aggression, and an instrument for war preparation in the Pacific.

ALBANIA.—Soviet Friendship Month begins.

September 2

CHILE.—Along the whole coast about 10,000 port workers and dockers go on strike for higher wages. The government orders the mobilisation of the navy to replace the strikers in the loading and unloading of ships.

HUNGARY.—Hungarian miners celebrate their first Miners' Day. A Soviet delegation, together with delegations from many other countries, arrive in Budapest to take part in the celebrations.

U.S.S.R.—On the 6th anniversary of the defeat of the Japanese armed forces and the liberation of East Asia from the Japanese yoke, the President of the Chinese Central People's Government, Mao Tse-Tung, sends a telegram to J. Stalin, Soviet Premier, expressing the Chinese people's gratitude for the assistance given by the U.S.S.R. to the Chinese people in its struggle against the Japanese aggressors. In his reply Stalin declares: "It is beyond all doubt that the unshakeable friendship of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Peoples' Republic serves and will serve the cause of the defence of peace."

September 3

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Prime Minister of Hesse (a Right-wing Socialist), fearing the extension of the metalworkers' strike, proposes the resumption of talks between the unions and the employers.

UNITED STATES.—Copper Miners in the Kennecott Copper Corporation in the State of Utah return to work after winning a big victory: 22 cents wage increase per hour. The corporation produces about 40% of the copper of the United States. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company and the other firms which are part of the copper monopoly continue to refuse to accept the workers' demands and their mines remain closed because of the strike.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The 83rd Annual Congress of the T.U.C. opens at Blackpool with 917 delegates, representing 186 trade union organisations, present. The Unions comprise 7,827,945 trade unionists, 55,410 less than in 1950. In his opening address A. Roberts, president of the General Council of the T.U.C., admits the prospects for continuous price increases. He complains about workers who go on strikes which are unauthorised by the leaders, supports the rearmament policy to the utmost, and violently attacks the Soviet Union.

FRANCE-U.S.S.R.—After the expiration of the Franco-Soviet agreement of 1945, a commercial treaty between the two countries is concluded in Paris, providing for reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment. The signing of this agreement shows that economic co-operation, systematically sabotaged by the United States, is possible.

September 4

GUATEMALA.—Agricultural workers on sugar and coffee plantations, known as "national properties," administered by the government, decide to return to work after a one month strike, on the promise of the government to grant their demand for a minimum basic wage of 80 centavos per day.

UNITED STATES.—The Conference on the Japanese Peace treaty opens in San Francisco. The United States Government excludes China from the Conference although the Chinese people struggled for many years against Japanese militarism and made a decisive contribution to the victory. The American proposal for the peace treaty, far from forbidding the rearmament of Japan and serving peace, is an instrument of the war policy of the United States.

AUSTRALIA.—The Australian Confederation of Trade Unions asks the Federal Government to withdraw its proposal for the introduction of compulsory military service and to grant a referendum on this question.

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For a Firm Stand Against the Splitters— Unity of the Workers

AFTER making a detailed analysis of the situation of workers throughout the world, the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau adopted, on July 6th 1951, an extremely important decision. It made a definite proposal for joint action to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—the organisation set up by the men who engineered the split in the W.F.T.U.'s ranks in 1949—and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions—an organisation which, at the time of the first World Trade Union Conference in February 1945, adopted the programme of economic and social demands which still forms today the basis of the W.F.T.U.'s programme.

The Executive Bureau's analysis brought out the following three main elements :

1. evidence of the steady deterioration in the material conditions of workers in capitalist countries and in colonial and dependent territories, in contrast with the rise in the dividends and profits of the businessmen.

2. evidence of the workers' resistance to their worsening living conditions : growing numbers of strikes, intensified struggles by increasing numbers of workers for the improvement of their material conditions and for their children's bread.

3. evidence of progress in *united action;* for in this resistance and in the extension of strikes in many countries, the workers, regardless of political opinions or religious beliefs, or whether they were members of the W.F.T.U., the I.C.F.T.U. or the Christian Trade Union International,

achieved extensive unity in order to guarantee victory for their demands. Large masses of still unorganised workers took part in these movements. Such an organisation as the W.F.T.U., whose mission is to speak in the workers' name and to take action on the basis of their needs and aspirations, could not ignore this situation. Its honesty and loyalty towards workers by hand and brain is measured by the way in which it takes their desires into account. The steps it takes to back them up and to help them obtain satisfaction for their urgent economic and social needs, and the measures it adopts to remove the obstacles which they encounter, testify to the W.F.T.U.'s devotion to international working-class solidarity.

The W.F.T.U. took the initiative of proposing joint action by the trade union organisations on an international scale. This is in line with the aspirations of those workers of all outlooks and opinions who point out the path towards united action, set an example of such unity and indicate the obstacles which make their joint action difficult in certain circumstances.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau's initiative was the outcome of this drive for unity; it was also the point of departure for a new movement towards workers' unity.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE W.F.T.U.'s initiative has been justified by the events which have taken place in the social field during the last few months. Important events in the workers' life and struggles are confirming the correctness of the unity road which the W.F.T.U. and all affiliated trade union organisations have taken. Let us examine some of the more outstanding of these events, which picture the workers' activities and their orientation.

In ITALY, in spite of strong pressure on State and public service employees in an attempt to smash their action, 100% unity is being maintained among the trade union organisations of different views in their demand for a sliding wage scale, one of the main demands put forward by the Italian General Confederation of Labour. The success of the public service employees' strike in September was also a great victory for unity.

In FRANCE, all trade union organisations in the National Commission on Collective Agreements reach agreement on a proposal made by the C.G.T. with regard to the fixing of the basic minimum wage. The French Government's manoeuvres to eliminate the C.G.T. from the official discussions encourage workers of all views to unite still further to frustrate the underhand moves prepared by the employers and the government against the workers' immediate demands. The contact between the C.G.T. and the Christian C.F.T.C. and the spread of joint action in all industries and trades testifies to the immense progress made in the drive for united action in France.

In HOLLAND the unions affiliated to the E.V.C., the pro-unity Trade Union Centre belonging to the W.F.T.U., put into effect a plan of struggle for the urgent needs of their members and create the possibility of a united front among the workers and united action by all sections of the population affected by the fall in their living standards.

In WESTERN GERMANY, the agricultural workers of Bavaria, Lower Saxony, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Hesse gradually came out on strike in August for a 25 per cent wage increase, improved living conditions, equality of social insurance with the system possessed by industrial workers, and measures to protect the workers against arbitrary dismissal. They set up united action committees to back their claims. About 50,000 workers are taking part in this strike which was decided by a referendum vote with a majority of more than 90% in favour. On August 11th, the Frankfurt Labour Tribunal, under combined pressure from the Bonn "Government" and the American occupation authorities, declared the strike illegal and the right-wing social-democratic leaders of the D.G.B., the Trade Union Centre affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., broke up the strike, leaving the agricultural workers, both organised and unorganised, without legal means of defence or redress.

At the end of August, 60,000 metal workers in Frankfurt-Hanau, Darmstadt and Offenbach, in the Hesse area, came out on strike for a wage increase. Of the workers consulted in a referendum 88.5% declared themselves in favour of strike action. The reactionary and greedy employers refused to negotiate. In spite of the fighting spirit of the workers, who had achieved extensive unity of action, covering Catholic, Social-Democratic, Communist and unorganised workers, the leadership of the Bureau of the Metalworkers' Federation (D.G.B.) immediately intervened in order to limit the scope and effectiveness of the strike. In spite of these manoeuvres, the movement spread as a result of the unity and militancy of the workers who, it will be remembered, are affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. through the D.G.B. But the right-wing social-democratic trade union bureaucrats, terrified by the masses' fighting spirit, succeeded by manoeuvres and subterfuge in smashing the strike after four weeks of struggle and in imposing a compromise on the workers who only got one-quarter of the wage rise claimed.

In INDIA, the Bombay textile workers were victims of deepening poverty while the rivalry between their trade unions too often rendered them powerless in face of unbridled exploitation. They found the correct way of putting an end to their setbacks. They set up a *single union* covering all men and women textile workers. Their militancy increased, and demands which yesterday remained unsatisfied have now been won by their more powerful and united trade union organisation.

In CHILE, 15,000 workers employed in the copper mines of the Anaconda Copper Company and the Kennecott Copper Company forged a victorious united front to win higher wages and the introduction of labour safety measures. Office and commercial workers launched a nation-wide united strike in August in support of their demands, the dockers in the port of Santiago fought for better wages and

the Valparaiso workers united to prevent the dismissals decided by the employers. These important mass actions have nothing in common with the intrigues of individuals acting without concern for the workers' interests.

In ARGENTINA, railway locomotive drivers and firemen came out on strike for the fourth time in less than a year to win a sliding wage scale, the reinstatement of dismissed workers, the release of their imprisoned leaders and the right to elect their trade union leaders themselves.

In the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' union (expelled last year from the C.I.O.) took a stand against the powerful monopolistic employers, and 58,000 of its members came out on strike with the support and backing of 40,000 workers belonging to the A.F.L. and the railwaymen's unions. They achieved a united fighting front which is a living example of the development of the drive for unity existing in the U.S.A. among the workers of all rival trade union organisations, in spite of the policy of dividing the workers carried on by the leaders of the A.F.L. and C.I.O.

The leaders of the A.F.L. decided to put an end to the (top-level) C.I.O.-A.F.L. "United Labor Policy Committee." The electoral motives behind this move are obscure to no one. What is less well known is that in the factories, workers belonging to the A.F.L., C.I.O. and other organisations are uniting more and more extensively to oppose the intensified exploitation imposed on the working masses by U.S. imperialist policy. The aim of the reactionary leaders of the A.F.L. is to smash this drive for workers' unity.

In GREAT BRITAIN, the Congress of the T.U.C. took place in September in Blackpool and the leaders of the General Council of that organisation were able to measure the extent of the disorder which they are creating in their organisations. They manoeuvre with the undemocratic block vote of the Transport and General Workers' and Municipal Workers' Unions. They secure decisions which do not represent the desires of the vast majority of the British workers, who, it is clear, have views and opinions on the question of wages, their country's economic independence from the American monopolists, and the defence of peace, which are no longer the same views and opinions as those held by the leaders of the T.U.C., bogged down by their own contradictions.

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THUS the events which have occurred since the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau meeting in July 1951 have confirmed its statement that :

"The continuous reduction of the workers' standard of living is counterbalanced by a steady rise in the incomes of big business who are making tremendous profits and are intensifying exploitation of the workers and attacking their rights. The outcome of this is the extension of strikes in capitalist and colonial countries."

Similarly, the truth is becoming increasingly apparent of another remark which is also a recommendation of paramount importance from the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau to all trade union leaders, no matter what trade union position they hold :

"In these circumstances, the workers expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. The trade union organisations cannot stand aloof from the action undertaken by the workers."

Finally, the fact is also confirmed that the anti-unity policy pursued by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. is, in certain countries, an obstacle to the success of the workers' demands and, therefore, one of the causes of their dire poverty.

Their anti-unity line, like their anti-Soviet policy, both of which are the inevitable outcome of their dependence on the policy of the imperialist governments, provided the I.C.F.T.U. leaders with the meaning and content of their reply to the W.F.T.U.'s telegram. This reply, which does no honour to its authors, is an insulting challenge to the working class, which, on an ever-increasing scale, is achieving united action, the fundamental condition for a victorious struggle for its vital interests.

Different in both tone and content was the reply from the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions which announced in friendly terms that the W.F.T.U.'s proposal would be submitted to the next session of the I.C.C.T.U. Council, in November 1951. It would seem that the leaders of the Christian Trade Union International gave a sharp lesson in elementary politeness to those great humanistic teachers which the I.C.F.T.U. leaders claim to be. They also set them another example in the form of a course in modesty.

When the Electrical Trades Union delegate J. N. Frazer reproached Vincent Tewson, new President of the I.C.F.T.U., at the British T.U.C. Congress in Blackpool, for the insulting tone of the reply to the W.F.T.U., Tewson was unable to give any valid explanation to the Trades Union Congress in a country in which so much is said about "fair play."

Naturally, the question at issue is not one of paying tribute to "fair play." *The actual question is the concrete proposals made by the W.F.T.U. to reverse the present situation which, in the capitalist and colonial countries, means a terrible burden of suffering and poverty for millions of working men and women and for their children.*

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WE shall not fall into the trap set by the I.C.F.T.U. which would like to close the door on the possibility of discussions with the W.F.T.U. by pouring out assertions, insinuations and insults intended to be brought up in discussion so as to hinder unity, wherever the first effective attempts at united action have been achieved between W.F.T.U. supporters and members of the I.C.F.T.U.

We shall not allow such a disgusting manoeuvre against unity to develop without taking measures to render it ineffectual.

The first of such measures is for the working men and women in the factories, on every job, not to allow themselves to be fooled into discussions whose purpose is

to set the Catholic, Socialist and Communist workers against each other. Their sole concern must be their common interests and the reaching of agreement on the best way of gaining satisfaction for their common demands, which the I.C.F.T.U. attempts to sabotage by its anti-unity policy.

"Give us proof of your sincere desire to serve the workers' interests," the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. say without a smile to the W.F.T.U.

On July 6th 1951 we had proposed a meeting with them for the purpose of taking joint measures against the outrageous profits made by big business and in order to halt the deterioration in the workers' living conditions. Their reply is their way of proving that they want to serve the workers' interests but the workers are not fooled. Furthermore, by what right, by what privilege or by what special virtues do the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. claim to ask the W.F.T.U. for proof of its loyalty to the working class?

This lack of modesty would border on comedy if the subject were not such an important one, if the question at stake were not the workers' interests.

"What have you done or what are you going to do to speed up the conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria?" the I.C.F.T.U. leaders ask the W.F.T.U. They accompany their question with outrageous insults against the Soviet authorities.

The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. make a wry face when they are told that labour has urgent claims to defend. Then, without fear of ridicule, they ask the W.F.T.U. to do the same as they : to concern itself with "State Treaties." This gives an impression of grandeur and of distance from the " pettiness " connected with wage issues. The men of the I.C.F.T.U. want to give the impression of having letters after their names and diplomas. But they have short memories.

When, last year, the American and British authorities wanted to intervene with armed force against the Austrian workers out on strike for higher wages, why did the so-called "free" I.C.F.T.U. keep silent? why did it not intervene to advise against the use of armed force against the workers? Why did the I.C.F.T.U pass over in silence the fact that the Soviet authorities, although requested by the American authorities, refused to intervene against the striking workers?

After the investigation trip I made in November 1946 to Austria, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat examined in January 1947 in Paris, the situation of the Austrian workers, this meeting being attended by a trade union delegation led by Böhm, President of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

In agreement with the Austrian delegation, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat decided that the Austrian Federation should put its proposals before the W.F.T.U. General Council meeting in Prague in June 1947. The General Council could take a decision inviting the four Trade Union Centres : the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, the British T.U.C., the United States C.I.O., and the French C.G.T., to give their combined support to the Austrian Trade Union Federation. The President of the Austrian Federation put its proposals to the W.F.T.U. General Council.

The then President of the W.F.T.U., Arthur Deakin, who was chairing the General Council meeting, refused to allow Böhm's proposals to come up for discussion. He asked that they "be removed from the W.F.T.U.'s agenda so as to leave the Austrian Trade Union Federation free to submit its proposals to the four occupying powers if it so desired."

These are precise and irrefutable facts. We have in our possession our file on this matter. The Austrian Trade Union Federation was thrust to one side in 1947 by those who, in 1951, dare to ask the W.F.T.U. : "What have you done?"

The I.C.F.T.U. also asks : "What are you going to do?" We are aware of the numberless difficulties of industrial, intellectual, professional and agricultural workers in Austria. We know that the big landowners, the capitalist industrial companies and business men are getting rich in Austria. When we made our proposal to the I.C.F.T.U. on July 6th we did not exclude Austria from the countries where the workers need the help and solidarity of the trade union organisations of all lands. The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions must be aware of this. The I.C.F.T.U.'s answer to our proposal was NO. It refuses any contact with us and then puts a question an answer to which it knows, or should know, can be made within the framework of the official and public proposals of the W.F.T.U.

The Austrian workers, and all members of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, are entitled to ask themselves if the attitude of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders towards them is not a pure and simple double-cross.

In its reply, the I.C.F.T.U. also asks the W.F.T.U. "on what grounds did the Secretariat expel the Yugoslav trade unions from the W.F.T.U. in contravention of its Constitution?"

It was the Executive Committee which in May 1950 in Budapest, took the decision to expel not the trade unions, but the leaders of the trade unions of Yugoslavia from the W.F.T.U. executive bodies for having violated the W.F.T.U. Constitution. The proposal was made to the Executive Committee by the Secretariat and was unanimously endorsed. "On what grounds?" asks the I.C.F.T.U. It indicates the fundamental reason when it writes that it does not believe that freedom of association exists in Yugoslavia.

We did not wait for the I.C.F.T.U. to tell us this. The leaders of the Yugoslav trade unions, like the Spanish phalangists, or Peron's men in Argentina, do not represent the workers. Several thousands of Yugoslav workers, honest trade union leaders, were, over the past year, brutally thrown out of their posts from the Government and with the collusion of those men whom we expelled from the Executive Committee and the General Council of the W.F.T.U. because they were not worthy to sit in these bodies.

The I.C.F.T.U. expresses surprise at this decision. It takes up the defence of the expelled. But if it sincerely recognised that trade union rights are being violated in Yugoslavia, how could it reproach the W.F.T.U. with having taken the first

measures to expose to workers all over the world this infringement of trade union rights by the individuals guilty of this misdeed?

The I.C.F.T.U. mentions the Yugoslav trade unions, but it does not, as we do, call for the restoration of normal trade union rights to the Yugoslav workers and an end to their material poverty. This is not its aim. By referring to Yugoslavia, it is merely carrying out a low political manoeuvre. It repeats on its own behalf the anti-Soviet campaign which Tito and his gang are waging in order to obtain the dollars and sterling they need to dominate and oppress the Yugoslav people.

Here, the I.C.F.T.U.'s reply and its questions are just one more diversionary tactic.

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THE leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. put other questions to the W.F.T.U., aimed still more than the two preceding ones at opening polemical arguments which would make it possible to avoid discussions on the precise and definite purpose contained in the W.F.T.U. telegram; namely *action in favour of the workers' immediate demands.*

The I.C.F.T.U. is aware, for example, that the W.F.T.U. has submitted many reports to the Economic and Social Council protesting against the holding in prisons or concentration camps in many capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, of active workers and trade union leaders.

The I.C.F.T.U. knows that for the past four years, we have been putting irrefutable documents on forced labour and slave working conditions before the Economic and Social Council. It keeps silent or pretends to be unaware of this aspect of the W.F.T.U.'s activities. Would this be because of its desire to deceive its own members as to the active role of the W.F.T.U. in all questions of vital importance to working men and women?

The I.C.F.T.U. asserts that it is a free organisation and that it does not take orders from any government. It asks "if the W.F.T.U. can say the same." We are ready for discussion on this subject with anyone whatsoever.

No government whatsoever has ever given orders to the Executive Bureau, to the Executive Committee, the General Council or the Congress of the W.F.T.U. The I.C.F.T.U. leaders know this full well. We are prepared whenever this proves necessary and in line with the interests of the labour movement, to examine with the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. what constitutes a free workers' trade union organisation, acting solely and essentially in the service of the exclusive interests of working men and women.

For the moment, the situation is one of wages "freely" losing their value, of "freely" increasing poverty, of children who "freely" suffer, of men and women "freely" without jobs, of families "freely" without shelter.

When the W.F.T.U. takes the initiative of proposing joint action by all trade unions to diminish this distress, the I.C.F.T.U. "freely" replies with an outburst: "You are against economic recovery," they tell the W.F.T.U.

As far as the fight for economic recovery is concerned, Brother Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.T.U., for example, has done more at the head of the organisation he leads in Italy, the C.G.I.L., than any of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders has done in his own country, and all the Italian workers know full well the underlying reasons for the fact that Italy remains in a state of economic stagnation, in spite of the C.G.I.L.'s persevering and intelligent activity.

In what form of economic recovery have the I.C.F.T.U. leaders taken part? They participated in the restoration of the big profits of businessmen in the capitalist countries, under Marshall Plan sponsorship. No one, not even the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, denies that the working class in these countries is experiencing uncertain, unstable and deteriorating living conditions. Such is the social background of the artificial economic recovery preached by the I.C.F.T.U. The outcome of their policy is a condemnation in itself.

We know of countries which suffered terribly from the second world war. In 1945, at the end of hostilities, the devastation was immense and their national economies were completely shattered. The trade union organisations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania gave their aid and assistance to the population of those countries. Steady progress in their national economy has taken the place of yesterday's chaos. There, economic recovery is not a source of profits for a privileged few but, on the contrary, it inevitably involves the steady raising of the living standards of the working masses. The national resources are effectively the property of the nation. Not only has the national economy *recovered,* it has also *developed.*

If the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. gave a less willing ear to the rantings of Chiang Kai-shek's emissaries, they would be able to hear the sound of the work going ahead on the new building sites in the towns and countryside of Democratic China where the trade unions are actively promoting the construction of a new national economy.

The trade unions and their leaders in these countries have gained experience of how to bring about the economic recovery of a nation. This has no comparison with the chattering of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders. The builders in the People's Democracies show up to advantage in any comparison with the patriots who perorate in the I.C.F.T.U. on economic problems and show their ignorance or their incapability of providing any of the solutions desired by the working people. The I.C.F.T.U. speaks of the halting of economic recovery in the capitalist countries. This is an

admission of the consequences of the policy of preparing for war now in operation in those countries.

There has been no halting in the Soviet Union of economic development, of the building of socialism, of the creation of a still better life. And yet the devastation caused by the Hitlerite hordes in the U.S.S.R. had no precedent in history.

Only the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. seem to be unaware of these facts today.

But at the present time, some thousands of workers belonging to the I.C.F.T.U., from the United States of America, Great Britain and Scandinavia have been able to see, during valuable visits to the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, what economic and social development means. Face to face with reality, they have made many observations, and each one of them justifies the role of the trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. in their drive to improve the welfare of the working people. This positive "trade union" balance is to the credit of the W.F.T.U. and very favourably compares with that of the I.C.F.T.U.

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WE shall continue, as did the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau in December 1950, to advocate the extension and development of such exchanges of delegations which represent an important contribution to the maintenance and extension of friendship and mutual assistance between the workers of all lands.

The I.C.F.T.U.'s reply to the W.F.T.U. proposal will encourage us to take more, and bigger action towards this end. Fresh initiative must be stimulated in spreading the truth and in making it accessible to the largest possible numbers. It is absolutely essential to provide the workers of all lands with the means and possibility of finding out and knowing where and who their friends and defenders are. In an essential and beneficial campaign we shall expose the activities of those who are deceiving them.

When we wrote to the I.C.F.T.U., we expressly stated that the programme of economic and social demands which we drew up together at the London World Trade Union Conference in February 1945, could, in view of the worsening living conditions of working men and women in capitalist and colonial countries, act as a concrete basis for a meeting between the I.C.F.T.U. and the W.F.T.U. It could also be the point of departure for a joint campaign.

To reply as the I.C.F.T.U. leaders did, with insults and anti-Soviet provocation, shows that the hatred which has possessed them has made them lose that freedom of judgment to which they declare themselves devoted. The W.F.T.U. will help the workers belonging to the I.C.F.T.U. to prevent themselves from being the victims of this hatred. We shall help them to understand that the leaders of the

I.C.F.T.U. have proved that they are not free to accept our proposals and that they are deprived of this freedom by their integration in their respective governments' policies.

In actual fact, the I.C.F.T.U. reply was not intended either for the members of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau or for the millions of members of our organisation. It is clear that the I.C.F.T.U. leaders drafted it with the sole aim of justifying themselves in the eyes of the workers under their influence. They intended to create a state of mind among them which, if it got the upper hand, would render impossible any friendly alliance and joint action among workers of different trade union affiliations.

The W.F.T.U. will not allow the important question of united action among the workers to deviate in such a direction. The W.F.T.U. will prevent polemics from taking the place of friendly discussion among the workers whose common aims can be achieved through common struggle.

The I.C.F.T.U. reply sought to provide an additional obstacle to united action by the workers. *This obstacle must be removed in every factory, in every industry and trade and in every country, by new pro-unity initiative for the defence of the immediate interests of all workers without exception.*

The questions put to the W.F.T.U. by the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, most of which are merely insolent, will be given the best answer by the development of our activities to achieve unity, which has made considerable progress over the past few months.

The W.F.T.U. General Council, meeting next November 15th, will not fail to record fresh progress if our unity policy in the ranks of the working class has been firmly and consistently applied, in spite of the splitters.

At the W.F.T.U.'s call, the fight for the united action of the working masses in all capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, must be pursued without respite.

ACTION MEANS A STEP NEARER VICTORY.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

The Fight For Workers' Unity in Italy

by LUIGI GRASSI

● *Member of the Executive Committee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour; assistant to the W. F. T. U. Secretariat in charge of the Trade Departments.*

ON September 19th, all rail and postal communications and all public services, both inside Italy and with the outside world, were immobilised for 24 hours—1,600,000 State employees were out on strike.

The Italian Government Press which, on the eve of the strike was asserting that the movement constituted "an attack on democracy," endeavoured the next day to demonstrate that the State employees' participation in the strike — jointly launched by the three Italian Trade Union Centres: C.G.I.L., C.I.S.L., and U.I.L.—had been very "small." But another source, hardly to be suspected of sympathy with the workers, the American *New York Herald Tribune,* was forced to admit in a paragraph on the front page that even in most of the Ministries, from 75 to 90 per cent. of the employees had come out on strike and that those travellers who had believed the Government's official declarations, had been held up for hours in the trains until there were enough non-strikers to start the train.

This strike of September 19th was the follow-up of another big demonstration by Italian State employees on May 8th which was the signal for a struggle for a 12 per cent. wage increase and for the sliding scale. How did it become possible to launch this great united nation-wide strike on September 19th? It was the fruit of extensive prounity explanation work carried on day after day at all levels, among State employees of all views, political opinions and religious beliefs.

At the beginning of the year the leaders of the C.I.S.L. (most of them Christian Democrats), affiliated to the Scab International, refused to consider joint action with our C.G.I.L. and the U.I.L. (organisation led by Social Democrats); and the C.G.I.L. was therefore forced to start work alone, without further delay. But pressure from their members and fear of a complete exposure forced the C.I.S.L. leaders to conclude an agreement with the C.G.I.L. and the U.I.L. for a joint four-hour strike on May 8th.

During the following months, the campaign continued at workers' meetings, where resolutions were adopted and delegations sent to Parliament. Then token strikes were organised in each region of Italy.

Whereas the Government had previously held out against a discussion of the sliding scale and in-

creases in wages and salaries, as a result of this common action Prime Minister Gasperi was forced into declaring that he recognised "the advisability of establishing a sliding scale for State employees, proportional to the cost of living."

But after this first success had been won by the workers' unity, the leaders of the C.I.S.L. decided after the Scab International Conference in Milan to break this unity. The Government assisted them by giving the workers a wage increase which amounted to a ridiculously small sum and represented an insult to their poverty and courageous struggle. Its effect was to arouse their justified indignation.

But the rank and file workers' unity was stronger than the political manœuvres of the disruptionist leaders, who found themselves once again forced to accept united action with the C.G.I.L., and a joint decision was taken for a 24-hour general strike, including railway workers, on September 19.

This strike must be viewed as another episode in the energetic battle the C.G.I.L. is waging for united action by all Italian workers. Loyal to the W.F.T.U's programme and uniting the absolute majority of organised workers in the country in its ranks, the C.G.I.L. has proved itself worthy of the confidence placed in it by the Italian workers, 80 per cent. of whom vote for it in Works Committee elections (called "internal commissions" in Italy), in the factories, offices, workshops and farms.

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AN extremely flourishing movement of popular initiative for alliance and unity has grown up in Italy in all spheres of social activity. In spite of the efforts made by the disruptionist leaders (provocation and stool-pigeons, with the approval of the monopolists and the Government police), the number of strikebreakers is steadily falling. Generally speaking, all workers have united in the actions taken in defence of dismissed workers, against the closing down of industries, and for the creation of bodies to promote production.

It has even been possible to set up solidarity committees, agitation committees, and town committees, composed of representatives of all trade union organisations, all local economic groupings (tradesmen, craftsmen, intellectuals, etc.), representatives of all associations, and even of all parties. Often, even representatives of the Christian Democratic Party have been forced to join in these committees in order to avoid general disapproval and condemnation.

United delegations have been sent to local authorities and to the Government to discuss their problems. This united action has made it possible to wage struggles lasting weeks or months, as for example in the Ansaldo plant in Genoa, the Ilva works in Savona, the Naples I.M.M.I., the Reggiane works at Reggio Emilia, and the Savigliano and Nebiolo plants in Turin, etc.

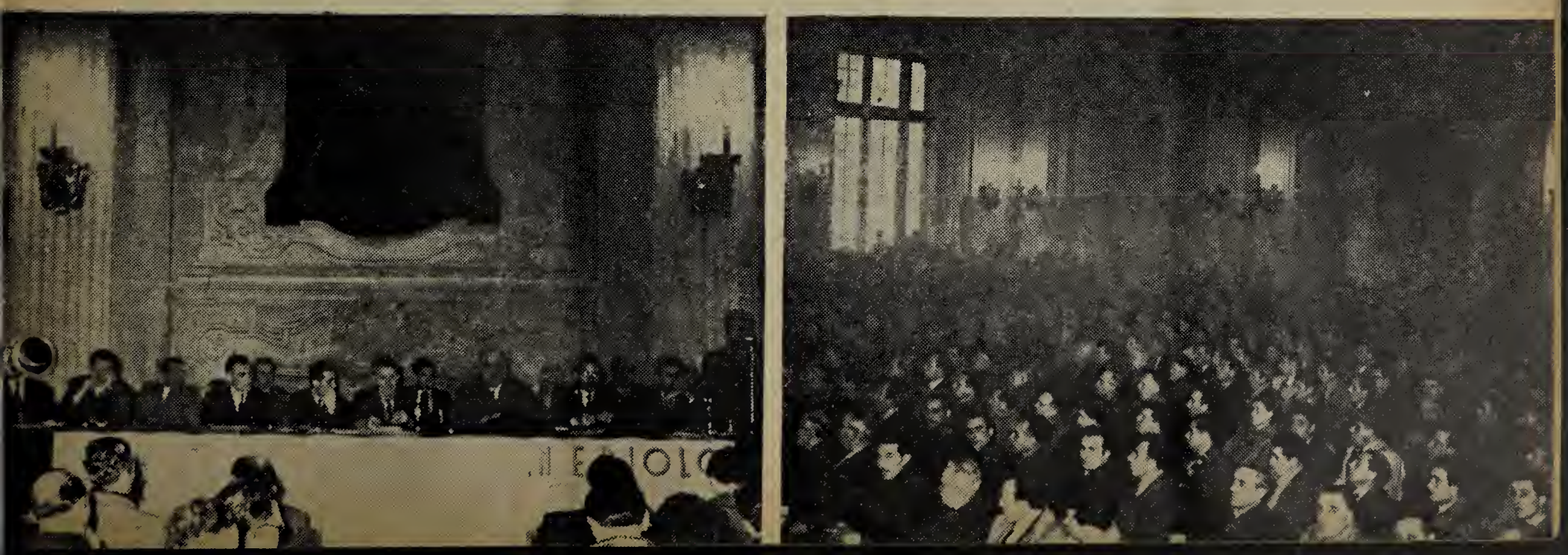
At the Ansaldo works in Genoa, for example, factory committees were set up to carry on the struggle against dismissals, with representation from the shop stewards' committees, the works committees, and representatives of technicians and clerical workers of all trade union affiliations.

At the Fiat plant in Turin, the workers belonging to all trade union organisations, as well as unorganised workers, achieved united action on the basis of a common programme of demands in the fight against speed-up and for the employment of 3,000 unemployed.

United action was also attained in practically all strikes and other movements for demands in the textile industry.

Another united movement was the countrywide work stoppage in protest against the arrival of

Workers of the Nebiolo machine tool plant in Turin meet to protest against the decision to halt production. Members of all the trade union organisations, C.G.I.L., Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, independents, technical workers and the unorganised, unite in this protest action.



May Day, 1951, in the Piazza Costello in Turin. Three hundred thousand people took part in a huge parade lasting three hours.

General Eisenhower in Italy. For the first time in two years, Christian Democrats and Social Democratic workers took part in a great strike against the Italian Government's war policy. As a result of the broad unity policy pursued by the C.G.I.L., even priests and other representatives of the clergy manifested their solidarity with the fighting workers.

In Fucino, Vomano, the Parano Delta and in many other areas, district and borough Communist, Socialist, Christian Democrat and Social Democratic leaders have waged joint struggles for jobs and land. In this way, they intensified the fight against the landowners, the industrialists, and the Government, as well as against rearmament.

Even in more backward areas, where unemployment and poverty are at their worst, as in Calabria, in the Abruzzi, and in central and southern Italy, broad unity was achieved, first of all among the share-croppers, the unemployed and poor peasants in each parish, and secondly, among all trade union organisations, with the support of wide sections of the population in the district. The result of this struggle was the winning of a number of jobs and the initiation of public works schemes and, more particularly, the strengthening of the democratic organisations.

The break which occurred last year between manual workers, professional workers and technicians is beginning to be healed. Professional workers are beginning to understand that they cannot defend their jobs and improve their living conditions except by uniting with the working class. One important event should be noted in this connection, namely, the manifesto issued by the professional workers and technicians employed by Fiat in support of the factory workers' struggle. Mention should also be made of other significant happenings, namely, the united action achieved by all postal workers' trade union organisations in March, bringing victory to those workers even before all workers were out in the united general strike declared with the full agreement of all organisations; also the united action of tramway workers and the great united strikes of April 25th and May 8th launched by public service workers. After a great deal of resistance, the disruptionist leaders were forced by pressure from their members to accept

the C.G.I.L.'s proposals for a common campaign, only one week after they had refused to do so.

These and many other facts prove that *the need for united action to win satisfaction of demands has penetrated so deeply into the minds of Italian workers of all views that neither the opposition of the American bosses nor the passive obedience of the splitters can prevent them from achieving it.* This basic truth will penetrate increasingly deeply into the minds of ever broader sections of the workers whatever their views, whether they belong to parties or not, and whether they are manual or intellectual workers.

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GREAT prospects for united struggles and the attainment of working class unity are thus opening up before the Italian workers, and particularly before the C.G.I.L. But it is nevertheless important not to forget the fact that although it may be true that this broad unity policy has contributed to the defeat of the splitters' attempts, sponsored and financed by American imperialism, serious perils still threaten both the working masses and our trade union organisation during the present period of intensified preparation for war and attacks on democratic liberties.

The result is that heavy responsibilities face our trade union organisations and confront them in their activity, and the C.G.I.L. is perfectly well aware of this fact. It is for this reason that the C.G.I.L. has awakened the vigilance of all of its organisations, particularly those composed of trade union leaders and cadres, so that each of them concentrates its entire energy on strengthening united action, particularly among the rank and file, on improving their work for unity and, above all, on speedily eliminating sectarian errors.

The C.G.I.L. has, therefore, launched a campaign for the clarification of ideas and policy inside its organisations from one end of the country to the other. But it is not sufficient to have a broad basis for action. The orientation of our local organisations is of far too general a character and sometimes they do not have a sufficiently clear policy for reducing to the minimum the harm inevitably caused by the split among the workers, and achieving the maximum united action in every agitation movement, in every strike and in every action taken by the working masses.

But to achieve this aim, trade union militants and the most conscious workers must not deal in words alone with the question of working-class unity. They take concrete action by always taking the lead in the workers' struggles, by demonstrating that they are truly the firmest defenders of the workers' demands and are among the best organisers and leaders of the daily struggle, and by showing a high spirit of sacrifice linked with a clear conception of reality and responsibility. They must also show the greatest possible aptitude for work and organisation in order to reach and bring in the widest possible sections of society.

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THE considerable results and success won in the sphere of the fight for unity often lead to the mistake of underestimating the danger of division and of believing that henceforth, the problem of trade union unity has been practically settled in Italy and that the fight for the *reconquest* of trade union unity can therefore be abandoned.

But the problem of trade union unity has not been solved in Italy, firstly because there are still millions of unorganised workers who must be recruited into the C.G.I.L.; secondly because the disruptionist organisations, even though weak, nevertheless still exist.

It is absolutely necessary to eradicate completely that sectarianism which still exists with regard to the disruptionist organisations. It is a big mistake not to draw any distinction between the leaders and the workers, or between national, federal and local leaders, and to see in all of them "nothing but enemies". Certainly, the question is a complex one, but it must be viewed without preconceived ideas and with a desire for unity. We must know how to differentiate *because we must win back unity—in the factories, in the workshops, in the offices, among all sections of the working class—unity for action by all workers whom we have not yet succeeded in uniting in the ranks of our organisation.* We must not, therefore, allow ourselves to be dominated by fear, by an absurd distaste for *making contact with all those who can contribute to the workers' unity around common demands.*

We must be still more bold in proposing united action to the other trade union organisations, every time the workers' demands would benefit and whenever it is possible to promote a campaign.

Since the interference of the Americans, it is true that it has become more difficult to work for unity of action with the splitters' central executive bodies. But recent experience has shown that in this sphere also, we can achieve very considerable results. Furthermore, the disruptionist leaders must be confronted with their responsibilities; there must be no hesitation in making them concrete and reasonable proposals for united action to win common objectives.

If they refuse or evade the issue they will not fail to be severely judged by their own members who, sooner or later, will act in line with their own interests and not in line with directives from the American boss and his agents in Italy.

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IN order to succeed in this task, it is also important to prevent oneself from falling victim to *provocations aimed at deepening dissension and causing a series of sometimes grave incidents among the workers themselves, thereby sharpening their division.* It is on this that the landowners, monopolists and the Government are speculating in order to weaken and paralyse the trade union organisations so as to be free to wipe out the gains achieved by the workers and to pave the way for rearmament, fascism and war.

To combat the propaganda spreading hatred and the harmful, disruptionist manoeuvres, we must develop a spirit of solidarity and fraternity as widely as possible among all workers. We must reply with a broad campaign to wipe out the organisational basis of disruptionist activity by extending our action to the special floating groups on the edge of the great family of the working class.

The basic condition for this entire unity policy is the existence of a great and powerful C.G.I.L. This year's renewal of membership cards shows that the C.G.I.L. has not only maintained its position but has become still stronger. But it is still possible to recruit hundreds of thousands of still unorganised workers, and, among trade unionists, fruitful work can still be done to develop a spirit of unity.

The central problems of the great united struggle invariably remain the fight for bread and work for the millions of Italians who are deprived of them, the fight for higher wages and better treatment of industrial and agricultural workers and all workers

Workers of Turin unite in demonstrating against those who would impose starvation upon them by closing the factory. Their placards demand higher wages and the right to live. They demand the saving of the plant.

in general, the fight to defend Italian industry and to carry out agrarian improvement, in short, for all the points contained in the C.G.I.L.'s Plan of Work for the prompt achievement of industrial and agrarian reform—the subjects of promises which so far have not been kept—and for the speedy application of the most urgent nationalisation measures.

We must act in the factories, offices and rural areas, among those in jobs and among the workless, among professional workers, technicians and civil servants, among all workers in all types of occupation and all sections of society. We must intensify the campaign for the development of working class unity and the alliance of the entire population for the victorious defence of the workers' bread, the economic and social development of Italy, threatened democratic rights and the supreme possession of Italy and the whole world—peace. This is the path mapped out by the C.G.I.L. for all its organisations, leaders and militants, and for the entire Italian working class and people.

The Fight for a Sliding Wage Scale

By

HENRI JOURDAIN

Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Metal & Engineering Workers (TD of the WFTU)

EVEN before June 1950, date of the United States' aggression in Korea, the ruling circles in capitalist countries set about converting their economies to a war footing. One of the most important results of this is the mass rise in prices.

Present price rises, which result from the very character of war economy, cannot be considered as temporary. On the contrary, the resultant situation can only be reversed by a return to a peace economy and to a peace policy.

This confirms the inseparability of the fight for peace and the fight for an improvement in the workers' living standards.

Every time commodity prices rise, the workers' real wages fall and he is even less able to renew fully his labour power, with the resultant effects of undernourishment, nervous exhaustion, sickness and premature old age.

The sliding wage scale, that is to say the automatic readjustment of the price paid for the worker's labour power in accordance with the price increases of goods and commodities used to replenish this labour power, is consequently perfectly justified.

One objection often made to the sliding scale is the following: by setting up an automatic relation between wages and prices, the sliding scale runs the risk of fixing once and for all the purchasing power in effect at the time the sliding scale is established, and of depriving the working class of any prospect of further improving its lot. Is this correct?

This objection is completely discounted by those workers who see to it that their trade unions, controlled by themselves, continue to be the instruments of a united struggle for the continual raising of the material and moral living standards of the working class.

The sliding scale is not a panacea, nor is it an ideal. In a period of war economy, it is a measure which guarantees the workers against the whittling down of their purchasing power.

It is therefore clear that whenever the ruling circles and the employers are forced to accept the sliding scale, this can in no way whatsoever be detrimental to the trade unions' constant struggle for an increase in real wages.

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CAPITALIST ruling circles proclaim their determination to carry out the freezing of wages and prices.

In actual fact, but for the workers' struggle, wages would be frozen at a time when prices are soaring.

Despite the desire of ruling circles to camouflage price rises, it is impossible for official statistics to ignore them entirely.

The *U.N. Bulletin* for August 1951, states that since June 1950, wholesale prices have increased by 16 per cent in the U.S., 25 per cent in Great Britain, 34 per cent in France and 24 per cent in Western Germany. These official figures are naturally well below the true facts.

The workers know that these increases grow when they are passed on to retail prices.

On Janury 26, Truman decreed a wage freeze in the United States.

The West German government announces a 15 per cent rise on all prices, whereas wages are to be increased by only 10 per cent. But the fact that best

shows Adenauer's real intentions in relation to wages, is his announcement, along with the rise in prices, of heavy food restrictions.

In Sweden, the government's financial plan envisaged a consumer price increase of 10 per cent, and talked of "stabilisation" on that basis. In plain language this means a wage freeze.

In France, while prices are rising daily, the government holds out as long as it can against the general wage increase which the ever-growing united action of the workers will force it to grant. Thus while the Government fixed the basic minimum wage at 20,000 francs a month, the three main national Trade Union Centres are demanding *jointly* a minimum wage of 23,600 francs, barely sufficient to meet the rising cost of living.

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WORKERS in many industries in the United States, in Great Britain, in Western Germany, in Belgium, in Italy, in France, in India, in Chile, in Mexico, in Indonesia—in general, ever greater masses of workers in the majority of capitalist countries, are closely uniting and undertaking continual strike movements or other forms of action to enforce the granting of a wage increase and to reduce the gap between their wage levels and ever soaring prices. *In other words, in capitalist countries at the present time, the workers are uniting, in fact, in the struggle for a sliding wage scale although it is clearly understood that their action is not limited to this aim alone.* It cannot therefore be doubted that the demand for a sliding scale corresponds at the present time to an immediate need of the workers, who refuse to pay the cost of the pro-war policy.

The unity of action achieved for this demand has been so strong in Italy among steelworkers and those in other industries that the workers have enforced the accepting, to their advantage, of the practical application of the sliding scale. At the present time all State employees, including railwaymen, irrespective of trade union affiliation, are waging a unified struggle to achieve this demand. In France, the workers' pressure is so strong that the leaders of the Christian Union and the (right-wing socialist) Force Ouvrière have been obliged to speak in favour of the sliding scale, and unity was achieved on this issue among the representatives of the three main French Trade Union Centres at the National Committee for Collective Agreements. The National Assembly at last had to accept the principle of a wage sliding scale. In Sweden rank-and-file workers are also demanding sliding scales.

It is clear that the conditions of application of the sliding scale are not the same in the different countries.

In the United States the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is used as a basis in working out the sliding scale; in Italy, only that part of wages known as the "special cost of living bonus" varies in proportion with the rise in the cost of living.

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SUPPORTED by the trade union leaders who obey the orders of the Scab International, the employer-government coalitions do their best to render null and void the advantages the workers gain from the sliding scale.

Without consulting the workers concerned, Walter Reuther, anti-labour President of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.), had signed a five-year contract with the management of General Motors which affected the interests of the 434,000 workers employed by this corporation. Under the workers' pressure, Reuther had had to put in the contract a clause on the sliding scale. In order to wipe out in practice the effects of this clause, the contract contained other clauses aimed at paralysing during the five years it was in force any action for their demands by the hundreds of thousands of General Motors workers.

Truman's wage-freeze decision of January 26, 1951, was aimed at destroying all the hopes of American workers for benefiting from a sliding scale clause in their contracts. Rank-and-file workers immediately protested and took action in all possible ways, including strikes. The Washington Government was forced to announce that in order to prevent the possible outbreak of strikes in industries where the collective agreements included *a sliding scale clause,* it had decided to authorise wage rises based on increases in the cost of living. This first capitulation by the government meant a rise of more than 10 per cent in the wages of nearly 3 million workers who benefit by the sliding scale.

In Belgium the reactionary leaders are sabotaging the sliding scale: firstly by agreeing that the wage rate used as a basis for calculation should not be raised as a result of increases in living costs already registered, which "legalises" a lower purchasing power; secondly by accepting in advance a decrease in wages in the event of a fall in prices; thirdly, by accepting a completely false cost-of-living index on the basis of which wages would be revised only every three months and when the index average varied by 5 per cent.

Belgian workers are reacting strongly and showing that arrangements for the sliding scale can always be improved in the interests of the working class. The 5,000-odd workers in the Antwerp ship repair yards won recognition of the principle that their wages be revised every month in relation to the previous month's index. However, these new arrangements were only accepted by 2,204 votes to 2,068, and the struggle for further improvements continues.

NOMINAL wages are not the only factor determining real wages. It must, however, be agreed that under capitalism real wages are mainly dependent on the nominal wage rate. *At the present time, therefore, the continual struggle for an increase in nominal wages takes on more than ever very great importance at a time when the capitalists are attempting by all possible means to cut down real wages.* They raise wages, increase working hours, increase speed-up and carry out wage cuts according to the sex, age, race and nationality of the working men and women.

The workers will not lose sight of the fact that at a time when they are refused a sliding wage scale, *their capitalist exploiters are enjoying a real and scandalous sliding scale of super profits,* thanks to which they are happily preparing a third world war, reducing the working people to the most frightful poverty and ruining the national economy. The figures given below (taken from official sources and, therefore, well below the real situation) give an eloquent illustration of this sliding scale of capitalist super profits.

In the United States, from 1949 to 1950, eight steel firms increased their profits by 146,100,000 dollars or 18 per cent. Statistics available in early September 1951 showed that in the first half of this year corporate profits had risen 45 per cent on an average in the U.S. After taxes, leading Companies reported corporate profits 76 per cent above those for the corresponding period in the peak wartime year 1944.

At General Motors, in 1950, while wages rose by a meagre 4 cents an hour, super profits rose by 40 cents per working hour.

In Great Britain, from 1949 to 1950, five aircraft and automobile companies increased their profits by 6,919,000 pounds sterling, or 74 per cent.

In Western Germany, the total turnover of the Siemens Company (electrical and engineering construction), which was 700,000,000 DM in September 1950, is expected to show a further increase of 200 to 300 million in the current year.

In France, the net profits of 59 engineering firms rose from 785 million francs in 1946 to 1,964 million in 1947, 4,499,500,000 in 1948 and 5,506,000,000 in 1949.

In Belgium, in 1950, the National Armaments Factory announced a gross profit of 235,200,000 Belgian francs as against 138,500,000 in 1949—a 70 per cent increase.

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IT is, therefore, mainly on a factory basis, and with the widest unity, that the fight for the sliding scale must be carried on, with the aim of getting this claim written into collective agreements and ultimately made law.

The economic and social programme of the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.), drawn up in Turin in 1949, already claimed "increase of real wages and the guaranteeing of their purchasing power by an adjustment proportional to each rise in the cost of living."

In the present international situation this programme is fully identical with the interests of workers in capitalist countries. And this is why, leaving aside the splitting manoeuvres and police provocations of the Anglo-American trade union bosses of the Scab International, the workers, in fraternal unity, are waging a vigorous fight *for an increase in their wages and the guaranteeing of their purchasing power through the sliding scale.*

An examination of the international economic and social situation shows clearly :

1. *That the sliding wage scale is a legitimate demand of all workers in capitalist countries.*
2. *That it offers them a basis for international unity of action.*
3. *That in fighting for the sliding scale, the workers are dealing telling blows at the economy of war and misery resulting from the war policy of the international capitalists and their governments, supported by the agents of the U.S. State Department at the head of the self-styled "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."*

This examination also shows, on the other hand, a progressive increase in the purchasing power of the wages of workers in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, where the workers have ensured the triumph of socialism or are boldly advancing along the road of socialist construction.

The peoples of these countries, who benefit from the peaceful economic developments resulting from the peace policies of their workers' governments, have in recent months or years seen their living standards continually rising.

They have benefited from :

(1) Successive price cuts, and on several occasions simultaneous increases in their nominal wages;

(2) Social security improvements affecting themselves and their families; housing, pensions, holidays, free medical attention, trade training, schools, etc.

(3) A constant increase in the number of workers employed on peace production.

The representative power of the Trade Unions Internationals is measured less by the number of their members than by the numbers of workers who, in one country or another, are gathering together and fighting on the basis of their programme, which forms part of the great aims of progress, peace and freedom which are those of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Labour Organization - Madagascar - 1951

PIERRE BOITEAU
Former General Secretary of the Trade Union Council of Madagascar

The Rise of the Labour Movement in Madagascar

WAGE-EARNERS form a very small part of the population of Madagascar, roughly 5.5 per cent. The very low wages they receive are a source of profit for the colonialist exploiters. Wages today, on the basis of the minimum rates fixed by decree, amount to between 40 and 80 francs per day, while rice, the staple diet, costs 25 francs per kilogramme and the prices of other foodstuffs are on the increase. Since 1895 (date at which France occupied Madagascar), the purchasing power of the vast majority of wage-earners has fallen by about 50 per cent.

But this is not the only source of profits for the colonialists. They seized by violence our great natural resources, depriving the people of Madagascar of the benefits drawn from them. This was true, for example, of the most fertile lands. By 1948, concessions of 1,541,146 hectares of land had been granted to the French and 98,353 to foreigners, compared with 58,237 to Malagasies (native Madagascans), of which only 198 hectares were permanent concessions.

Huge forestry and mining concessions have also been made to big colonial companies.

The peasant masses who have not been driven off their land are overburdened by taxes and deprived of most of the product of their labour by the truck system, that is, the agents of the companies and the small tradesmen under their control only sell such imported products as cloth, sugar, salt, and oil in exchange for agricultural produce, thus making double profits. For its part, the Administration forces the peasants to sell their produce immediately after harvest and usually at very low prices, in order to pay their taxes. Poverty is so great that these cultivators are unable to purchase even the most essential materials. Thus, 700,000 peasant families possess between them only 15,000 ploughs. The others have to turn the earth with spades or burn forested areas and sow on the cinders, thus avoiding ploughing and weeding.

This is the situation which provides the wealth of the local companies: *Compagnie Lyonnaise de Madagascar, Compagnie Marseillaise de Madagascar* and other branches of big French trusts such as the *Compagnie Générale des Colonies* and the *Société Financière Francaise et Coloniale*, themselves dominated by the all-powerful *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*.

The public and private capital invested in fifty years of occupation of the great island, represents in terms of the present-day value of the franc about 300,000 million francs. In return, the powerful monopolies have transferred more than 250,000 million francs to Europe in the form of income from investment. They have forced the Malagasy people to pay more than 300,000 million francs in taxes for the maintenance of their apparatus of oppression. Their seizure and pillage of the national wealth represents a sum of more than 6,000,000 million francs. This is

the balance sheet of fifty years of oppression, to which must be added the 100,000 dead from the war of conquest and the "pacification," the innumerable victims of the imperialist war, and the 89,000 innocent people massacred or dead from starvation during the 1947-48 repression.

In *Capital,* Karl Marx wrote, a century ago, that the wealth amassed outside Europe by pillage, slavery and murder, flowed towards the colony-owning countries and was transformed into capital. The subsequent exploitation of the Malagasy and French workers by capitalism was based on just such crimes.

DEVELOPMENT & CHARACTER OF THE WORKING CLASS

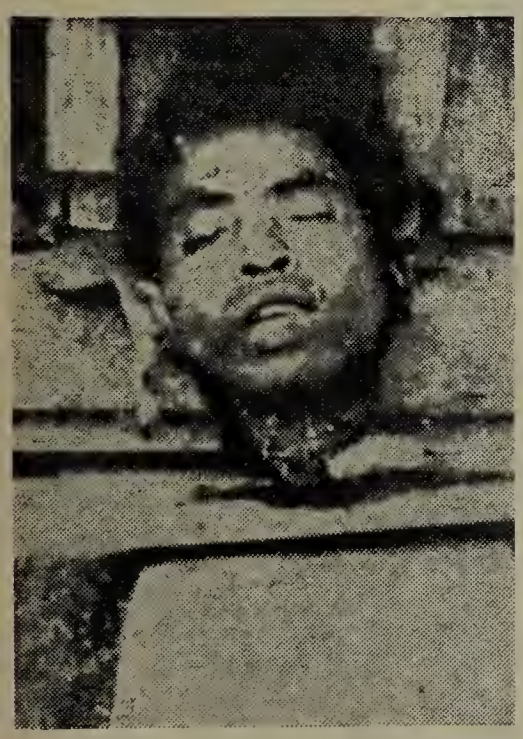
AS we have said, the number of wage-earners is low, amounting in 1948 to 220,300, not including domestic servants (num-

The women of Madagascar join with the men in protesting against the evils of colonialism in their country.

A peninsula near Diego-Suarez, on which is located a concentration camp maintained by the colonialists.

bering about 40,000). This figure is rising rapidly since in 1939 there were only 130,500. But the biggest increase is among agricultural workers, peasants who have been driven off their land. In the same period they have increased from 54,000 to 83,400. The number of industrial workers, on the other hand, has remained roughly the same—48,000. Industrial development is, in fact, being systematically impeded, as in all colonial countries, and there are only extraction industries such as graphite and mica mining; or industries for the working up of agricultural products—sugar refineries, vegetable oil works, flour mills, and canning factories.

Practically all wage-earners are peasants, or sons of peasants, who have been driven off the land. Many of them still cultivate a small strip of land or rice-field, hiring out their services only for a few months every year in order to be able to pay their taxes or make some indispensable purchases. They remain closely linked to the peasantry, and the demands relating to land and the price of agricultural produce are as important in their eyes as those which concern them directly. However, there is an old tradition of collective organisation in Madagascar. *Akanga Maro tsy vakin' amboa.* "When there are many fowls, they are not dispersed by the dog," says an old proverb. The demand for trade union rights has given rise to widespread popular movements.



Ruthless crimes are committed against the Malagasy people by the Imperialist rulers. The head of a murdered Madagascan worker.

HISTORY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

MADAGASCAR was granted trade union rights by decree on March 19, 1937, after the 1936 strikes in the canning industry and among Government employees. Malagasies were then obliged to prove they could read and write French in order to be permitted to join a union. This outrageous restriction was removed on April 1st, 1938, after more struggle.

Two groups of trade unions then came into being, both belonging to the French C.G.T. On the one hand there were the trade unions of Government employees led by Frenchmen. On the other hand, there were unions of manual workers and particularly peasants, under Malagasy leadership. The development of these weak and divided organisations was halted by the world war and they remained inactive until the end of 1943. A territorial Trade Union Council was then organised and developed with the democratic trend which followed the liberation of France and the general weakening of imperialism. In 1946, this Council covered 80 trade unions with a membership of 12,000.

In addition, many peasant families were indirectly attached to the Council through co-operatives which were set up to combat the difficulties in obtaining supplies of imported goods, particularly cloth, and to fight the black market.

The labour movement could have developed still more rapidly if the leadership of the Trade Union Council had not made two mistakes, which considerably hindered its work. On the one hand, the workers' demands were not sufficiently linked to the general demands of the people—particularly with regard to the land—nor to national aspirations, such as the right to independence which the people of Madagascar unanimously demanded. On the

other hand, the trade union leadership, part of which was French, slowed down the development of Malagasy cadres by assuming the main responsibilities itself.

But the efforts made in this period were not in vain, and it was partly due to the solidarity of the structure which was established and to the peasant and national links which the Council had preserved that the trade union movement was able to resist the terrible repression which followed the events of March, 1947.

THE 1947 PROVOCATION

THE colonialist elements in Madagascar watched the growth of the Malagasy national movement with terror. To them it meant the end of the big profits made out of the labour of the people. The Administration, which was under their control, attempted every method of crushing the movement—large-scale arrests of leaders, shameful pressure on voters, attempts to corrupt leaders, intimidation measures such as the seizure of collecting cards and funds, the burning down of the homes of certain leaders and even murder, in the villages in the "bush."

But none of this achieved its purpose. In the provincial elections of January, 1947, the M.D.R.M. (National Movement) still obtained the majority of the seats. It was at this point that the police, on orders from the imperialist government, framed an attack on the military camp of Moramanga. Immediately repression of unbelievable savagery was launched. Women and children were massacred, entire villages were razed to the ground. The fear hysteria, which had been carefully cultivated among the colonialist elements led them to commit abominable crimes.

According to the official declaration made by the Commander-in-Chief, General Garbay, to the commission of enquiry which went to the scene, 89,000 people were killed. 20,000 people were imprisoned including several hundred trade union leaders. Ravoahangy, Member of Parliament and a Secretary of the Council, was sentenced to death. Andriantsifahaona, leader of the peasants' trade union, was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Freedom of the press was abolished and a state of siege declared, with a ban on all meetings, even of family groups.

FRESH BATTLES

THIS was a terrible trial for the young labour movement in Madagascar, but it came out victoriously. In January 1948, the first dockers' strike was launched in the small port of Antalaha where most of the vanilla production is loaded. A 50 per cent wage increase was won.

In November 1949, the Congress of the Trade Union Council met in the small village of Ambohitrimanjaka, on the outskirts of Tananarive, in spite of a real state of siege. More than 300 police, most of them speaking neither French nor Malagasy, armed with machine-guns, barred the roads and surrounded the building in which the Congress was being held. Nevertheless, 180 delegates attended the different sessions, some of them coming

Right: **Colonial troops stand around the bodies of murdered Malagasies.**

Below: **A Malagasy village is burned to the ground by the colonial troops.**

from such distant towns as Diégo-Suarez and Monrodava.

Finally, in December 1950, a strike of the greatest importance broke out in the Diégo-Suarez arsenal, the maritime base on which the imperialists are relying to "hold" the Indian Ocean. For the first time, Malagasy, Comoro and Reunion Island workers stopped work in the most complete unity.

On the 22nd day of the strike 96 per cent of the workers still held firm and went back to work in an atmosphere of strengthened unity. A 100 per cent increase in the rate of family allowances was obtained.

Several months earlier, Malagasy workers in Tananarive had demonstrated their solidarity with the port and railway workers of Reunion Island, who were engaged in the struggle at the time, by preventing the government from recruiting drivers to be sent to break the strike in the neighbouring island. Some of them, sent there by force, refused to work in the port of Saint-Denis. The workers of Reunion Island demonstrated, in their turn, their solidarity with the workers of Diégo.

Thus new bonds of great importance were created, undoubtedly giving fresh impetus to the labour movement throughout this part of the Indian Ocean.

WORKERS' DEMANDS LINKED WITH THOSE OF THE PEOPLE

THE workers of Madagascar are fighting for higher wages. The Trade Union Council is demanding a minimum living wage of 180 francs per day in the big towns.

The workers are demanding the abolition of racial discrimination and the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work. Petitions have been signed for the rapid introduction of a labour code based on this principle.

They are also demanding the introduction in Madagascar of legislation on work accidents which effectively covers all risks faced by the workers; and family allowances for all wage-earners (only civil servants and certain State employees are at present entitled to them, and even then the allowances are very low).

Civil servants are also calling for a single category in each branch, thus abolishing all discrimination as to the origin or status of the workers.

The workers are also fighting, together with the entire people, for the creation of new schools, education with priority given to their national language, the building of a sufficient number of hospitals and clinics; and against such unjust levies as the poll tax and direct taxes which affect the poorest sections of the population while the big companies benefit from scandalous exemptions.

They are fighting for the return of the land to the people of Madagascar.

They know that these demands cannot be fully won until the hated colonial regime has been dealt a death blow. The workers are therefore with the entire Malagasy people in demanding the independence of Madagascar.

But they also know that this struggle must be carried on day by day, that the small gains won from imperialism represent a blow against it and one more step along the path to national independence.

Another scene of a burning village, showing the terror and ruthless cruelty inflicted on the Malagasy people by their oppressors.

THE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE USED IN IMPERIALIST WAR

THE atmosphere of terror which still prevails in this big island, and the increased repression involved in the preparation for imperialist war have prevented the people of Madagascar from expressing their desire for peace with the full force of which they are capable.

Madagascar is, in fact, in a strategic position of the highest importance on the route to India, particularly in the event of the blocking of the Suez Canal. It is also an important reservoir of raw materials : graphite, uranium (one of the ores from which this precious metal is extracted bears the name of the small Madagascan town of Betafo), beryllium, coal (the Sakao coal mines in the south-western part of the island have an enormous potential), mica, rubber and, to a lesser extent, leather, beef, coffee, etc.

But the people of Madagascar know what fifty years of occupation have cost them. They want their freedom, and in spite of the savage repression, the imperialists will find the entire people ranged against them.

The workers and people of Madagascar stand together in their desire for peace and their opposition to imperialist war.

HOW AUSTRALIAN WORKERS WON MY ACQUITTAL

by FRANK HARDY

Frank Hardy, Australian working-class author, has recently been acquitted on a charge of criminal libel. His trial was an attempt to gag him and to suppress his book, Power Without Glory, *which exposes the gangsterism and corruption by which a man rose to great wealth and political power by the use of criminals, gunmen, politicians, judges, churchmen, generals, and the police.*

The terrorist methods used against Frank Hardy and the background for the libel suit were described by Wilfred Burchett in World Trade Union Movement *No.* 2, *January* 20, 1951. *In No.* 5, *March* 5, 1951, *we published an extract from the book,* Power Without Glory. *In this article Frank Hardy describes the role played by the workers in winning his acquittal.*

ON Tuesday, the 18th June, 1951, the drab Criminal Courtroom is crowded and hundreds wait in the corridors and out in the street. The press table holds a tense copy-hungry air. It is the last day of the so-called *Power Without Glory* case. D. M. Campbell, for the defence, addresses the jury for three hours. He is in brilliant form, tearing the Crown case to shreds. The accused has been robbed of the defence of truth and public benefit, he says. The Judge has also ruled out that the Crown need not prove the likelihood of a breach of the peace. Suddenly he cries: "Why is John Wren senior not here?" Witness after witness has alleged that the central character in the book, West, is based on Wren. "Why have Wren and his wife remained shadowy figures?"

The law of criminal libel is an anachronism, he contends; it is a dangerous threat to liberty.

When he is finished there is a buzz in the court, then the Judge sums up. Sitting in the dock, hope declines. Before he is finished I am resigned to being in jail again before the day is out.

The jury retires ten minutes before the luncheon adjournment. In the dungeon beneath the court I eat an orange and a sandwich which my wife has brought, and copy on the back of cigarette boxes messages of humour and despair, of hatred for judges and detectives, written on the walls by criminals awaiting sentence.

At two o'clock they take me back to the dock. The jury has reached its verdict over lunch. Is that a good or a bad sign?

"How do you say the prisoner is? Guilty or not Guilty?"

A silence you can hear sweeps through the Court.

The jury foreman stands erect and squares his shoulders.

"NOT GUILTY."

Loud clapping, cheering and stamping of feet break out in the public gallery. The face of the Judge turns crimson as he shouts for silence.

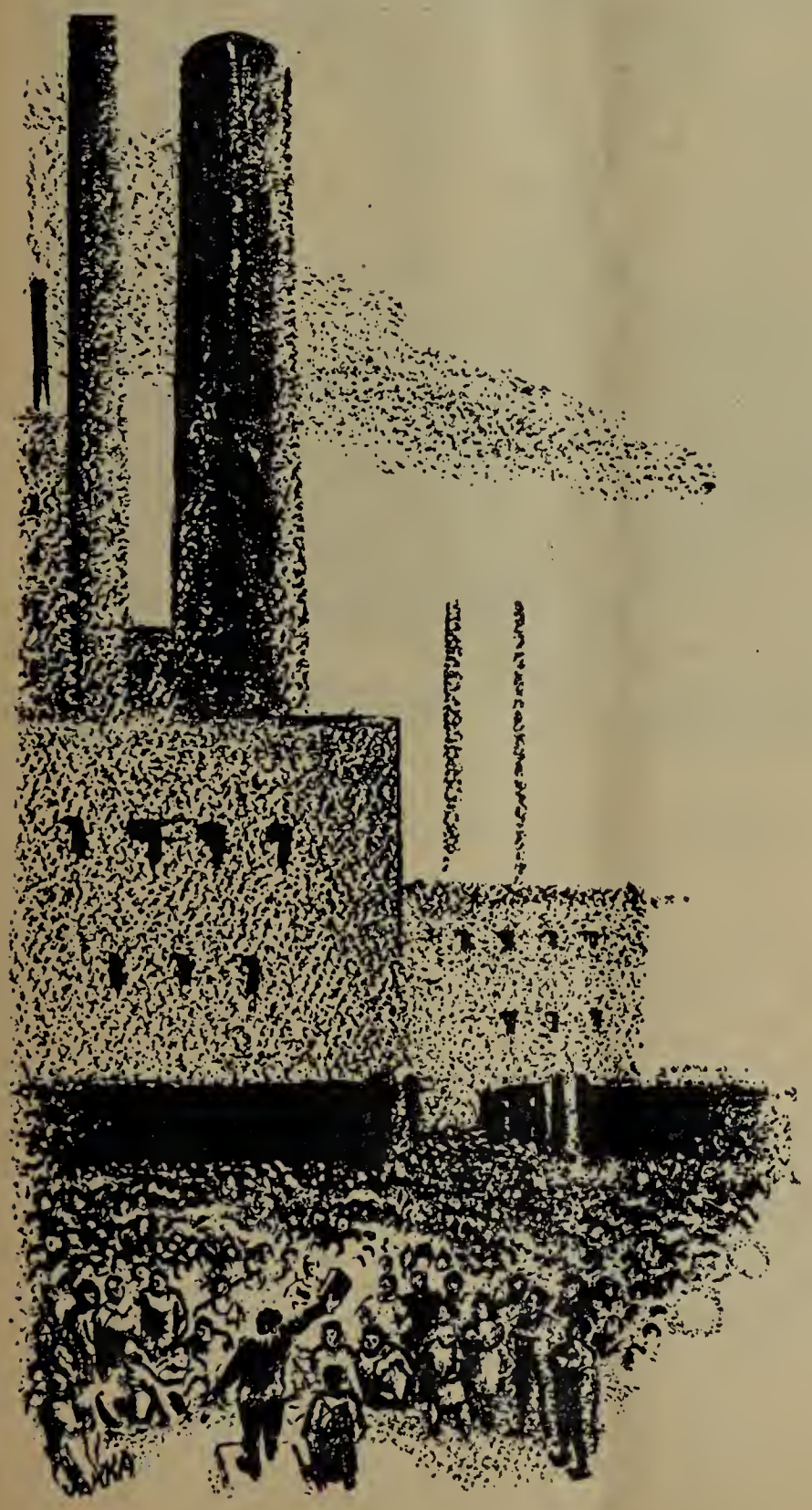
The long road has ended.

I WRITE this article in Berlin where I am attending the Youth Festival for Peace as a delegate for Australian Realist Writers.

Many people are surprised to see me because they thought I would be in prison. I am a free man because the Australian Trade Unionists fought tooth and nail to prevent the imperialists from silencing my pen and casting me into prison for many years.

In the W.F.T.U. Review of January last, you no doubt read Wilfred Burchett's story about *Power Without Glory* and the desperate attacks of the reactionaries. Now I would like to tell you what has happened since then.

Factory workers protest against the ban on "Power Without Glory" and the persecution of its author, Frank Hardy.



What has happened is an example of solidarity between worker and intellectual unparallelled in our country.

Near the end of his article, Burchett wrote:

"It is hoped that within the next few months a mass campaign will be started throughout the world by all lovers of liberty for the charges to be withdrawn against Hardy, for a resumption of sales of the book and for a restoration to the Australian people of those rights which have been taken away from them during the past few months."

It has worked out as he wished.

When I was first put in jail I was pushed into a cell with an old drunk. He was lying on the floor wretched, dazed and decrepit. After a while he became aware of my presence and seemed puzzled that a man with a blue suit and collar and tie should be in jail.

Eventually he propped himself on one elbow and asked: "If it's not a rude question, mate—what are you in for?"

"For writing a book!"

He scratched his head and looked most puzzled.

"What did you say?"

"For writing a book!"

The light of understanding dawned in his eyes and he replied: "Ah, you uttered a crook cheque, did you?"

In his own simple way he reasoned that the only way to get into jail for writing was to forge a cheque. But in their insane drive to war and their consequent need to silence criticism, the imperialists have found other ways.

In Australia, there have been several examples. Robert Close was imprisoned. Burns, publisher of the *Tribune* newspaper, is in a lonely cell. Edward Roach, executive officer of the great Wharf Labourers' Union, is still in jail. He was imprisoned for criticising in a Union journal a Judge of the notorious Arbitration Court. A few months earlier, the journal of the employers' organisation had been found guilty of the same offence (i.e. contempt of court), but was only fined £100.

One law for the rich and another for the poor.

Not only writers feel the last sting of the decadent political gangsters. Trade Union leaders, anyone who opposes their war plans, stand on the brink of the jails.

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WHEN I was eventually released on bail, a Defend Hardy Committee was formed with Alan Marshall, well-known progressive but non-communist writer as joint secretary with my wife,

Rosslyn. Twenty-seven organisations were represented. Several famous writers were members and many delegates elected by factories from the Union rank and file.

The Committee sent out tens of thousands of leaflets and held nearly 400 meetings, mainly at factory gates. Ten thousand signatures were obtained for a petition demanding my release and the repeal of the old 17th century law under which I had been charged. More than a hundred writers and other intellectuals signed a letter making a similar demand.

Messages of support began to flow in from all over the world. Australia's greatest lawyer was briefed and legal costs totalling nearly £3,000 were raised at meetings, mainly in sixpences and shillings from working men who realised the significance of the case and "stuck solid," as we say in Australia. The response of the people, especially the workers and intellectuals, was staggering.

The question was correctly posed at meetings:

A similar pattern to that in the United States is developing in Australia. In America, when the fascist axe was falling on workingclass leaders, writers, including Howard Fast and the Hollywood ten, were imprisoned. In America, they use contempt of court, in Australia they use criminal libel or the Crimes Act. To these old laws, Menzies and the reactionary State Parliaments have added new laws to attack freedom of expression and organisation. The pattern developing in Australia and America is similar to that in Germany immediately before Hitler. In Germany, Fascism led to war. In America and Australia it is aimed at war; only the united strength of the people can prevent it resulting in war.

All speakers were enthusiastically received. The book proved popular beyond my wildest dreams, and the campaign for my defence went along with the main stream of our people's fight for freedom and peace; a fight which, believe me, they are winning.

THE capitalist press in Australia at first treated *Power Without Glory* with a conspiracy of silence, but then one national magazine came out with a story entitled "The book that rocked Australia." Then the politicians, many of them angry and fearful, attacked vehemently. When the various court cases came on, the newspapers vied with each other for news stories. Front page headlines were the order of the day; and they played up the Communist bogey, seeking to discredit me and the book. The reaction of thousands of workers was: "If this book is communistic then there must be something in Communism."

Frank Hardy with his wife Rosslyn and their two children reading the collected signatures and messages of solidarity sent by the workers and organisations who secured his acquittal.

After the acquittal, Rosslyn and I were surrounded by hundreds of enthusiastic people.

"I'm no communist," one man said. "But I liked your book and I'm glad you've won."

When we agreed to go to Berlin the question arose: where is the money coming from? We were bankrupt. At six public meetings sufficient money was raised to get us to Berlin; we hope to obtain advance royalties on foreign editions of *Power Without Glory* to pay our fares home.

At a big farewell meeting in Unity Hall, Melbourne, on the eve of our departure, writers and Trade Unionists spoke. There was a tremendous feeling of friendship and unity.

The power of a united working class will smash thought control and the drive to war and Fascism. Books written by working-class authors are an important instrument of that power.

I told them that I did not know what I would see in Berlin, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but they could depend on me to write a book giving them the truth.

Meanwhile the police were busy again. Several members of the Committee, myself and Rosslyn were questioned about a leaflet published before the last court case. They could get no information, so charged the printer with contempt of court. We are awaiting news of this case with great interest.

My application for a passport threw a spanner in the works. The Cabinet decided: "Let him go, or there will be more trouble." Among the thousands of congratulatory letters, telegrams and phone calls were several threats. One theme was: "We will get you. You are running away, but the world is not big enough for you to escape us!"

They needn't worry, I'll be back.

But of course, such threats cannot intimidate us. We have courage because we have strong ties with the working people.

In conclusion let me say to the Trade Unionists and intellectuals the world over: "If we retain and cement our unity we are invincible."

Let us bend our every effort to preserve peace. The world trade union movement, in alliance with the progressive intellectuals, will be a decisive factor in the struggle ahead.

AN ALGERIAN IN UZBEKISTAN

by Bashir Merad

Secretary of the Confederated Trade Unions of Oran (Algeria), member of a North African delegation to the USSR

WE were off to visit a country which, after a long period of Tsarist domination, is now freed from the infamous colonial yoke under which our country, Algeria, still languishes.

Our curiosity was great; some of us were sceptical. It did not take us long to be convinced by the facts and to see the unimaginable differences which exist between Soviet Uzbekistan and our country.

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THE Uzbek people's sole occupation before the October Revolution was agriculture for which they were used more as beast of burden than as human beings. According to what the old people told us, under the Tsarist regime the Uzbeks worked under inhuman conditions, and a large section of the workers lived in caves. This situation still exists in our country, in the Tlemcen and Constantine areas. As was formerly true for Uzbekistan, this is the outcome of a colonial policy which enforces a wretched and primitive way of life on its subject peoples.

Before the 1917 Revolution, the Uzbek people did not know how to read or write. The Uzbek language was handed down orally. The masters of the country strove to change it and uproot it from the people's memory.

Nor was regular religious worship permitted. Like the French Government in Algeria, the Russian Government strictly determined the way in which worship was to be carried on. None of the people's traditions was respected and their history was held in contempt.

The Uzbek people did not have the right to education. In 1917, out of a population of several millions, there were only *three* intellectuals. Under the Tsarist regime, there were only 160 schools for the entire country, and even these schools were open only to the children of the big merchants, the Russian officials and the Bais (feudal landowners).

Political power was in the hands of a Governor and his administration, which secured his domina-

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Bashir Merad asked an aged Uzbek to explain the difference between the old and new regimes. He replied that in the old days he had been a slave. To-day his children have their homes and gardens, while he, too old to work, receives a Government pension.

tion by fostering division and dissension among the people. Racial discrimination was an accepted thing. Inhabitants of Uzbek origin were forbidden entry to theatres and social institutions. This practice is still in force in certain so-called democratic countries where coloured people do not have the right to go into certain establishments or even into certain districts.

The country's economy was designed to serve solely the interests of the ruling class. Its resources —those which were not left unexploited—were systematically exported. This created an ever growing army of unemployed comparable to that which is developing in Algeria today.

The backward state of agriculture was no less shocking. Landless peasants lived under a real slave system, perpetually in debt to the landowners. This was coupled with almost perpetual drought, and the desert-like steppes of Central Asia were invading the country.

In short, the entire life of the Uzbek people was as hard and laborious as that in colonial countries. The plunder and ruin of the toiling masses, political oppression and savage repression, stifling of religion, language and national traditions, illiteracy, racial discrimination and chauvinism : such were the characteristics of the colonial regime under the domination of which the Uzbek people lived.

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THE October Revolution brought a decisive change in the life of the Uzbek people as in that of all the Soviet peoples . Lenin and Stalin brought about an alliance between Russian workers and the Uzbek people for the common struggle against Tsarism and its colonial regime.

The October Revolution gave Uzbekistan independence and equal rights within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was then that Uzbekistan began to move forward. The land was handed over to the peasants. The Soviet Government decided on the immediate industrialisation of the country and caused hundreds of factories for all branches of industry to be built. The Tashkent textile factory which we visited has no equal in Europe. The manager is a former Uzbek worker. Ten thousand workers, 60 per cent of them women, are employed in the plant. Uzbekistan now produces 75 per cent of the cotton and 50 per cent of the silk used by the entire Soviet Union.

The workers work under conditions which made us think sadly of working conditions in Algeria. In this factory in the cotton capital of Tashkent, there are 160 doctors in permanent attendance for the 10,000 workers employed, whereas there are only 1,481 doctors for ten million Algerians!

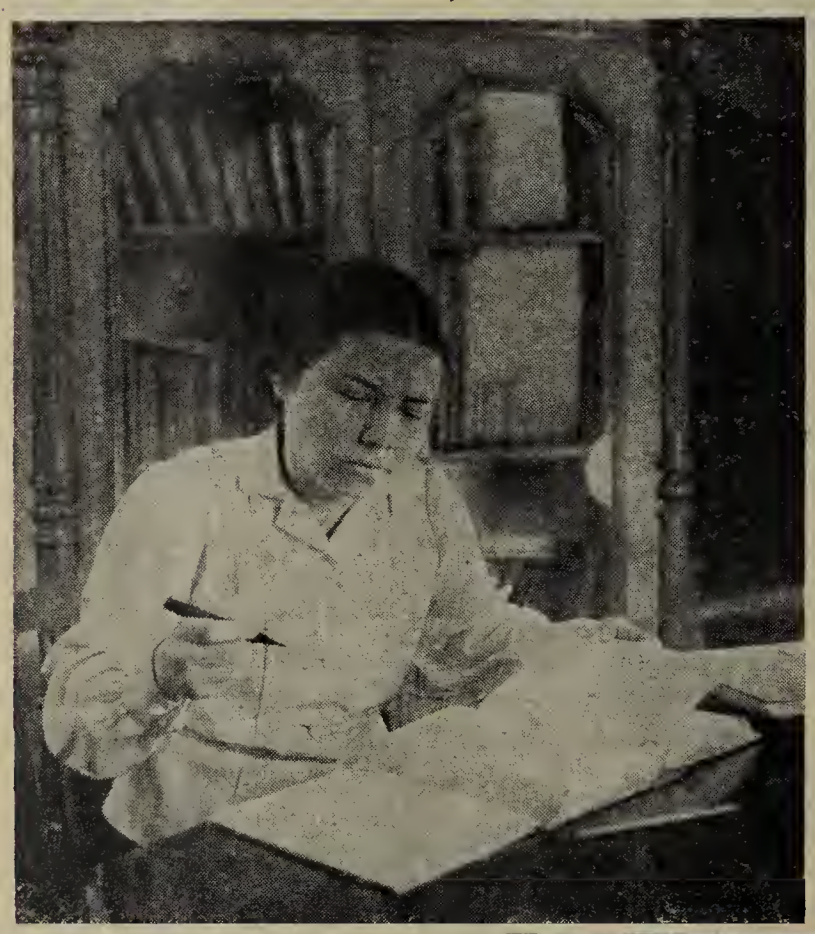
In agriculture, tremendous irrigation works have wrested more than 1,000,000 hectares of land from the desert. It took us a whole day to follow the course of the famous Fergana canal, 270 kilometres long, which was constructed in 45 days by 160,000 peasants and which has made it possible to create orchards and plantations on 800,000 hectares of previously uncultivated land.

No less remarkable is the expansion of national culture and arts. Uzbekistan has its Opera, its Academy of Sciences, 25 Institutes of Scientific

Research, 90 scientific institutions, 36 Institutes, and 92 Technical Schools, attended by 1,365,000 Uzbeks, including 400,000 girls. Of the 43,000 members of the teaching profession, 34,000 are Uzbeks.

There are now five thousand schools for the people. The slogan which is effectively applied, is: "Every child in school."

In Uzbekistan the theatres, cinemas, museums, and libraries are first-class. And, as in all the Republics of the U.S.S.R., racial discrimination has completely disappeared. To an Algerian this is a wonder to behold! What joy to see Uzbeks and Russians marching together towards a bright future, a future which terrifies the warmongers because it is as mighty as it is peaceful!



Above: **Casuda Sultanova, former student of the University of Middle Asia. She is now Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Mathematical Physics at the University.**

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AS in all Soviet Republics, Uzbek women enjoy the same rights as men. One finds among Uzbek women many scholars, teachers, painters, actresses, directors of museums and cultural institutions. Other women drive trolley-buses, trams and taxis. The Vice-Minister of Education is an Uzbek woman. For us Algerians such facts are beyond imagination. What counts there is personal worth and proof of the individual's devotion to the people and to socialism, not one's sex, not the colour of one's skin, nor, as in America, the number of dollars one possesses.

The things I saw in Uzbekistan are also to be found in all the other Soviet Republics.

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THROUGHOUT the Soviet Union national languages are respected. Thus in the Republic of Uzbekistan, with a population which is more than 60 per cent Moslem, Uzbek is the official language for the entire population, and, of course, in the administration as well. In Algeria, the mother tongue of 90 per cent of the Algerian population is regarded as a "foreign" language, and the colonial administration refuses to satisfy the desire of the entire people that its mother tongue be recognised as official.

In the Soviet Union the separation of religion from the State is a reality. This is not true of Algeria

Right: **The spinning department of the Stalin Textile plant at Tashkent.**

where applications for the appointment of a *mufti* or an *iman* must be dealt with by government agencies.

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IN the U.S.S.R., there are 3,000 mosques, and none of them have been put to other uses, whereas in Algeria, mosques have been transformed into cathedrals, churches and even stables, as is the case in Oran. In Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, a city of 600,000 inhabitants, there are sufficient mosques for the needs of the people. That is far from being true in Algeria.

The public libraries contain books on all subjects printed in Arabic or Uzbek for the free use of the people. We noticed a priceless manuscript of the Koran which the King of Persia had given to the Emir of Bukhara, written by Si Otman Ben Affane. We would like to know what became of the cultural and religious treasures which Algeria possessed before 1830, the year in which the French colonialists began the conquest of our land!

Freedom of worship is guaranteed on the sole condition that the clergy does not oppose the political and economic development of the country. Grand Mufti Baba Khan told us: " We have purified religion of all fanaticism . . . In the U.S.S.R., there is complete freedom of worship . . . Socialism is in the service of the people; the Moslem religion is also in the service of the people . . . . Socialism and religion are each following their own paths."

Formerly occupying an inferior status, Uzbek women to-day enjoy complete economic, social, political and cultural equality with men. As is true of the entire Soviet Union, the children of Uzbekistan are regarded as the Republic's most important asset.

Workers on the collective farms some distance from the town use the kolkhoz vehicles to get to the mosques in order to fulfil their religious duties at Friday prayers. This shows that far from being hindered, religious worship is facilitated.

The Mosques and clergy are financed by the worshippers, who administer the funds themselves. We would like to know the whereabouts of the

The President of the Stalin Kolkhoz, T. Kazimova (right) **and Schoolteacher N. Uldacheva visit the creche of their collective farm.**

Elderly collective farm workers, Heroes of Socialist Labour, from cotton plantations of Uzbekistan, gathered together to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

funds which belong to the *Habous,* holy places in Algeria, and who administers them?

Minority creeds are respected the same as the others in the U.S.S.R. The co-ordination of the aspirations of all religions is carried out by a body in Moscow called the Council of Creeds, attached to the Council of Ministers.

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AS is true in Algeria today, Uzbekistan before 1917 was prey to the imperialist colonisers. Socialism has changed the face of the country and the lives of its people. Thanks to Soviet power, the Uzbek people shook off the yoke of colonial oppression and they now enjoy complete national freedom. Its example must serve and guide us in building a free democratic and fraternal Algeria where happiness will prevail for all its sons.

A part of the great Fergana Canal, which is making it possible to utilise hundreds of thousands of acres of hitherto uncultivated land.

International Conference for the Defence of Children

The W.F.T.U. Secretariat, on September 12, 1951, sent the following appeal to all affiliated National Centres and Trade Unions International (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.)

Dear Brothers,

An International Conference in Defence of Children is to take place in Vienna (Austria) during the second half of January, 1952. The purpose of this Conference, which will be attended by doctors, scientists, educationalists, lawyers, parents, representatives of women's organisations, trade unions, etc., is to examine what must be done to defend the right of all children of the world to life, health and education.

This Conference will be called by a broad Sponsoring Committee composed of outstanding personalities from different countries. All people and institutions concerned with the future of children will also be invited to attend.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau decided at its last session, which took place in Vienna from 2nd to 6th July, 1951, to undertake joint action with the Women's International Democratic Federation and to back their campaign on behalf of the rights of children.

The W.F.T.U. appeals to all National Trade Union Centres and Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) to give their support to this Conference and to collaborate actively with the women's organisations in their own countries, particularly with those in industries employing a large number of women (e.g., textile and clothing industries).

The Conference in Defence of Children is not intended as a manifestation of the activity solely of women's organisations. All members of either sex, belonging to every one of our trade union organisations must contribute to its successful preparation and to the effectiveness of its work.

We are enclosing, for your information, the Appeal issued for this International Conference in Defence of Children and its programme. We request you to get into touch with the women's organisations in your own countries in order to co-ordinate activity and to ensure effective co-operation in the preparation of this Conference.

Fraternal greetings.

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

New Zealand Labour Struggle

ROUND ONE

by ELIOT V. ELLIOTT, President,

Seamens and Dockers International (WFTU)

THE New Zealand dockers' struggle against the Shipowners and the Government has passed its first stage. During the dockers' lockout the seamen, miners, freezing workers and drivers were on strike in solidarity action.

The best description I can give at the end of round one is to quote the dockers' official information bulletin issued on the 149th day of the lockout.

The National Strike Committee of all unions participating decided:

"After twenty-two weeks of the greatest industrial struggle in New Zealand's history in which 20,000 workers have stood alone against the most vicious employers' Government seen outside fascism, the locked-out workers and strikers hold to the principles of unionism more tenaciously and more consciously than ever.

"After squandering tens of millions of money and their last remaining moral assets to smash at the heart of the New Zealand trade union movement, the employing class has failed. Only the abandonment of union policy by the rank and file and the repudiation of their fighting leadership and represent victory to the employers.

"But, despite their heroic stand in the face of sacrifice, hardship and persecution for themselves and their families, the workers would have victory only if an aroused people had joined them to wipe out the Emergency Regulations and had compelled the shipowners and shipowners' Government to negotiate.

"*Neither capital nor labour can claim complete victory. The issue is yet to be decided.*

"In this situation the maritime unions could turn their backs to the sea and leave the employers to the chaos of their own making—and to the scabs. But the ships and the wharves are the seamens' and the watersiders' *own* workplaces. They are the ground, together with the mines, freezing works and other industries, where the battle for trade union rights must be fought and won.

"Now is the time for that battle to be joined. Now is the time to consolidate the magnificent fighting unity developed during this epic struggle.

"Supremely confident of conscious discipline of our ranks we call upon every individual member to return to work and hold up the banner of his union on the job.

"We call upon watersiders, seamen, miners, freezing workers, drivers, and all other unionists to stand by their fellow workers in a positive fighting programme to overcome screening, hold conditions, and clean out scabbery root and branch.

"In unity we have fought, and in unity we return to our industries to fight again.

"*In twelve months it will be time to say whose is the victory! We are confident in OUR strength!*"

This decision was subsequently endorsed at rank and file meetings of members of all the unions concerned.

The editorial in the Bulletin reads:

"LET'S HAVE A K.O. IN ROUND TWO!"

"*The great Waterfront Lock-out of* 1951 *is now over —in its preliminary stage—for the return to work of the unions involved in what will go down in history as the most momentous industrial struggle in New Zealand, brings about the start of a new phase of that struggle.*

"*The resignation of the Government marks the end of the first round—the second will be decided after the special General Election.*

"The call for the resignation of the Holland Government has been one of the issues at stake in this dispute, and it has been forced on them by the unparalleled solidarity and self-sacrifice shown by the watersiders and their allies.

"We have said repeatedly that the Government was groggy; that there was a wide rift among its followers (even among the members of Cabinet) regarding the handling of the dispute; and that they could not ignore the widespread protests against the legislated fascism of the so-called Emergency Regulations. Their resignation, hard on the heels of innumerable statements about how the whole country was solidly behind their actions, proves the accuracy of our assessment of the situation.

"The Government had committed itself so completely to its 'no compromise' role that it could not even negotiate without committing political hari-kari—the return to work of the involved unions (after inflicting what must be one of the heaviest losses of profit ever suffered by employerdom) now leads them to grasp at the only straw in sight, in the vague and vain hope that they will be able to emulate the Menzies Government in Australia and bluff the electors into giving them the chance to continue with their plans to build fascism in New Zealand.

"Our task is now clear—we must organise every man and woman in the country to end the persecution of the trade union movement; to remove the obnoxious Emergency Regulations; and to free our country from ties with the Yankee warplanners—we have won a chance by halting reaction—let's make sure of victory!"

The Australian dockers gave substantial financial support, amounting to about £35,000, to the New Zealand dockers and the Australian seamen boycotted ships for New Zealand and also sent five thousand pounds to the dockers and seamen.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

UNITED STATES

Thoughts Behind the A.F.L. Manœuvres

The A.F.L.'s top leaders, in their executive council meeting in Montreal, apparently decided on some overhauling of the Federation's policy. Among their decisions was one to break off the united front with the C.I.O. they have through the United Labor Policy Committee. The other was a political resolution advising affiliates to "sit out" elections where neither party offers a candidate whom labor could support. The resolution implied strong criticism of the Democrats.

The mentality of the 13 mossbacks who attended the council meeting will hardly arouse suspicion that their decisions are motivated by progressive sentiments. But the A.F.L. leaders, like those of the C.I.O., find it more and more costly to share responsibility for the war program and its by-products. They'd like to unload some of that responsibility.

By having in effect attached themselves to the apron strings of the Truman Administration, they share its growing unpopularity among the workers brought on by high prices, high taxes, enforcement of Taft-Hartley and the thought control hysteria. This task of helping Truman and the Democrats put over an unpopular program is especially galling to that sizeable section of the A.F.L. that never has been very much politically minded. Hence the feeling among the A.F.L.'s top leaders that it isn't very smart to be too cozy with the Democrats these days.

This feeling is encouraged by the Republicans who are an influential force in the A.F.L.'s leadership, the likely prospect of a Republican Administration after 1952 and the "practical" consideration of already now building platonic bridges towards the G.O.P.'s politicians. That explains the fresh reassertion of "non-partisanship" to the point of threatening to "sit-out" elections.

The break with the C.I.O. is due to several reasons related to the above. The C.I.O.'s leaders are more dependent on Truman Administration favors. They are virtually its prisoners. There is even a move in the C.I.O. to turn the U.L.P.C. into an instrument of labor's united action in the 1952 campaign, in support of Truman, of course. Attachment to the C.I.O. is therefore regarded by the A.F.L.'ers as a restraint on their "political freedom."

Secondly, the A.F.L.'s top leaders see the united front as of advantage to the C.I.O. They reason that with the Federation at well above 8,000,000 in membership, nearly twice that of the C.I.O., the moment is opportune to either absorb the C.I.O. through a merger or raid hell out of it and whittle it down to unimportance. But the "fraternal" air brought on by the united front has served like a shield for the C.I.O. It is a deterrent to raiding.

Other aspects of dissatisfaction among the A.F.L.'s bosses stem from the Marshall Plan. They are irked that the smaller C.I.O. has a bigger role in it. They don't see the State Department's view that the "leftish" past of the C.I.O. enables its Victor Reuthers to be more useful "labor envoys" to countries of Europe. They are more favored for their skill in slinging radical-sounding phrases.

It is quite apparent that all the factors that contribute to the thoughts of the A.F.L.'s leaders are not connected to the slightest degree with the advancement of the real interests of the workers. The united front was built in the first place on the basis of mutual service to the State Department in splitting the World Federation of Trade Unions, forming an Atlantic Pact "International" (ICFTU) and finally, through the U.L.P.C., co-ordinating labor backing for the entire program of perpetuating war hysteria, war orders and war profiteering. So the break up of the marriage needn't be a source of alarm.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that American labor needs unity as never before as the economic burdens of the war get heavier, the oppressive thought control atmosphere gets more tense and the 1952 election campaign draws near. Judging by the sort of thinking going on in labor's top circles, the right kind of a united front isn't very promising at the moment. The initiative and pressure for it will have to come from the local and regional organisations.

A good example of the type of united front that is needed is the Farmer-Labor Legislative Council of Oklahoma, organised last month out of a conference of the state A.F.L. and C.I.O., independent unions, farm and other organisations. They were able to come together on an 18-point platform of economic and social issues. Are conditions any more ripe in Oklahoma for that type of a unity than in other states? Most of the other states have an even stronger base of union, farm, Negro and political organisations for an electoral and legislative united front.

GEORGE MORRIS in *The Worker* (New York). 26.8.51

NETHERLANDS

The Road to Unity

In the long run, no one can fail to see that the war policy is a source of profit to a small group of rich businessmen, industrialists and bankers.

Similarly, it is no longer a secret that the execution of the arms programme is condemning workers, civil servants, intellectuals, small peasants and the middle classes to an existence rife with problems. According to official statistics the living standards of the Netherlands population has fallen by 13 per cent since 1948.

For these reasons, growing resistance is developing within the working class against the government's war policy. Building and wood workers, agricultural and metal workers, bakery workers, taxi drivers, transport workers and still other sections are waging a resolute struggle against unemployment and the high cost of living and for wage increases.

Although these actions have not yet taken on a mass character, they are nevertheless typified by a growing alliance and co-operation between members of the N.V.V. and workers belonging to the E.V.C., as well as by the great unanimity of view of the workers taking part. This was the case in particular for the building workers engaged on the Ijmuiden blast furnaces. Several hundred workers came out on strike in protest against the dismissal of 80 of their work-mates. The members of the different trade union organisations, headed by the workers belonging to the E.V.C. and N.V.V., unanimously demanded the withdrawal of the unconstitutional dismissal notices.

Nevertheless, the leaders of the N.V.V. (Socialist), the K.A.B. (Catholic) and the C.N.V. (Protestant) advised the men to go back to work and accept the dismissals. What happened then? The fight goes on in spite of this . . .

Serious differences of opinion unquestionably exist. Thus it is our categorical opinion that the support given to the present government by these organisations—a policy which is to the advantage of the big capitalists—is increasingly enslaving our country to American imperialism . . .

We do not conceal this opinion when we seek collaboration with the N.V.V. On the contrary, the sincere statement of our opinion on the disastrous policy pursued by the N.V.V. must be taken as the decisive condition for convincing the members of the N.V.V. that their organisation must change its line . . .

As for ourselves, we must always be ready to take action in support of the workers' concrete demands—however minor they may be—in spite of the differences of views which may exist on other points. In order to do this, it is essential to remove any distrust which may exist between members of the N.V.V. and the E.V.C.

For example, there are trade unionists—on both sides—who think that the drive for co-operation between the two organisations is basically just propaganda. These brothers have not yet understood that the E.V.C. takes extremely seriously the proposals for collaboration which it makes to the N.V.V., that it does not seek transitory successes gained by rhetorical exercises but aims exclusively at the defence of the workers' interests. These are the interests which our organisation has in mind in its endeavour to obtain unreserved cooperation with the N.V.V. for the raising of the workers' living standards, the improvement of their social conditions, the fight against unemployment, the creation of jobs for all, the resumption of the building of homes, etc.

BEREND BLOKZIJI, in *Werkend Nederland* (organ of the E.V.C.), 8.9.51.

FRANCE

For Total Unity of the Working Class

We publish below the text of a letter sent on September 10th by the Bureau of the French General Confederation of Labour to the following trade union organisations: C.F.T.C. (Christian Trade Union Centre), Force Ouvrière, C.G.C. (foremen and supervisors), and the Independent Teachers' Federation.

The Government's recent decision to fix the minimum guaranteed wage at 20,000 francs has deeply dissatisfied all workers. It took no account at all of the joint claim put forward by the representatives of our organisations in the National Commission on Collective Agreements.

The Government's decision merely offsets the rise in the cost of living since March 1951. On the other hand, the series of price increases decided or planned by the Government will have immediate repercussions on the cost of living and will inevitably lead to a new impoverishment of the working masses.

This line taken by the Government's social and economic policy, which is also the policy of the big employers, represents a grave threat to the living conditions of the working class.

We cannot remain indifferent or divided in face of the great anxiety which is taking hold of the workers. In spite of our differences on certain issues, we believe that we can and must reach agreement on the defence of the economic and social demands put forward by all our organisations, demands supported by all wage-earners.

The Bureau of the C.G.T. therefore propose a joint meeting of the following five main national workers' organisations: C.G..T., C.G.T.-F.O., C.F.T.C., C.G.C. and the Independent Teachers' Federation, in order to determine our common demands and the methods of joint action for obtaining them.

For your information, we would state that on the basis of the recent stand taken by all the organisations, the C.G.T. would be favourable to the following demands:

—Minimum guaranteeed wage of 23,600 francs per month for the legal working week of 40 hours with reference to the price level of 15th August 1951.

—The effects of this increase in the minimum wage on all wages salaries and pensions, and the methods by which appropriate wage differentials are established, to be determined by the organisations concerned, namely the national federations and their regional and local bodies.

—The sliding scale for all wages, salaries, and pensions.

—Action against the price rise.

All the C.G.T. organisations are calling for the abolition of the system of wage differentials based on geographical area. We know that a number of differences still exist between us on this matter but, in our opinion, these could be easily overcome in joint conversations.

As far as the methods to be used to obtain satisfaction for these demands are concerned, it seems to us that, in spite of the Government decisions, we could make use of the Act of 11th February 1950 on the unfreezing of wages.

After reaching agreement on a common programme, we could ask the French National Council of Employers to hold direct discussions for the purpose of reaching an agreement fixing the minimum wage at 23,600 francs, to be guaranteed through collective agreements, and introducing the sliding scale for all wage-earners in industry and commerce.

As regards State employees (civil servants, railwaymen, State and Public Service workers, employees of nationalised industries, etc.), we could recommend our respective organisations to reach agreement on common demands and could pledge ourselves to support them before their employer—the State.

The foregoing is merely information on our attitude with regard to our common problems and we are sending it to you solely for the purpose of facilitating that agreement between our organisations which evidence shows to be desired by all workers.

Naturally, we are now at your disposal for a meeting between your representatives and our own and for the establishment in these interviews and discussions of common agreement on the demands to be put forward and the forms of action to be undertaken for their satisfaction.

Le Peuple, 13.9.51.

GUATEMALA

A Country-wide Workers' Unity Congress

The most outstanding event in the Guatemala labour movement is to take place on October 11th of this year. On that day, a country-wide Workers' Unity Congress will be held in order to set up the United Trade Centre of Guatemala. This was the decision taken by the Preparatory Committee of the Guatemala Workers' Unity Congress (C.P.C.U.T.G.) on the basis of a suggestion submitted for its consideration by the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.).

The C.P.C.U.T.G. also recently decided to give impetus to the formation of three big Industrial Federations—covering transport, sugar industry and textile industry workers. Successful assemblies are at present being held and all measures towards this end are being applied.

On October 11th the Guatemalan Democratic revolution will be still further strengthened by the unity of its basic forces—the workers and peasants.

Octubre (Guatemala), 30.8.51.

AUSTRALIA

The Big NO

Fortyone years ago I came to this country in order to become a free citizen. I left behind my native country, because the despotic regime and laws of that country under czarism were unbearable . . .

Now what are we going to have in this country? What is that blackening the Australian horizon? Is czarism raising its head . . . in Australia? It appears that Menzies & Co., whilst fulfilling the orders of the Yanks, are planning to shackle the Australian workers, and with this in view, they propose a referendum. Through this referendum they are seeking power with which to enslave the useful people of Australia and inflict on them the same brutalities that the czar and Hitler once inflicted on their respective countries. It should be well remembered that under the guise of an anti-communist referendum, Menzies plans to outlaw any other organisation or union as well. So the people have not been given the opportunity of reading the proposed Bill. However, one cannot have any illusions that this extreme measure would affect all classes and all creeds without exception.

Such is the situation we are confronted with . . . calling for a vigorous campaign for a NO vote. This is no time for splits, groups of sects. We must be unanimous and win in order to save ourselves from extinction as a working class army. If Menzies gets his way, every Australian citizen will be under this vicious law. Our watchword and ultimate aim is to defeat this tyrannical legislation and preserve traditional freedom and democratic rights in Australia. Don't let the present rulers turn this country into a police state . . . consolidate the NO forces . . . Vote NO!

Maritime Worker (Sydney), 25.8.51.

WEST GERMANY

"We Did Not Want It to Happen . . ."

The anxiety of the French bourgeoisie at the revival of German militarism—sought and imposed by the American Government and obediently accepted by the rulers who speak in the name of France—are expressed, although timidly, in a barely concealed form by the semi-official French daily LE MONDE, *in an article by its regular columnist, Robert Borel.*

After describing the unification of former Nazi Generals and Admirals, whitewashed war criminals, members of the Waffen SS and of the old Steel Helmet league, into a single organisation called the "German Soldiers' Association," the author stresses the outrageous and threatening nature of the meeting held by this Association on September 9th, adding:

Indeed, it would appear that there is no cause for astonishment, nor even for indignation—who is there who still thinks of being indignant?—about the demonstration of September 9th. America wants the immediate rearmament of Germany, to which the majority of the German population is still resolutely hostile. The fusion of the Hitlerite ex-servicemen's associations seems to provide the biggest chance for the U.S.A. of seeing the creation of a military organisation capable of playing the role of "recruiting sergeant" without deday.

It would nevertheless be a mistake to think that the complacency shown towards the Wehrmacht, the Waffen SS and Steel Helmet groups will be sufficient to make them decide to drag their fellow citizens along the path of rearmament.

Other conditions are already being put forward in Germany. According to the news on September 1st (1951), during his recent visit to Bonn, Mr. Harriman is said to have had conversations with the two most important financial advisers of the Federal Government—Doctor Herman, Director of the Deutsche-Bank, member of thirty-two of the most important boards of directors of international business associations, and Doctor Pferdinenges, Director of a powerful banking group to which 40 per cent of the German steel industry belongs. These two financiers explained to him that the rearmament of Germany, in the form which had been discussed with American experts, would cost about 7,500 million dollars, and that "if it was desired to prevent rearmament from disturbing the German economy to the detriment of political and social order, the obtaining from the American Congress of credits of these dimensions would have to be considered."

If one considers the fact that economic aid voted by Congress to all the European countries for 1951-1952 amounts to 985 million dollars, of which, so we are told, France will get 150 millions (she will immediately have to pay back 147 millions to America as interest payments on her debt), one gets an idea of the size of the sum of 7,500 million dollars asked for by Bonn for rearmament.

It will be remembered that the Washington Government is now asking Great Britain to repay its war debt which amounts to £2,700 million, or 8,000 million dollars.

The result will be that if Britain complies and the United States accepts Germany's request for rearmament, the sum borrowed by Great Britain from the United States during the war in order to destroy the Wehrmacht—and which she now has to repay—will finally go to rebuild the destroyed Wehrmacht . . .

Perhaps it would be a good thing not to forget that hundreds of thousands of ex-servicemen and war victims in the countries of Europe which were invaded—particularly in France—are watching present developments in silence, but a silence which they must break more abruptly than one expects if the spectacle goes on . . .

Le Monde (Paris), 14.9.51.

ITALY

De Gasperi's Trip to America

The following extract from the organ of a group of big Italian industrialists, reveals that even in these circles, the present situation in Italy, brought about by the policy of its Government, is causing serious anxiety even to the most ardent of government supporters.

No extraordinary outcome must be expected from De Gasperi's trip to America, but it is a useful thing for the leader of the Government to explain in Washington the precarious situation of our country.

All groups which defend the present regime are victims of crisis. The crisis in the Christian Democrat party, basis of the present Government and principal nucleus of previous Cabinets, is particularly serious.

Not only home policy (which oscillates and is devoid of clear ideas), but also foreign policy has been a disappointment The unreserved and unconditional support of the campaign for European unity and of the Atlantic Pact has not won for Italy the place among the allied nations to which it is entitled as a toiling nation with a population of 46 million. The promises, however solemn, made by the allies regarding our eastern frontier threatens to become a "scrap of paper" and economic aid from the Marshall Plan runs the risk of becoming a weighty military burden which our economy will not be able to bear.

A difficult period is beginning: De Gasperi's parliamentary basis is unstable and the majority parties are divided and disrupted by internal splits. Economy and finance are carrying on by expedients which must not be extended. The question of Trieste is giving rise to lively popular reaction. This is an extremely serious situation which threatens not only a Government but a regime.

La Stampa, 8.9.51.

AFRICA

Tory Imperialism of British Labour Government

. . . . . In Bechuanaland there might be certain steps taken towards African self-government; but they are not being taken . . . The High Commissioner's job is merely to administer the territories pending their transfer to the Union of South Africa. And the Union of South Africa will most vigorously object to any social or political development, in these territories, which would prejudice the eventual right of the Union to tread on the necks of these Africans as thoroughly as it now treads on those of "its own Africans." So long, that is, as the British policy of protection is limited to conservation

without development—which will be at least as long as it is taken for granted that these territories will go back to the Union—there is no hope of real improvement.

To justify this policy of "arrested stagnation" British officials are inclined to say that "the African is not yet ready for changes in his favour." It seems that he would not know "how to use them." Such arguments do little more than bear witness to the spread of racialist ideas among British officials. For there is already enough experience in British Africa to show that they are worthless. One example must suffice. African trade unions promoted officially in Northern Rhodesia only two years ago have had spectacular and generally admitted success: and yet they are being run . . . by Northern Rhodesian Africans who have never been out of Central Africa, who have had no prior experience or knowledge of trade unions, and whose efforts are hateful to a great majority of the white population. It is an example which challenges the whole concept of "conservation without development" upon which, for far too long, our Administration in the High Commission Territories had founded its policy. The time is ripe for bold and vigorous change towards self-government and self-development.

New Statesman and Nation, 1.9.51.

SPAIN

Franco's Enslavement and Exploitation of the Workers

The 8-hour day does not exist. Working hours may not be longer in any particular small firm but this is because of the shortage of raw materials. In the big metal, electrical and chemical firms, not a single employee works less than 10 hours and, in many cases more. The worker who, for any reason, does not do more than 8 hours in his job is forced to work elsewhere as well, either in a workshop or on a buiding site or on some other work in order to improve his conditions. This statement is not intended to be a mere repetition of an only too well known fact: this situation has been in existence for many years, but today it has taken on enormous proportions. Thousands of workers leave home in the small hours of the morning and do not return before 9 o'clock in the evening, after doing a day of from 10 to 12 hours work. For example, a worker in the 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift then has one hour to eat and afterwards, he begins work again in another place. This means that as this work is generally done in the evening, his usual working day is 13 hours.

The same situation exists for clerical workers as for manual workers. Members of the Armed Police Force work on building sites or on other manual jobs. Some Army officers also work in other jobs outside their working hours.

But this exhausting increase in the working day does not solve the workers' most urgent problems: intolerable hunger and poverty.

The result of this regime of oppression and slavery is the pauperism of the workers. In 1936, a worker produced much more in an 8-hour working day than he does today in 12 hours. A clear example is provided by the case of the repairs to the oil tanker "Campuzano." This ship remained in dock for 15 months to undergo repairs which previously could have been done in less than 4 months.

At the same time, all sorts of abusive practices prevail, as for example, on the construction site of the Deusto canal, directed by the military. In order to avoid paying additional half-yearly bonuses, the undertaking dismisses the workers before they have been six months on the job.

We must endeavour to set up unity committees in all enterprises. We must organise the fight for the 8-hour day and for a minimum living wage adjusted to the price of food by the sliding scale. We must intensify the fight against the regime of hunger and war pursued by Franco and his bosses, the North American imperialists.

Mundo Obrero (underground newspaper, Madrid), 1.7.51.

CHINA

Science Serves the People

Under present circumstances it is clear that any sound plan for the promotion of scientific activity must function along two complementary levels. Specialists must be trained to meet the demands of the rising industries and suitable scientific knowledge must be disseminated among the various communities which so urgently need it. The old dilapidated scientific faculties, with a few part-time teachers and a half dozen students, are of course hopelessly inadequate. Definite plans have been made to divide many university courses into two grades, one lasting four years, and the other only two years. For the senior grade of men, the requirements are much the same as for those who attend normal university courses. For the junior grade of men the courses are, however, so planned as to enable them to participate, after their graduation, in practical work in certain assigned fields. Plans are being made for them to continue their studies after a period of practical work. In this way they will be given an opportunity to do a normal university course by instalments in such a way as suits their individual requirements. Such a scheme, moreover, will be of special advantage to students from families of the working class.

. . . It is . . . clear that problems of practical importance had to receive first attention. Special emphasis is being laid upon the search for, collection and testing of various kinds of raw materials produced in the country with a view to their fullest utilisation. Among the tangible results may be mentioned the discovery of certain species of *Taraxacum, Ficus* and other latex-yielding plants and the successful preparation of insecticides and fungicides out of organo-mercuric compounds. Preliminary successes are also reported from the several departments of the Institute of Organic Chemistry and the Institute of Physiology and Biochemistry in the extracting of crystaline substances of therapeutical value from various kinds of herbs long known to Chinese medicine, e.g. berberine, some ephedrine derivatives with a molecular structure approaching that of chloromycetin, and so forth.

The study of parasites in fresh-water fish in the Yangtse Estuary has revealed the feasibility of certain schemes for the improvement of production in the fresh-water fishing industry. Likewise, ecological studies in remote parts of Southwest China are likely to lead to the development of methods for protecting the rare, surviving species and also of reviving the forests of the deforested areas. In the recently-established Experimental Station for Genetics and Plant Breeding a large area is devoted to the testing of various traditional methods used by the peasants in North China to treat the seeds of their crops and to check the claimed results with those obtained by methods along Michurin lines.

The solution of numerous other minor problems by the various institutions concerned such as the preparation of aluminium salts for the manufacture of penicillin, the preparation of gelatinous material for the manufacture of graphite filaments and rheostats, the extraction of cobalt from low-grade ores found in Chekiang and Yunnan Provinces, the preparation of nodular graphite cast iron possessing a superior strength and properties favourable to mechanical treatment and the determination of the catalytic value of active silica, silicate earth, vanadium oxides, bentonitic material and so on and so forth have all contributed much to the solution of current industrial problems.

Li Ssu-kuang in *Peoples China*, 16.8.51.

INDIA

Money for Jam—But Not for Wages

The Railwaymen want the Government to respect its own word given to them that the Pay Commission recommendations will be faithfully

carried out in consultation with the Railwaymen's Unions . . .

The Railway Minister lied when he stated that "national finances" are being "disrupted" if the just and elementary demands of the Railwaymen are met. National finances are being disrupted in other ways through the criminal misdeeds of his trusted top men of his own Department.

An Expert Committee under the Chairmanship of Tata-Director A.D. Shroff appointed to enquire into the chaotic railway stores organisation has made shocking revelations of tens of crores of rupees* worth of stores uselessly stockpiled in almost all the Railways only to be junked for the black market.

The present stock of fire-bricks on Assam Railways would meet its requirements for 272 years, that of carriage-body finishing enamel for 105 years and of abestos for 66 years.

The stock of cutter and planing machinery for wood-work in the B.B. & C.I. would last for 192 years, bolts 126 years, snap-head rivets for 55 years.

The stock of tinplates on the E.P. Railway would last for 222 years, steel traverse keys on M.S.M. Railway for 139 years and brown paper on S.I.R. for 304 years, rope and steel spring wire for 867 years and of wooden keys for 195 years. The Shroff Committee said:

"It is impossible to be moderate in condemning this state of affairs; but in our judgment, it is little short of culpable negligence on the part of the officers . . ."

. . . The Government runs the Railways like any other commercial concern, makes good money out of it and slaves of the workmen through a hierarchy of highly paid officers.

It is now obvious that the Government is out to smash their organisations to clear the path for the 'improvement' of our Railways under the Colombo Plan and Point 4. The Yankee experts are wellknown for their aversion to workers' militancy and any Trade Unions except the stooge ones. The Indian Government is refusing to carry out its own oft-proclaimed Trade Union policy: it is not prepared even to refer the dispute to the Industrial Tribunal appointed by itself . . .

The Government is relying on the anti-Communism of the Socialist leadership. It knows that as long as the Socialist leadership can prevent the unity of all Railway Trade Union organisations and goes on slandering the real militants, serious organisational work to make the strike inevitable and successful will just not be there.

India Today, August 1951.

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* 1 crore = 10 million.
1 rupee = 1/6d.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

September 5

CUBA.—Continuing its attacks against freedom of the Press and democratic rights, the Government suppresses the popular radio newsletter "La Palabra," whose director is Jose Pardo Llada, a member of the Chamber of Representatives for one of the opposition parties.

UNITED STATES.—On the order of President Truman, the Department of Justice, utilising the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Law, secures a temporary injunction against the strike in the copper mining industry being waged by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Railroad Brotherhoods and A.F.L. unions. John Clark, president of Mine-Mill, says the union will recommend that workers return to work, but denounces the injunction because the union had already accepted proposals by Government mediators, it being the monopolist employers who had refused. The injunction should therefore have been against the employers, not the workers.

AUSTRALIA.—The Australian Council of Trade Unions decided to fight for a NO vote in the forthcoming referendum on banning the Communist Party. The referendum is Prime Minister Menzies' answer to the legal decision that his Bill to outlaw the Communist Party was unconstitutional.

September 6

GUATEMALA.—Five thousand Customs House workers return to work after a one-day strike. Their petition for wage increases ranging from 20 to 75% will be considered by the Government.

ITALY.—The unified struggle of the workers in the Mattioli textile establishments in Salerno ends in a great victory for the workers. They had occupied the factory for 75 days to prevent its closing and to enforce the payment of back wages. The agreement between the unions and employers provides for the resumption of activities as well as the payment of back wages.

ALGERIA.—Five thousand public works employees at Oran strike for 24 hours for an improvement in their standard of living.

FINLAND.—The Locomotive Engineers' Congress ends in Helsinki. Delegates to the convention expressed growing discontent with the policies of the right-wing leadership of the trade union federation.

U.S.S.R.—A trade union delegation from Scotland leaves Moscow airport after visiting the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

—As part of the present campaign for signatures for the Appeal of the World Peace Council, the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions addresses a request to all trade unionists and workers in the U.S.S.R. asking them to sign and to gather signatures for the Appeal of the World Peace Council in favour of the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Great Powers.

September 7

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Hesse Metalworkers' Federation extend the metalworkers' strike throughout the area, including plants hitherto exempted as "indispensable." The strike is preserving its unity despite employer pressure and police terror mobilised to protect the few strike-breakers. At Russelsheim (Opel plant, a subsidiary of the American General Motors), 20,000 workers are assailed with tear gas used by plant guards recruited by the Americans.

CHILE.—Railway workers of Tocopilla and textile workers of Conception y Tome maintain their strike for wage increases. A widespread movement is developing throughout the country demanding an amnesty for political prisoners and the repeal of the Fascist law styled "for the defence of democracy."

September 8

UNITED STATES.—The Anglo-American sponsored "Japanese Peace Treaty" is signed in San Francisco. Representatives of the majority of the Asian peoples—from China, U.S.S.R., India and Burma—are either absent or have refused to sign.

— The United States signs with the Japanese puppet Government a "security" agreement giving the U.S. twenty bases in Japan, the right for all U.S. Forces to use all means of communication and public services, and the right to hold manœuvres outside the bases and to survey the whole country.

FRANCE.—United in opposition to the employers' proposals on prices, all trade union organisations, the C.G.T., Christian unions, Force Ouvrière, C.G.C. (foremen and supervisors), as well as family organisations, withdraw from a meeting of the National Price Commission. The General Confederation of Agriculturalists supports the trade union position.

— Disregarding the unanimous views of the trade union organisations in the National Commission on Collective Agreements, the Council of Ministers fixes the guaranteed minimum wage at 100 francs per hour for Paris, about 20,000 francs a month for 45 hours' work per week.

— The Government decrees heavy price increases on bread (25%), coal (20%), electricity (probably 10%), and announces further increases on milk, steel, cement, fertilizers, gas and other commodities.

U.S.S.R.—Andrei Gromyko, chief of the Soviet delegation at the San Francisco Conference on the Anglo-American Japanese peace treaty, declares in a Press conference that there could be no peaceful settlement in the Far East without the participation of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, one of Japan's closest neighbours, and the country which has fought

longest against Japanese imperialism. He stresses that the Anglo-American peace treaty could not serve as a basis for a peaceful settlement in the Far East, and he foresees the participation of Japan in aggressive military coalitions under the banner of the United States.

September 9

BULGARIA.—Bulgarian workers joyously celebrate the 7th anniversary of the liberation of their country from Fascist bondage. Mass demonstrations take place in Sofia and other cities.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—Czechoslovak workers celebrate Miners' Day.

September 10

JAPAN.—To date, five and a half million signatures for the Five Power Pact have been collected in Japan.

U.S.S.R.—A Canadian trade union delegation, led by Ferguson, vice-president of the Canadian Seamen's Union, arrives in Moscow on the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

CANADA.—The Executive Committee of the local union of electrical workers, representing thirteen plants in the city of Hamilton, sends a telegram to Prime Minister St. Laurent asking for the establishment of normal trade relations with all countries ready to trade with Canada and the abolition of all trade restrictions imposed at the demand of the United States.

ITALY. — In Varese. workers of the large metal engineering firm of Siai-Marchetti (plants in Sesto Calende and Vergiate) reply to the threat to close the shops and to discharge 3,600 workers by occupying the plant. Strong feeling exists throughout the region, for Siai-Marchetti employs about 50% of the labour in the area. Shopkeepers and families of the workers participate in demonstrations in favour of the workers.

FRANCE.—The C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) sends to the other trade union centres, Force Ouvrière, Christian trade unions, C.G.C. (foremen and supervisors) and the Independent Teachers' Federation, a proposal for joint action for a minimum guaranteed wage of 23,600 francs, a proportionate upward revision of all other wages and salaries, the sliding scale, and action against the rise in prices.

BRAZIL.—A general strike is declared in the city of Sao Luiz, capital of the State of Meranhao in protest against the designation of a new governor of the State.

URUGUAY.—Teachers decide to go on a 24-hour strike for an increase in salaries. If their demands are not satisfied they will declare a general strike of all teachers.

September 11

FRANCE.—At Bordeaux dockers refuse to unload the American freighter "Carol Victory," carrying military vehicles.

BULGARIA.—Prices are again reduced on many foodstuffs, including bread, potatoes, fats and milk-products.

JAPAN.—A million workers, peasants, students and intellectuals throughout Japan demonstrate against the United States' rule and continued occupation of Japan.

September 12

U.S.S.R.—A Note from the Soviet Government to the French Government is published, pointing out once more the responsibility of the French Government for its policy of remilitarising Germany and forming a military alliance with the forces of aggression in Western Germany.

UNITED STATES.—On the resignation of General Marshall as Secretary of the Department of "Defence," President Truman appoints Wall Street banker Robert Lovett to succeed him. Like many high U.S. officials, Lovett is a direct representative of Wall Street, having been connected with the banking firm, Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company.

BRAZIL.—The trial in absentia of Luis Carlos Prestes and other leaders of the Brazilian Communist Party begins in the Federal capital.

September 13

AUSTRIA.—At the Opera and Praterstern in Vienna, indignant workers, using high ladders, remove the flag of Franco Spain, draped with flags of other nations in celebration of the Vienna Fair, and replace it with the flag of Republican Spain.

FRANCE.—While the leaders of Force Ouvrière reject the C.G.T. proposal for joint action, the leaders of the Independent Teachers' Federation join in discussions with the C.G.T. and declare that the achievement of unity is desirable.

JAPAN.—Differences over the Japanese Peace Treaty are developing a split in the Japanese Social Democratic Party, with the right-wing supporting the United States, and the left-wing pointing out that Japan has become a U.S. base isolated from the rest of Asia.

MEXICO.—The Government refuses to register the Communist Party of Mexico as a political party for participation in the Presidential elections to take place in 1952.

POLAND.—On the invitation of the Polish trade unions, a delegation of nineteen Italian trade unionists, metal workers, railwaymen, dockers, textile and clothing workers, arrives in Warsaw. Leading the delegation is Georgio Bulcio, secretary of the textile workers' trade union. During a two-week stay in Poland the delegation will visit Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw and Cracow.

September 14

FRANCE.—Employers in the metal industry of the Paris region are trying to exclude the C.G.T. from negotiations for readjustment of wages. The delegates of the Christian trade unions declare that they have not been mandated to conclude an agreement unless "all truly representative organisations" participate in the negotiations.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.—The Government of the Korean People's Republic decides to introduce a general social insurance system for workers. In addition, provisions for the bereaved and for persons disabled by the war are published.

September 15

HAWAII.—The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and seven pineapple companies sign an agreement whereby pineapple plantation workers win a 7-cent. hourly wage increase. The agreement, which covers about 9,000 workers, also ends a long strike at the world's largest pineapple plantation.

RUMANIA.—The school year begins with 15,332 primary and secondary schools functioning throughout the country. Ninety-five thousand students begin their work in 366 technical institutions.

September 16

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Volkskammer (parliament) of the German Democratic Republic appeals to the Federal Diet of Western Germany in favour of elections for a National peace treaty. An appeal to the German people emphasises that the continuation of remilitarisation and the maintenance of a divided Germany leads to the danger of war. The bulk of the German people want peace and a united country

FRANCE.—The Executive of the C.F.T.C. (Christian trade unions) answers the letter of September 10 sent by the C.G.T. and agrees to the proposed joint discussions.

ALGERIA.—At the municipal elections in Sidi-bel-Abbes, where the Communist town council had been dissolved last June 25 by order of the Council of State, the list of the Democratic Union put forward by the Communist Party is elected without opposition.

September 17

FRANCE.—The leaders of the C.G.C. (foremen and supervisors) reply to the C.G.T. unity proposals and declare themselves "ready for all conversations necessary for the defence of the interests of their members, but strictly on the professional level and to the exclusion of all political activity."

— The C.G.T., Christian and Force Ouvrière unions in the food industry bargain together with the employers in sugar refineries. They present a joint demand for a monthly minimum wage of 23,600 francs, and while waiting the application of this rate, a 20% increase in all wages and bonuses and the introduction of the sliding scale.

— The fur and leather workers' federations of the C.G.T., Christian unions and Force Ouvrière send a joint letter to employers in the shoe and glove and other leather industries putting forward the same demands as the food workers.

BULGARIA.—At the close of the campaign for signatures for the Five-Power Peace Pact, the National Peace Committee of Bulgaria announces that 5,714,153 persons have signed the petition.

GREAT BRITAIN.—About 4,500 tugboat and lightermen in London are working to rule to support their demands for one pound weekly wage increase. In London, 1,770 dockers walk out in a dispute over the hiring of additional permanent staff, and in Avonmouth 975 dockers quit work in sympathy with men asking a bonus of £2 per day for handling carbon black. In all, 33 ships are tied up.

UNITED STATES.—The 70th annual convention of the American Federation of Labour opens in San Francisco.

September 18

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The F.D.G.B. (Free German Federation of Labour) sends a message to the leaders of the D.G.B. (Western German Labour Federation) supporting the proposals made to Western Germany by the Volkskammer on September 16, saying in the message: "It is undeniable that our country and our people are in immediate danger of a new war. . . . You know how frightful a new war would be, above all for the workers, and you also know the formidable force which the German working class represents. . . . A heavy responsibility weighs on you which you cannot escape. One must not be able to say one day: the German trade unions had the means of preventing the catastrophe but at the decisive moment they did not act."

DENMARK.—Typographical workers in Copenhagen strike in protest against the arbitrary dismissal of a worker. Although the strike was proclaimed by a general meeting of trade unionists, the right-wing leadership declares the strike "illegal" and deprives the strikers of all strike benefits.

September 19

NETHERLANDS.—The budget for 1952 provides for heavy increases for military expenses, 28.6% of the entire budget. Taxes are to bear still more heavily on the workers and a 10% increase in prices is predicted. Seventy per cent. of investment for new construction is for barracks and areodromes, etc., and only 3% for schools.

ITALY.—Fraternally united, 1,600,000 Socialist, Communist, Christian and non-party Government employees and employees in public works stop work for 24 hours with the support of all the trade unions. Postal, telegraph, and railway services, and Government offices are closed in a highly successful strike for higher wages.

FRANCE.—Paris's 11,000 taxi drivers go on a 24-hour strike in protest against compulsory medical examination, whereby the older workers' livelihood may be lost.

September 20

FRANCE.—In reply to the C.F.T.C. (Christian trade union centre) letter agreeing to discussions of common problems, the C.G.T. invites the C.F.T.C. to a preliminary joint meeting to establish a common basis for a programme of united action. The C.G.T. expresses its readiness to examine the social and economic problems of workers with the C.F.T.C. and proposes that the first discussions be held to agree to a programme of immediate demands such as: wage increases, a guaranteed minimum wage, and the sliding scale.

— The National Assembly votes for the principle of the sliding scale for wages in spite of the opposition of the Government. This law, although incomplete, nevertheless represents a victory for wage earners.

— A meeting of the committee for inter-trade union co-ordination of metal workers of the Paris Region is held, consisting of all trade union organisations without exception. A full agreement is concluded to demand a 22.5% increase in real wages and a guaranteed minimum wage. The trade union organisations agree not to deal separately with the employers. This agreement constitutes a great step towards unity of action for Paris workers.

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For Wider International Trade Union Relations

WE shall be some days late this year in celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of the W.F.T.U. The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions will be meeting on November 15th in Berlin.

The 6th anniversary will therefore be the occasion for an international trade union rally of the greatest importance, for, after the World Trade Union Congress, the General Council is the next most representative and competent authority of the W.F.T.U. All affiliated trade union organisations are represented on the Council. On November 15th, the 5 million working men and women belonging to the German Federation of Free Trade Unions will be welcoming their brothers, delegates from five continents.

October 1951 marks the sixth year of the W.F.T.U.'s existence. In January 1951, the French Government—not unprompted—sought, by a brusque and outrageous decision to make its life impossible by closing down its central headquarters in Paris.

But the W.F.T.U. is functioning normally. It is behaving as an international workers' organisation should. It has given its activities the scope required by events. It speaks to the workers on each important development in international affairs, and keeps in constant contact with them. Through the trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U., through the Trade Unions Internationals (W.F.T.U. Trade Departments), or directly by its appeals, resolutions and messages, the W.F.T.U. keeps in close touch with the life of the working class of all countries.

In October 1951, the W.F.T.U. is and remains the sole and unique organic link between the trade unions and workers on a truly world scale.

Proof of this will be provided by the General Council in Berlin.

★ ★ ★

WITHIN the W.F.T.U., the representatives of the workers of the land of victorious socialism, the U.S.S.R., those of People's China, and the People's Democracies, and the trade union delegates from capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries meet together with equal rights and powers and without discrimination.

Within the W.F.T.U., they meet together voluntarily, freely and fraternally.

In these meetings, the reactionary obstacles of hostility between different nationalities, and of discrimination between men of different races and colours are smashed.

The direct delegates of the workers, closely tied to the daily life of the working masses in all countries, set an example of the finest and firmest international co-operation when they meet together in the international assemblies organised by the W.F.T.U.

A great service is rendered by the international labour movement to the cause of peace in bringing delegations of all nationalities, races and religions into contact in this way.

It is extremely important to remember that after the second world war, international workers' relations were considerably expanded and broadened. The number of working men and women delegates who take part in international meetings of all kinds has been steadily rising over the last six years. This number was never so high during the period before the last war. It never covered so many countries and territories. These delegates are responsible trade unionists from factories, districts and areas, or delegates holding national responsibilities in their respective countries.

The fact that the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organisations have promoted and sponsored these international relations over the past six years is a valuable achievement and a positive asset.

This achievement and asset make an important, although perhaps underestimated and, in any case, insufficiently publicised, contribution to the creation of favourable conditions for the peaceful co-existence of the peoples.

The defence and preservation of peace calls for persevering effort on the part of its defenders. Everything which contributes to improving peaceful and friendly relations between the peoples must be undertaken and carried into effect. One cannot talk of small or big actions in favour of peace or in favour of understanding between the peoples and international solidarity. All action, any initiative, however small, which is directed towards the noble aim and great ideal of peace for mankind is in itself a laudable thing.

The trade union movement is playing a positive role in this sphere. It is carrying on work of undoubted depth and effectiveness. It is its duty not to slow up this work or to restrict this role.

In order to realise their real importance, moreover, one need only observe that in fulfilling this duty and in carrying out this work, it is sometimes necessary to engage in real battles.

The W.F.T.U. is fighting against the obstacles raised to eliminate or limit international trade union relations. Such obstacles are direct blows against peace.

★ ★ ★

ON the morrow of the foundation of the W.F.T.U. in 1945, forces behind the scenes found cause for anxiety in the special task of the labour movement which consists in extending international relations by bringing in the working masses. These forces were behind the scenes because at that time, it was impossible

for them to come out into the open against the general trend of public opinion in favour of the establishment of a just and lasting peace. They launched an increasingly indiscreet campaign to undermine the cause of peace, and in so doing, they could not fail to attack the W.F.T.U. and they began this work immediately it was set up.

These forces are reactionary elements, the advocates of social conservatism, the remnants of fascism, who kept their heads down in 1944-45 but who since then have gradually been coming out into the open. Reaction in all its forms and with all its means and power, has remained hostile to all peaceful and progressive activity.

The peaceful and progressive activities of the W.F.T.U. at first caused them alarm and then led reaction to attack our world trade union movement which formed an important obstacle to the fulfilment of its evil plans.

The reactionary offensive against the working class and the trade unions was accompanied by a search for accomplices within the very ranks of the trade union organisations in the capitalist countries.

The national and international trade union splits are the work of reaction. Division is one of the weapons, one of its methods of intervening in the activity of the trade unions. It has always resorted to such destructive methods when it has needed to exert its domination or restore a situation which has been compromised.

★ ★ ★

ALL through 1948, the leaders of the T.U.C. and the C.I.O. attempted to create obstruction within the W.F.T.U. to every initiative for the defence of the workers' interests, for international working class resistance to the war preparations, and for the defence of trade union unity. The tactics used by the splitters were to make the great international trade union meetings ineffective, to limit their importance, and to restrict their repercussions on public opinion, and particularly on the workers.

The events which occurred in January 1949 within the W.F.T.U. revealed the narrow nationalist character and the discriminatory tendencies of these American and British trade union leaders who, contrary to all logic, wanted to make the international trade union movement into something which was not only limited but entirely governed by the requirements of the foreign policy of their respective governments.

The declarations and speeches in which they attempted to justify their motive for destroying international unity were openly devoid of any respect for the elementary principles of international workers' solidarity. They completely ignored the urgent and immediate interests of the workers and the methods to be adopted for the defence of their economic and social rights.

Dominated completely by the requirements of their governments' policies, these British and American trade union leaders did not hesitate to challenge the fundamental bases of international workers' collaboration laid down in the WFTU's Constitution in 1945 and unanimously accepted by all the trade union organisations which had given their support to it, as their line of conduct.

These individuals had one objective alone, that of creating a breach in the international co-operation among the working peoples which the W.F.T.U., on the

contrary, was endeavouring to build up and consolidate. We did not permit this attack on the correct perspectives which, since its foundation, the W.F.T.U. has offered for mutual assistance, active solidarity, and permanent international relations among the working masses of all lands.

★ ★ ★

SINCE 1949, the W.F.T.U. has given a very important place in its plan of activity to initiative for the establishment of broad international contacts. These contacts cannot be limited merely to an exchange of information when delegates from different countries meet together. The deterioration of the living conditions of the working class in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries motivated the elaboration of a policy of united action among the working masses on an international scale, in addition to the exchange of information. The W.F.T.U. Trade Departments contributed considerably to the application of this correct policy.

The reply from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to the proposal made by the W.F.T.U. on July 6th, 1951 for the defence of the workers' economic and social rights reveals, among other things, the intense fear of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders. They are afraid of the further expansion in the workers' international relations, the exchange of delegations between different countries, and the spread of international contacts between workers' delegates.

The W.F.T.U., on the contrary, far from being afraid of this, has cause only for rejoicing at the multiplicity of international workers' contacts. Its policy and activities are entirely directed towards increasing the number of such contacts. It is extremely encouraging to note that the number of trade unionists not belonging to the W.F.T.U. who have taken part in international trade union delegations had been considerably higher in 1951 than in previous years.

We welcome the growing success obtained through the exchange of workers' delegations. Obstacles still stand in the way of ensuring reciprocity for such delegations. The governments of the capitalist countries refuse to allow the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies to return the friendly visits paid them by the many delegations.

This is a battle to be won. We must obtain the absolute right for trade union organisations of all lands to meet each other and to carry on an exchange of delegations without hindrance. This is a campaign which is perhaps not very spectacular but which is nevertheless extremely useful.

The W.F.T.U. and all its affiliated trade union organisations must draw up new plans for organising such essential meetings.

Good things have already been done, but we must still do better.

We must organise continuous and unceasing friendly and fraternal meetings among the workers of all countries. This will be a further contribution by our trade union movement to the drive for PEACE.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

The Struggle of the New Generation in Czechoslovakia

by

VLADISLAV JISL

"ACCORDING to official statistics, there are 200,000 young unemployed, a large percentage of whom are qualified workers in different trades. They all are longing for work, and jump at every opportunity to make even a bare living. And yet, they are turned away from the factory gates, because their hands have forgotten the intricate work and difficult handling of tools and machines. This is one of the terrible consequences of years of unemployment: the young metal worker, locksmith, printer or weaver, loses his skill when he loses his job at the machine which he had learned how to handle."

Thus wrote the youth paper *Hej-Rup*! in 1936, at a time when the bourgeois economists of the capitalist Republic claimed the depression was over. How many young people were driven to despair by hunger and unemployment, how many young couples saw their happiness broken up by poverty!

Young people were hit hardest of all by the economic conditions prevailing in the pre-Munich Republic. The apprentice not only received no pay for his work, but he had to pay his master for his trade training. If he could not afford it, he had to pay it off by working after his apprenticeship was completed. When this was done, the boss usually sacked him, and replaced him with a new apprentice. Higher studies—grammar schools, universities and technical colleges—were inaccessible to working-class youth. How many workers could afford to send their children to school, then to college, when they would be faced with unemployment after graduation? And as for the apprentice who managed to keep his job after qualification (and this because under legislation then in force, he was paid at the lowest rate), he none-the-less had to abandon every hope of steady employment on starting his two years' military service. On leaving the Army, he generally found that his job had been given to another worker—himself threatened with the same fate.

The Future Now Belongs To Youth

SIX years of people's democracy in Czechoslovakia have already changed beyond recognition the life of youth. A new era began with the revolutionary days of May 1945, when the workers, with the unselfish aid of the Soviet Army,

threw off the yoke of Czechoslovak and foreign exploiters. First came the period of rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy, then the period of socialist construction. The people became the masters of their country. The out-stripping of the Two Year Plan targets for 1947-48, and of the still more ambitious targets set for the first two years of the 1949-53 Five Year Plan, show that the people are capable masters.

What young citizen of the new Czechoslovak Republic would experience the worries which overwhelmed the harassed young people under the capitalist Republic, the starvation wages, unemployment, lack of education? Today's youth could not even imagine these anxieties, busy as they are building up their own happiness, and socialist agriculture and industry.

In the Ostrava region, near the Polish border, the new Clement Gottwald Foundries are springing up, and the first smelting will take place at the beginning of 1952. It took the capitalists 120 years to build the Vitkovice Steel Foundries, but two years will be enough—1950 and 1951—to build the new Ostrava giant with its blast furnaces, rolling mills and power stations.

In February 1951, the construction of a new iron and steel works in Eastern Slovakia was decided upon. In a year from now it will already be producing a million tons of steel. In other places, imposing dams and powerful hydro-electric stations will turn still untamed rivers into the docile servants of man.

All these works of construction, and many others, will guarantee the future of Czechoslovak youth, in a country growing richer and lovelier every day. That is why young people are the spearhead of socialist construction, launching a direct attack against the difficulties involved in the rapid growth of the national economy.

Undaunted by the bitter cold and the snow the first Youth Construction Site for a miners' village near Most is laid out in February 1947.

Youth Building Socialism

THE Youth Construction Sites will for ever remain a glorious page in the annals of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The first site was organised by the Youth Association, at the beginning of the Two-Year Plan, in the mining district of Most, in Northern Bohemia. On a very cold day of February 1947, the first Youth Brigade set out from Prague to the site. But the hardships of winter did not dampen their enthusiasm. The slogan "Be Pioneers in the Two-Year Plan" spurred them into not begrudging their efforts, and a cheerful competition constantly developed. One by one, the old working norms were smashed. And on May Day 1948, the Youth Brigades were able to hand over the first houses to the miners of Most. Within two years, through the effort of thousands of young volunteers working one month each, a whole mining town sprang up, and a new road was built linking it to Most and to the colliery.

The site at Most was a first test of the creative abilities of the new generation. Immediately, Czechoslovak youth set itself a new task : the building of the Hronska Dubrave-Banska Stiavnica railway line, in Central Slovakia. This line, 20 kilometres long, which spans the rushing waters of the river Hron, deep valleys and mountains, was completed by 60,000 boys and girls from all parts of the Republic, with the help of youth Brigades from abroad, who lost no time in offering their assistance. This represents 8 million hours of voluntary work, and the railway line was opened in October 1949. "We are building the railway—the railway is building us!" said the youth. And they were right. The sites have opened up a new life to a new generation of socialist workers.

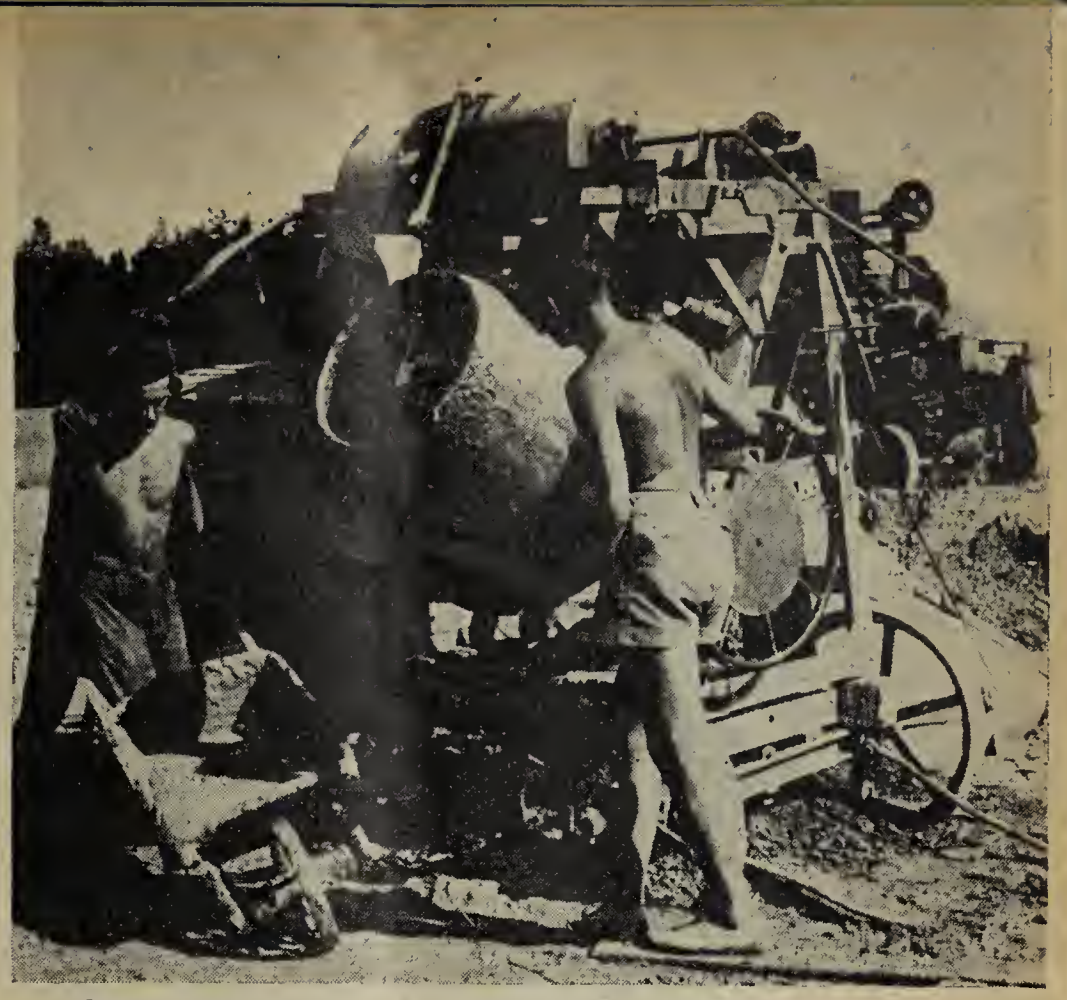
In January 1950, the spades of the volunteers struck the frozen ground near Ostrava : the construction of the Clement Gottwald Foundries had just begun. Fighting against the snow and a freezing wind, the youth unloaded stones for the em-

bankment. Young agricultural workers from Mikulovsko achieved 335% of the norm in laying the first kilometre of rails.

When spring came, a seething life woke up the plain, where a large log-town appeared for housing the volunteers. Powerful bulldozers excavated the ground, freed from its coat of ice and snow. Dozens of Brigades, made up of workers, agricultural workers, students, and others followed one another. On October 28th—Independence Day—the end-of-year target had already been reached. On New Year's Day it had been outstripped by 25%. The average output was 130%.

Sporting and cultural activities went well ahead throughout the year. Study circles, evenings devoted to discussion and to the cinema, theatrical

Giris are enthusiastic participants in the work at the site and engage in friendiy competition with the boys.



The construction site for the new foundries at Ostrava. Here young volunteers quickly learn to operate machinery they had never even seen before and are soon breaking the old work norms.

productions, sports competitions, excursions etc. were organised by the hundred for the young builders.

Towards the end of January 1951, the job experienced a new and forceful leap ahead. The second year presented the young builders of socialism with an even more important task: the completion of the buildings and equipment so that at the beginning of the following year—the fourth in the Five Year Plan—the steel might begin to flow, steel which would be transformed into machines for industry and tractors for agriculture.

Desirous of ensuring the achievement of this objective, the building apprentices went into the voluntary brigades and far out-stripped the old work norms. Three among them from the Krasna Brezna apprenticeship school—Gruncl, Vesely and Zimmerman—today known to all the youth, laid 33.34 cubic metres of bricks a shift before leaving for Ostrava. They pledged to increase their output to 50 cubic metres a day before going to the site.

Many are the volunteers who visit the site twice, others prolong the normal stay of a month by one or two months and still others decide upon a permanent stay with the new undertaking. It must be added that their work is not limited to building the foundries alone. Already a new town is taking shape, built with the help of young volunteers, a town planned for thousands of inhabitants, modern, worthy of the builders of socialism.

A few hundred kilometres to the East, not far

from Puchov in Slovakia, Slovak youth is busy with another important undertaking: the building of the Youth Dam which will harness the torrents of the Vah River. Work began in the same rough conditions as on the other sites. There was no welcoming speech to greet the first fifteen volunteers to arrive on the banks of the Vah in early 1950. There weren't many of them? No matter! They redoubled their efforts. Their fingers swelled with cold? They would warm themselves by working harder. When a group of 126 volunteers arrived in February, their predecessors had put up huts for their reception. The pace of work increased, there were already 303 volunteers, in April there were 1070, then there were thousands. Complete villages will be moved to make room for the future artificial lake, and the old railway line above the Vah will be shifted.

Slovak youth is also building a powerful hydro-electric station, an undertaking which the capitalists under the First Republic always refused to consider for fear of injuring the coal interests. Now this region of Slovakia, abandoned of old, will be industrialised.

Let us go still further towards the east near the Soviet frontier. Here young volunteers are engaged on a job no less important than the foregoing: the construction of the "Railway of Friendship." The job is to double the present line which had been built as a single track because of the difficult terrain. The second track will provide Czech industry and agriculture with better communications with the Soviet Union, the single track not being sufficient to handle the increasing volume of trade between the two countries. Work began in March 1950 with the arrival of the first Slovak volunteers. Since then a great distance has already been covered in spite of the obstacles put there as if by design by a wild nature.

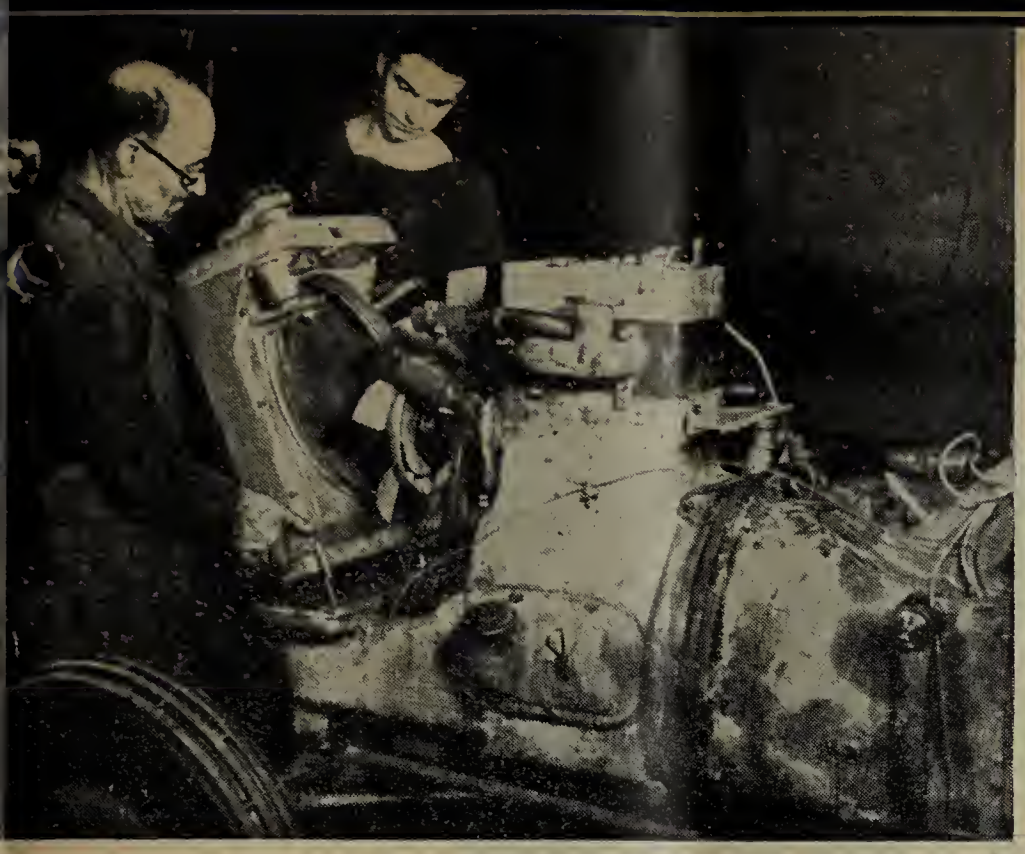
Eastern Slovakia under the pre-Munich Republic was a symbol of poverty. There was no industry. The few factories left from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had been dismantled. The capitalists alleged that these factories were obsolete and that running them was no longer profitable. The truth is that they wanted to make of Slovakia a regular colony within the borders of the State. The Democratic People's Republic has finished once and for all with this policy of national oppression and replaced it with a policy of national development based on the broad industrialisation of Slovakia.

One of the most important factors within the framework of this industrialisation will be the giant steel combine at Kosice. The work was decided upon last February, begun in July and will be finished in 1955. But as early as next year the plant will have a capacity of 1 million tons of iron. Here too, the first volunteer youth brigades are arriving. It is a flat region without a trace of human life except an occasional well with its wooden arm leaning on the stone brink. In the distance scattered flocks are grazing. But already the site, covering several square kilometres, is bustling with life—a new milestone along the way to socialism.

Young apprentice miners leaving the mine where they receive their training. Under the supervision of the State and the trade unions they are well cared-for and thoroughly instructed in every phase of their trade.

Enthusiastic Competition

YOUTH also proves its zest in the cause of socialism by its work in the factories. In 1948 the young workers at the Libcice Foundries, a few miles to the north of Prague, lit a spark which rapidly grew into a great flame of socialist com-



Young workers learn from their older more experienced fellow-workers and soon, because of their enthusiasm and careful training, they often outstrip the older workers and establish new work techniques. Here two workers are assembling a special type tractor for use on Czech fields.

Slovak and Hungarian mining apprentices at a get-together in Komarno in Southern Slovakia. Such meetings of young workers for the exchange of ideas and experiences are a common occurrence in Czechoslovakia and the other People's Democracies.

petition. The call to work from "hooter to hooter" that is to say the full use of the working day launched by the young workers at Libcice was rapidly replaced by more complex and higher forms of competition always leading to a greater increase in productivity. Thus a member of the Youth Association, Vaclav Svoboda, succeeded in completing a task set by the Five Year Plan in a year and a half by replacing four workers tending two machines, thanks to the better organisation of his work. Another member of the Youth Association, Karel Doutnac, is the leading welder in the Prague region and is at the same time a daring innovator who has taught his methods to welders throughout the Republic.

These young workers together with many other innovators and Stakhanovites were honoured last May, during the celebrations in honour of the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, with the title of State Prize-Winner awarded to the best workers in all fields: technique, science and art.

The Happy Life of Czechoslovak Youth

YES! Six years of people's democracy have changed the lives of Czechoslovak youth beyond recognition. From being a burden, work itself has become a source of joy and pride.

Before the war, young people could only dream of holidays in winter or summer in the mountains, the forest and at the lake-side. There could be no question of such holidays when their parents worked hard to make ends meet. Young workers were then only entitled to a 6 to 8 day holiday and apprentices frequently had no holiday at all. Today young workers less than 18 years old have 3 weeks' paid holiday and those more than 18 have 2 weeks. After five years' work, paid holidays are increased to three weeks.

The number of young people sent to rest homes (those under 18 years by the Youth Association and those over that age by the trade unions) increases from year to year. In 1951 the Youth Association took charge of the summer holidays of 34,000 young people aged from 15 to 18 years on payment of the trifling sum of 350 crowns. As for the trade unions, this year they will be sending more than 250,000 workers to their rest homes.

In former times, as stated above, apprentices not only had no right to any remuneration but in addition had to pay for their apprenticeship. Today of course apprentices receive wages which, in the mining industry for example, reach 1,575 crowns a month in the first year and 1,770 crowns in the second. The apprentice is only required to pay for one-third of his food. All the rest, lodgings included, are supplied free of charge. Good apprentices receive a bonus of 60 crowns in addition. When he enters the mining industry, the apprentice is provided with a complete outfit valued at 15,000 crowns. The Government spent more than two billion crowns in the years 1950-1951 just for the upkeep and clothing of apprentices in the min-

Homes of former wealthy landlords, such as the one shown above, are used to house students in fifty livestock and market gardening centres in Czechoslovakia.

ing industry and the foundries (without taking into account the cost of their trade training), that is, taking into account the value of the pre-war crown, 10 times more than the overall expenditure of the government of the First Republic on youth welfare during the years 1937 and 1938.

Last year a new law was passed dealing with the employment of young people which is a striking demonstration of the care of the people's democratic state for the young generation of workers. This law allows extensive planning of trade training and employment for youth. The most important measure is the introduction of new apprenticeship schemes comprising advanced technical specialisation, a close link between the theoretical and practical teaching and a general speed-up in apprenticeship based on Soviet experience. Apprentices are no longer obliged to undertake extra work completely outside their trade training, as was the case under the old regime, and as apprenticeship is geared to the needs of an expanding industry it has been possible to shorten considerably the period of apprenticeship which now lasts from 6 months to two years. In exceptional cases it lasts 3 years.

Another innovation is the Apprenticeship Centres where practical work at the machine is happily combined with technical theory and general education. Today there are 500 such centres where 70,000 apprentices study. For the sake of comparison let us state that in 1942 there were only 10 apprenticeship hostels in the whole Republic with an equipment which naturally would bear no comparison with that of the present centres.

Let us take the schools. In 1938 the State devoted only a small fraction of the budget to the universities—163 million crowns. Scholarships amounted to only 8.3 million. As a result university studies were reserved for the sons of the rich.

In 1951 the state budget devoted 1,076.2 million crowns to the universities, and 217.5 million to scholarships, that is, 26 times more than the First Republic's budget.

The socialist principle of equal pay for equal work is rigorously applied in Czechoslovakia. Young workers are paid on the basis of work done and not on the basis of the number of years they have been working. They also benefit from a series of new social measures such as National Insurance and loans to newly-weds.

Youth Organisations

THE representative organisation of Czechoslovak youth is the Association of Czechoslovak Youth with 1.2 million members between the ages of 15 and 26 years. Its principal task is the socialist education of youth and includes varied activities:

voluntary working brigades, group excursions, study circles, the organisation of leisure, competitions etc. The work is based on a high circulation multiple press, particularly *Youth Front* which after the Soviet *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* is the biggest youth daily in the world.

The Association has basic units in all towns, rural groupings and factories. The factory groups closely co-operate with the Trade Union Movement and its Works Councils. These latter, together with the Youth Association, are part of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks.

Confident in its strength, proud of the successes already won, Czechoslovak youth struggles and will continue to struggle for the victory of socialism in its country and for peace throughout the world.

For a Social Security Serving the Workers of France

by Henri RAYNAUD

Secretary of the French C.G.T.,
Vice President of the French National Federation of Social Security Associations

THE decision taken by the last Executive Bureau meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions to approve the principle of calling an International Conference on Social Security organised by the W.F.T.U., answered one of the main preoccupations of the French Labour movement at the present time.

The Social Security Scheme in force in France was introduced by an Order dated 4th October, 1945, and its application on 1st July 1946 was the work of the Communist Minister of Labour, the late Ambroise Croizat, a leader of the French General Confederation of Labour and General Secretary of the Metalworkers' Federation. Today, this scheme is being seriously challenged and jeopardised.

The serious financial difficulties which have brought about a crisis in the funds of this institution are being used today as a pretext for intensifying the offensive waged by all the reactionary forces of the country against the social security scheme.

This is happening not only in France, an identical situation exists in all the capitalist countries at present involved in the super-armament policy imposed by the Atlantic Pact.

In France, these financial difficulties arise from a deficit which has been growing from year to year since 1947 in the contributed insurance funds covering illness, long illness, maternity, death and disability, a deficit which is due, as will be shown later, to the growing lack of balance between wages and prices. This deficit, which amounted to 8,000 million francs in 1947, or 17 per cent of the sum earmarked for these funds, rose to 30,000 million in 1949, i.e. by 30 per cent; to 51,000 million in 1950, i.e. by 48 per cent; and in the first half of 1951 to 34,000 million, i.e. by 57 per cent.

Up to 1948 this deficit was compensated by a large surplus in the old age insurance fund. The surplus in the old age insurance fund resulted from: (1) the fact that this fund was not functioning adequately. Most old French workers who had reached retirement age had not been paying contributions to social insurance for a sufficient number of years (the scheme being introduced in 1930) to be entitled to either a normal pension or any pension at all; (2) the fact that the allowance paid to old workers to alleviate the effects of the situation has always been very inadequate and is, in fact, outrageously low.

But the continuous action of the working class, particularly the General Confederation of Labour, has imposed successive increases in this allowance which, together with the yearly increase in the number of pensioners, has steadily reduced this surplus. It therefore became very rapidly inadequate to meet the deficit in the Sickness Insurance Fund.

The National Social Security Fund, the body which pays social security benefits, has therefore been forced to use available resources to meet the successive deficits. These resources, which in 1947 amounted to about 100,000 million francs had been reduced to nothing by August 1st, 1951.

Thus by 1st August, 1951, *the very existence of French Social Security was seriously jeopardised by a grave financial crisis.*

In order to prevent this institution from closing its doors and from refusing to pay benefits to sick and old people, which would have created a big wide-

spread scandal, the Government was therefore forced to "give it a shot in the arm" by granting a subsidy of 20,000 million fr. which delayed for a few more months the day of reckoning.

It is certain that if nothing more is done, then even before the end of the year the situation will be exactly the same as it was on August 1st, 1951.

The problem of Social Security in France has, therefore, become an issue of immediate importance. Very grave dangers threaten this institution.

This is why millions of socially insured people in France are anxious and, having understood the danger, are uniting in growing numbers to defend this legislation and to prevent the forces of reaction from sabotaging it.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR PREPARATIONS

WHAT are the causes of the situation? There is no doubt that the underlying causes of the present financial difficulties of the Social Security Scheme have an external origin. They stem from the economic and social policy carried on since 1947 when the Communists were evicted from the Government and a French policy replaced by *an American policy of preparing for war and of impoverishing the people.* In order to conceal this fact, a systematic and frantic campaign of lies has been launched in order to deceive French public opinion and to place the responsibility for present difficulties on the legislation itself, on its structure and its administration.

All this is being done to obtain the "remodelling" of the institution with the obvious main purpose of seeking to reduce the benefits paid to socially insured persons and thereby to reduce social expenditure on this institution, in order to free as much money as possible for the policy of super-armament and war preparation.

Three main unchallengeable facts explain the essential causes for the present difficulties of French Social Security.

First fact. The Social Security Scheme is suffering from the effects of the policy of freezing wages and freeing prices in operation since 1947. This was inevitable, because the resources of the Social Security Fund are based on a proportion of earnings and are, therefore, tied to wage levels. In contrast expenditure not only follows the trend in prices, but in certain, and not unimportant cases, such as medical supplies and hospital costs, rises faster than the average increase in the cost of living.

In order to get an idea of this devaluation in the resources of the Social Security Fund resulting from the devaluation in wages, it should be remembered that *the wage index today stands at* 12.5 *whereas the cost of living index amounts to* 25. Furthermore,

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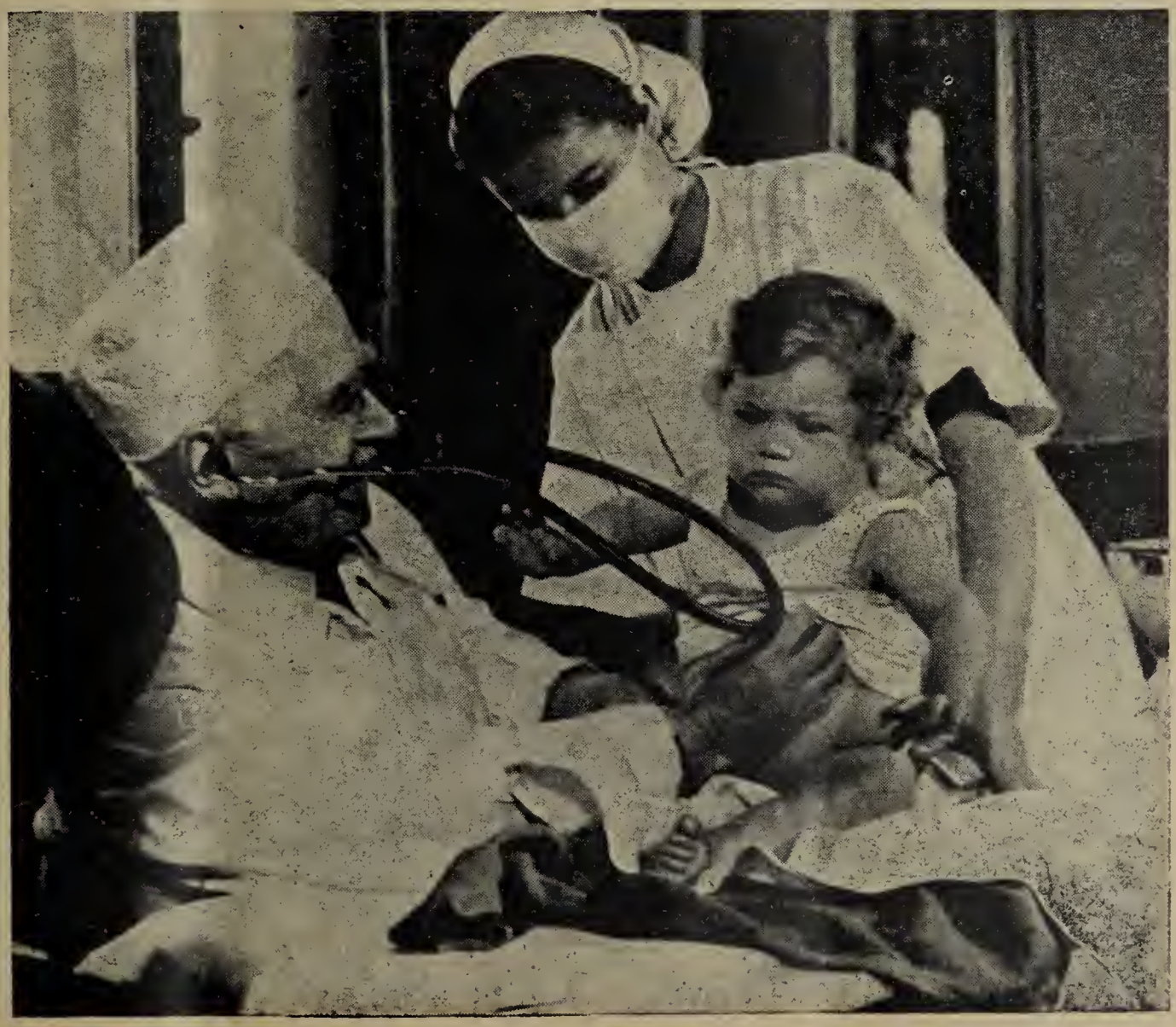

In a creche operated by the Social Security Administration at Montreuil near Paris. Far from being able to increase these facilities, the Social Security Administration sees its work endangered.

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The fight against tuberculosis requires the extension of the network of sanatoria and other facilities. The war economy is putting an end to the achievements of the French Social Security Administration. Our photograph shows the anti-tuberculosis centre at Brolles.

between 1947 and 1950 the *resources of the Social Security Fund doubled whereas expenditure tripled.*

In fact, French Social Security, like the workers' homes, suffers from the steady devaluation of wages. *It is, therefore, the victim of the economic policy pursued by the Americanised governments which have followed one another since* 1947.

Second fact. Social Security is victim of employers' fraudulency . It should be remembered that the income of the social security scheme is based on contributions from the workers and from the employers. The workers' contributions are compulsorily deducted from the workers' wages by the employer and they amount to 6 per cent of the wage packet. The employers' contribution amounts to 10 per cent. The managements of the firms are responsible for paying in the total contribution of 16 per cent to the Social Security Fund.

By sabotaging the regular and correct payment of subscriptions, the employers are year by year defrauding social security of an increasingly large sum of money. *Thus in* 1950 *alone the employers defrauded the entire Social Security Scheme of about* 100,000 *million fr. (including social insurance, industrial compensation, family allowances).*

By refusing the fund powers of prosecution and recoupment, by intervening in favour of defaulting employers and reducing the penalties for delay in payments, and by itself setting the worst example as an employer, the Government contributed to sabotaging the regular payment of contributions and therefore the Social Security Scheme.

Third fact. The French Government owes 76,000 *million fr. to the Social Security Fund for irregular payments forced on it by the government.* These payments related to Treasury debts, sums paid from the Social Security Fund to the Family Allowances Fund, allowances paid to old agricultural workers who are not covered by the general scheme, and a whole series of other expenses which should not be paid out of social security contributions, but out of the State budget.

These three essential facts show quite clearly :

(1) That the revaluation of wages and salaries and in particular, the return to the 1947 purchasing power, would provide sufficient additional contributions to the Social Security Fund not only to avoid creating any deficit but also to improve the benefits paid to the socially insured;

(2) that the recovery of the 100,000 million fr. owed by the employers and the 76,000 million owed by the State would alleviate all immediate anxiety as to the possibility of keeping up the payment of benefits to socially insured persons.

But this is by no means the intention of the Government. It is not part of the policy of M. Pleven and his colleagues to make the employers pay, to reimburse the Social Security Fund the millions of francs owing, or to agree to return to the 1947 level of purchasing power.

This is overwhelming proof of the incompatibility between support for the existing policy of poverty, super-armaments and war preparations pursued by the French Government of today and the real defence of that institution of welfare and social progress, social security.

THE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE AGAINST SOCIAL SECURITY

AT the last elections to the French Legislature in June 1951, as a result of the methods of systematic lying, which are used in all spheres and which are becoming the daily propaganda tool of the warmongers, and particularly as a result of the election swindle, a majority hostile to Ambroise Croizat's work was formed in the National Assembly. Nothing good could be expected from this Parliamentary majority. Only a powerful movement of public opinion and the formation of a solid alliance

The anti-tuberculosis vaccination building at Brolles.

The patients' ward in a sanatorium. Patients seeking admission to one of the establishments of the Social Security Administration are confronted with a deliberately bureaucratic and complicated procedure.

of all persons concerned and of all democratic and social forces will be able to influence its decisions and halt the reactionary manoeuvres against social security.

To achieve this it is first of all necessary to inform the socially insured and the entire country of the dangers threatening this institution, of the real reasons for its difficulties, and of the proper way of saving it from bankruptcy without reducing its efficiency and at the same time ensuring that it makes further social progress.

The present functioning of the Social Security Fund and of the service paying benefits to the socially insured and pensioners is far from being exempt from criticism. A high degree of bureaucracy and red-tape, for which the Government Department is responsible because of the multiplicity of its instructions and the often contradictory circulars it sends out, has complicated the payment of benefits to the extreme, and has quite justifiably aroused the workers dissatisfaction.

Moreover, the workers are dissatisfied with the inadequacy of benefits whose scope and value have been sabotaged. Benefits have, in fact, become inadequate to a large extent because the law is not applied.

It is not applied as regards the refunding of 80 per cent of medical and pharmaceutical expenditure incurred by socially-insured persons, as laid down by the Order of 4th October, 1945, and this for reasons which would take too long to analyse here and which depend partially on the difficulties of reaching an agreement with the medical profession as regards fees. Socially insured persons more often obtain the refunding of only 50 per cent of their expenditure.

It is not applied as regards aged workers whose pensions are outrageously inadequate. The average pension amounts to only 130 fr. a day whereas the minimum living wage calculated by the trade union organisations amounts to 23,600 fr. per month.

It is also not applied as regards family allowances which, under the Act of 22nd August, 1946, are supposed to be calculated on the basis of the wage earned by a labourer in the engineering industry in the Paris area, which would amount at the present time to 22,500 fr., whereas the basis taken is only 12,000 fr.

THE WORKERS DEMAND LARGER, NOT SMALLER BENEFITS

THE reactionary forces and the Government are aware of the justified dissatisfaction of the socially insured and are speculating on it to gain acceptance for the reactionary project for remodelling the scheme with the intention of reducing benefits, removing from the representatives of the socially insured the small share in the administration of the scheme which they at present exercise, and handing over the funds of the Social Security Scheme to the Government, which means, sooner or later, to the war budget.

But the socially insured are strongly attached to the Social Security Scheme whose imperfections they know can be corrected. They are in no way prepared to accept the slightest reduction in any of the benefits. In the present economic situation, with the extensive impoverishment of the workers' homes as a result of the devaluation of wages, millions of workers would, *without social security,* be completely unable to look after themselves or their children and to bring up their families. In 1949 and 1950 social security financed 90 per cent of all public health work in France.

It must be borne in mind that a Paris worker earning 24,000 fr. a month, who might have to undergo a serious operation requiring one month in hospital would, without social security, lose 24,000 fr. in wages and would have to pay 88,860 fr. to the Paris Public Assistance Board.

An attempt is being made to abolish all compensation for short illnesses, for example for illness lasting less than two weeks. It should be said at the outset that this would be an infringement of the

international agreements which fix the period of non-entitlement to benefits at 4 days only.

The effect of this move would be very serious because the present wages of French workers do not permit them to deduct sums for expenditure on the many current children's illnesses which, although of short duration, nevertheless require expensive attention and often visits from specialists charging very high fees. It is possible to calculate the cost of a children's illness, without ensuing complications, at an amount which is roughly equal to a week's wages of a worker with average qualifications.

One can therefore see at one and the same time the danger of cutting out benefits for short illnesses and the value of the assistance given in these cases to the workers' families by the Social Security Scheme. One can also estimate at its correct value the reactionary intentions of those who are proposing to abolish these benefits.

Socially-insured persons in France are not only unanimously against any reduction in existing benefits, but are demanding an increase since, at the last elections to the Governing Bodies of the Social Insurance Fund in France, the vast majority cast their votes for completely free medical aid and medicaments, *for increased pensions and allowances to aged workers, for raising the amount and for full payment of industrial compensation, for increased family allowances, for simplifying the legislation and placing the administration of the Fund entirely in the hands of the elected representatives of the socially insured by the elimination of the employers from the Governing bodies of the Fund.*

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE DEFENCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY

THE mobilisation of all socially-insured persons in France and a firm alliance of all workers in the factories has become immediately and imperatively necessary and capable of speedy realisation.

This mobilisation must be expanded, on the basis of a common front of all bodies, organisations and associations concerned for the defence of social security and who want to improve it.

This was why the C.G.T. took the initiative of calling *a broad National Conference for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security.* This idea, which was launched at a Press and Information Conference held in Paris on September 4th and attended by a broad and varied audience, is to be carried into effect.

The projected purpose of this National Conference is to ensure the participation of representatives of all the French Trade Union Centres, all bodies dealing with social security and family allowances, social security experts and officials, and professional, cultural and social organisations and associations directly concerned.

A provisional national organising committee has already been set up. In addition to the General Confederation of Labour, this committee contains representatives of the People's Liberation Movement, the National Confederation of Working Class Families' Associations, the Association for the Defence and Protection of Children, the General Confederation of Commerce and Industry, the Ex-Servicemen's Republican Association, the United General Confederation of Craftsmen, the Association of Widows, Orphans and Dependents of Victims of the Two World Wars, the National Federation of Hospital Patients, the National Federation of Civilian Invalids and Disabled, the National Anti-Tuberculosis Federation, the National Association of Aged Workers, the Medical Aid Association, the Association of Jewish Friendly Societies, and the United Socialist Party. This list will grow considerably longer as a result of the invitation sent to all organisations which have not officially announced their intention to participate.

County preparatory conferences are already being organised and Defence Committees are being set up in the factories in the broadest unity.

This enlarged national preparatory committee will, after agreement between all those concerned, fix the date, place and method for preparing the national conferences for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security in France.

Thus, the organisation under good conditions of the defence of French social security will be accompanied by the laying of the foundations for the preparation of the International Conference on Social Security which the World Federation of Trade Unions is planning to call.

Social Security creche at Boulogne-sur-Seine, near Paris.

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OF ECUADOR

by

Modesto RIVERA

Secretary of the Ecuador Indian Federation

FOLLOWING a democratic political movement which occurred on May 29th, 1944, the trade union organisations and democratic forces in Ecuador found fresh prospects and new possibilities before them. It was at this point that a very extensive campaign began among the Indians and the entire peasant population in all provinces of the Ecuador Sierra (mountainous region), particularly in the areas where agricultural workers suffer most under the yoke of the feudal and semi-feudal regime which prevails in the countryside. This was the case in the provinces of Chimborazo, Catopari, Pichincha, and Imbabura and many others.

This movement, which did not possess a sufficient degree of class consciousness, aims of real significance or a strong and well organised leadership, put forward immediate and elementary demands such as the settlement of wages which had never been paid in most *haciendas* (big estates), the improvement of living and working conditions, the building of schools, the return of common land, freedom from taxes, statute labour and other burdens imposed on the Indians by the Administration, the clergy, etc.

This general mobilisation of the Indians and peasants who, in 1944, succeeded for the first time in gaining representation within the Constituent Assembly, resulted in the formation of a nation-wide weapon of trade union struggle. This weapon is the Ecuador Indian Federation (E.I.F.).

The Indians and peasants of Ecuador have waged an age-long struggle against the regime of exploitation and serfdom. They fought feudalism first when Ecuador was a Spanish colony, then under the Republic. But it was not until 1944 that this struggle took on a clear and well-defined form with the adoption of a concrete programme of demands, including the demand for their liberation.

The founding of the Ecuador Indian Federation brought about firmer organisation, a more effectively directed struggle and a more systematic mobilisation of large sections of the Indian and peasant masses of Ecuador for the drive to free themselves from the conditions of exploitation and slavery in which they live.

Activities and Struggle of the E.I.F.

THE Ecuador Indian Federation, founded in 1945, is composed of agricultural workers' trade unions from several provinces in the Ecuador Sierra, and is affiliated to the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador. It set up a Central Committee comprising a president and several representatives of provincial trade union organisations elected by a Congress, and an Executive Committee consisting of the secretaries of the local committees in the most important areas—those where there are particularly large numbers of agricultural workers, such as Cayambe, the provinces of Pichincha, Cotopaxi and Chimborazo.

In addition to its annual congresses, the E.I.F. has also organised conferences of Indian leaders in areas where there are frequent labour disputes, in Indian communities or where complaints of various kinds have been made. The basic purpose of the congresses was to examine and draw up pro-

A trade union meeting of members of the Ecuador Indian Federation.

grammes of immediate demands, such as wage increases, better working conditions, the revision or abolition of legislation harmful to agricultural workers, the return of the land to Indian communities, the settlement of the numerous disputes between communities and individuals, and the basic programme relating to agrarian reform and the social and national liberation of the Indians and peasants.

During the last few years, the agricultural unions belonging to the E.I.F. have increased in number and their membership has risen in the main agricultural areas of the Ecuador Sierra. The agricultural workers' unions which have so far been set up and are in operation are as follows:

—in the Imbarura province, the La Merced *hacienda* union, covering several hundred workers; in the Pichincha province, the Yanahuaico, Pucara, Muyurca, Pisambilla, Chimba, San Pablo Urco, Carioco, Pesillo, El Hato, Guachela and Dos Queseras trade unions, covering about 1,000 workers; in the Chimborazo province, the Pull, Galte, Atapo Chico, Atapo Grande, Tipin, La Ermita and Totorillas trade unions covering about 2,000 workers.

In addition to the trade unions actually affiliated to the E.I.F., the Federation is exercising growing influence over wide sections of unorganised Indians and peasants who put forward their demands through the Federation and are gradually joining its ranks. These workers are day labourers in the *haciendas, comuneros* (workers in Indian communities) and small share-croppers.

In 1945, the E.I.F. set up the first Indian cooperative in Ecuador, called Tigua, in the Cotopaxi province, and it owns its own land on which about 300 families live.

Indian Agricultural Workers

THERE are different types of agricultural workers, according to the forms of property and serfdom which have been in existence in our country since the colonial period. Thus there are the *huasipungueros,* agricultural labourers who receive as wages a plot of land, generally small and unfertile, for the use or rental of which half of their minimum money wage, fixed at one sucre 50 centavos[1], is withheld. The *yanaperos* work on the big estates in exchange for certain small "advantages" in kind, such as the right to pasture their few cattle on the moorland (*paramo*).

1 15 sucres equal one U.S. dollar, which means that the minimum wage is equivalent to 10 cents.

The *partidarios* or sharcs croppers cultivatc thc land under generally extremely disadvantagcous conditions, because they have to hand ovcr half thc produce of thc land to the land-owner. The *sueltos* or day labourers arc agricultural workers who have no *huasipungo* and who earn a minimum wage of only 1.50 sucrcs.

In addition to these types of workcrs, who form the majority, there arc many types of labourers cmployed in extremcly arduous jobs such as herdsmcn on thc moorland, sowers, and domestic servants both in the *haciendas* and in the landowners' town houses.

Slave-like Forms of Exploitation

THE most immediate and frequently raised demands in thc big estates relate to working conditions, to the payment of wages—which the landowners pay only after long delays, usually only once a ycar and after creating all sorts of difficulties, to payment for pastureland allotted for thc workers' cattle on the moorland, to thc disproportionatc charges and the alleged contraction of debts by the workers who look after the cattle in the *haciendas* when an animal belonging to the herd strays or dies, to the ill treatment of the workers by the bailiffs, employees and agents of thc landowners, etc. These are their most immediatc demands, although a large section of the peasants here begun to understand that the basic demand and the main aim in the fight for their liberation concerns the land itself, within the framework of urgent and far-reaching agrarian reform.

The development of trade union work and the task of organising and defending the agricultural workers is madc difficult for the Ecuador Indian Federation becausc thc majority of these workers are illiterate and livc in poverty-stricken conditions, far from urban centres. But in spite of this the Federation has succeeded in considerably extending its influence and it has won some quite striking successes, despite the aggressive hostility of the *gamonales* (big landowners) and the bias, prejudice and repression on the part of the authorities towards the Indian workers and peasants.

The Indian Federation mobilised its secretaries and leaders for work in the distant rural areas so that they could find out the workers' problems in an objective and speedy manner. The Federation concentrates its organisation in the countryside and runs its schools, whose number is still not sufficient,

Indian agricultural workers of the haciendas, members of the trade unions of Chalua and Basuyacu.

An Indian woman worker of the Sierra du Chimborazo. (Drawing by Jan Schreuder).

against the great difficulties, mainly of an economic nature, which it encounters in the accomplishment of this task.

In this continual struggle waged by the trade unions on the big estates, many Indian leaders or "chiefs" (*cabecillas*) acquire a vigorous spirit of struggle and class solidarity. Many of them are victims of repression exerted by the authorities in the service of the big landowners. They are often arrested, prosecuted and dismissed from their jobs.

Agricultural workers, most of whom are Indians, do not yet enjoy the same protective legislation as town workers. On the contrary, they are subject to discriminatory legislation which affirms and perpetuates the old feudal tributes such as unpaid labour on public roads under a special conscription, and other forms of forced labour such as *mingas, Taenas,* etc.

They are also victims of customs imposed since the colonial period, such as the payment of tithes, delivering the first produce, and of heavy taxes on their small plots of land, the levies imposed by the priests on the occasion of marriages, christenings, burials, etc. They are also the State's main source of income, since the State obtains most of its revenues from the sale of brandy. Finally, they bear the very heavy costs of the frequent religious festivals. This accumulation of financial burdens means that the Indian is perpetually in debt.

Indians Deprived of the Most Elementary Rights

THE Ecuador Indian Federation is daily obliged to intervene, either directly in the countryside, or in the towns, by representations to the administration, in the labour disputes which continuously take place owing to the excessive tasks imposed on the workers in ploughing the land, sowing and harvesting. For example, in some *haciendas,* they are given as the day's task the ploughing or *tole* of an area of land one *palo* (about 5 yards) broad by 15, 18 or even 20 *palos* long. This is a task which no agricultural worker could accomplish alone with the primitive instruments at his disposal such as a spade or pick, even if he worked from sun-up to sun-down. He is, therefore, forced to obtain assistance from the members of his family to complete his task.

One of the most frequent demands of agricultural workers stems from the fact that in many *haciendas* they are not paid any wages, although an Act of 1939 established a minimum wage of 1.50 sucres for the agricultural worker, half of this sum being deducted from the *huasipunguero* for the use of his *huasipungo.* In those big estates where this miserable wage is actually paid to the agricultural workers, further deductions are usually made as repayment of sums which they are supposed to owe for the loss or death of cattle or for alleged damage which the animals belonging to the workers are supposed to have caused to the owners' land. The result is, in fact, that the workers never receive any wages. On the contrary, they find themselves overwhelmed with debts which they never succeed in repaying.

Another form of exploiting the agricultural workers consists in the payments they are forced to make for the right to pasture the few animals they possess on the meagre lands belonging to the *haciendas* or to a neighbouring parish. Sometimes they have to pay this rent in the form of two or three days' work per week, and sometimes in the form of cattle, farm-yard animals or in money. Very often agricultural workers are also forced to provide their services free on legal holidays. These impositions are called *faonas, piaras* —transport services—or, for collective work, *mingas.*

These very severe conditions which the Ecuador agricultural workers have to face keep them in a

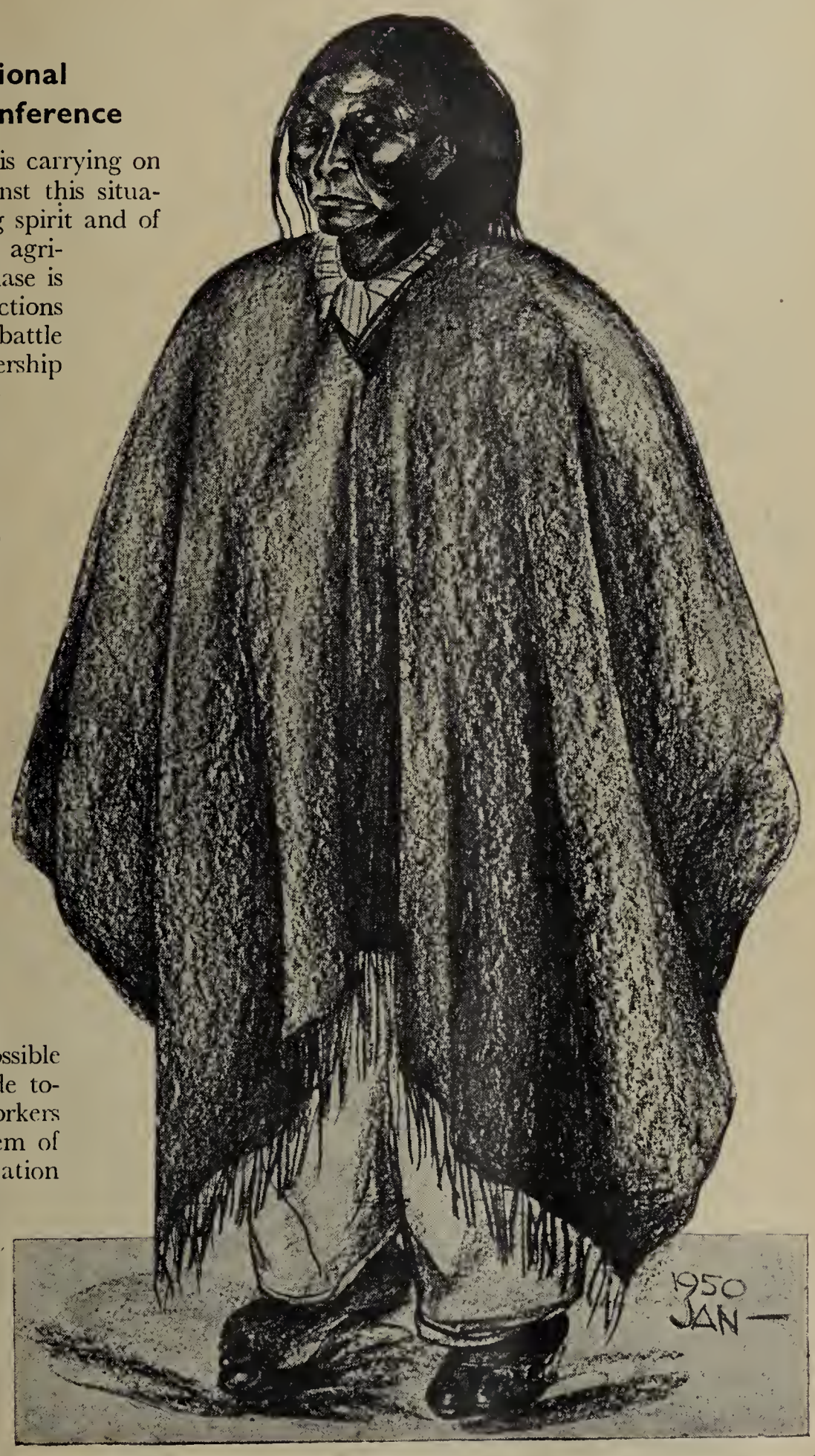
poverty-stricken situation and deprive them of the most elementary human rights. This is one of the basic causes of the extremely backward way of life which prevails in our country.

The Latin-American Regional Agricultural Workers' Conference

THE Ecuador Indian Federation is carrying on a stubborn daily struggle against this situation. The development of a fighting spirit and of trade union organisation among the agricutural workers during the recent phase is extremely significant. Today large sections of the Indians themselves wage the battle for their demands under the leadership drawn from their own ranks, courageously facing up to the threats and repressive measures of the landowners and authorities.

As was mentioned above, the Ecuador Indian Federation belongs to the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, which is affiliated to the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U., as well as to Provincial Trades Councils. It has representatives on the executive bodies of the Ecuador labour movement. The trade union organisations of the country help the Indian agricultural workers to settle their disputes and give them solidarity in their struggles. But this solidarity is not yet up to the level required by the Indian workers' campaign in defence of their interests and rights.

There are still great weaknesses in our movement. It is still too often possible to note a certain paternalistic attitude towards the struggles of the Indian workers and population. The national problem of this important section of the population (of the 3,200,000 inhabitants of Ecuador, 1,824,000, i.e. 57 per cent, are Indians, and 768,000, i.e. 24 per cent, are half-castes) has not been approached in a truly class-conscious spirit. Sufficient attention has not been given to its demands of a social and national character, both of which aspects are closely linked; and the struggle has not been organised on a national scale to bring about the satisfaction of its demands. This is



Indian agricultural worker of the Montagneuse de Quito Region. (Drawing by Jan Schreuder.)

a problem which does not affect only or interest exclusively the Indian workers. On the contrary, this is a problem with which the trade union movement and the democratic movement in general must concern themselves.

Following the approval of a Programme of Demands for Indian Workers and Populations, by the Latin American Regional Agricultural Workers' Conference called by the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. in conjunction with the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International (W.F.T.U. Trade Department), and in line with the policy laid down by that Conference, the Ecuador Indian Federation and the trade union movement of our country, represented by the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador, are today carrying on intensive work publicising and discussing this programme.

A Correct Programme of Indian Demands

THEY are at the same time incorporating concrete demands of Indian communities and populations into this programme and are organising the struggle for the satisfaction of these demands. In addition, they are organising and giving impetus to solidarity from workers and all democratic sections in the country.

In the Indian question in Ecuador, as in most Latin American countries, demands of an economic and social character are closely bound up with the fight for possession of the land and with the problem of national oppression. The destruction of the vestiges of feudalism and semi-feudalism and of slave-like conditions of labour, the possession of the land by the Indian peasants and communities and its return to them through the abolition of the *latifundio* (big estates), the respect by the State of the rights of local authorities of Indian communities and the democratic election of these authorities, the suppression of all forms of exploitation and oppression which violate human dignity and freedom—those are the essential conditions for liberating the Indian population and workers and for bringing them into active participation in the life of the nation with full equality of rights.

On the basis of the policy laid down by the

Portrait of an Indian worker. (Drawing by Jan Schreuder.)

Latin-American Regional Agricultural Workers' Conference, the Ecuador Indian Federation and the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador are marching in the front ranks of the fight to defend the interests and rights of the Indian workers and population who themselves are part of the great movement of struggle for our own social and national liberation.

TRADE UNION UNITY FORGED IN GUATEMALA

Message from the W.F.T.U.

The World Federation of Trade Unions sends hearty greetings to the Trade Union Unity Congress which is to create a single Trade Union Centre for the workers of Guatemala. This new Centre will be of decisive importance for the improvement of their economic and social conditions and for the development of national independence.

The W.F.T.U. congratulates the leaders and workers belonging to Guatemalan trade union organisations of varying political and religious views on having found the path to essential unity. The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau indicated to all workers that this was the right road towards the improvement of wages and working conditions, the extension of social gains, the promotion of agrarian reform and industrial development, the strengthening of existing democratic regimes, national independence and the preservation of peace between all peoples of the world.

The W.F.T.U. considers that the United Trade Union Centre of Guatemala will represent a victory for the working class, will give the necessary impetus to the organisation of the thousands of workers who are not yet in the unions, will strengthen the workers' united fight for their rights and for their economic and social demands, will contribute, alongside the peasants and other democratic forces, to the cause of the national and social liberation of the people and will strengthen international workers' solidarity under the banner of the W.F.T.U.

OUIS SAILLANT
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

UNITY CONGRESS

A Magnificent Success

On his return from Guatemala, where he represented the W.F.T.U. at the Trade Union Unity Congress, Brother Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers wrote to the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U.: "The Congress constituted a magnificent victory and the complete unity of the workers of town and country in Guatemala is now a reality. The names of G. Di Vittorio and Louis Saillant were enthusiastically acclaimed when the President and the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. were elected members of the Presidium. Victor Manuel Gutierrez was named General Secretary of the unified trade union centre."

ATOM WEAPONS

J. V. STALIN'S Reply to "Pravda"

"PRAVDA" published on October 6th the reply of J. V. STALIN to one of its correspondents concerning the atomic weapon.

QUESTION:

What is your opinion of the hullabaloo raised recently in the foreign press in connection with the testing of an atom bomb in the Soviet Union?

ANSWER:

Indeed, one type of atom bomb was recently tested in our country. Tests of atom bombs of various calibres will be made in the future as well under the plan for the defence of our country from attack by the Anglo-American aggressive bloc.

QUESTION:

In connection with the testing of an atom bomb, various leading personalities in the United States are raising an alarm and shouting about a threat to the security of the United States. Is there any ground for such alarm?

ANSWER:

There are no grounds whatever for such alarm. Leading personalities in the United States cannot fail to know that the Soviet Union is not only opposed to the use of the atomic weapon, but that it is also for its prohibition, for the cessation of its production. It is known that the Soviet Union has several times demanded the prohibition of atomic weapons, but each time it has met with the refusal of the Atlantic bloc Powers. This means that in the event of an attack by the United States on our country the ruling circles of the United States would use the atom bomb. It is this circumstance that has compelled the Soviet Union to have the atomic weapon in order to be fully prepared to meet the aggressors.

Of course, the aggressors would like the Soviet Union to be unarmed in the event of their attack upon it. The Soviet Union, however, does not agree to this and it thinks that it should be fully prepared to meet an aggressor. Consequently, if the United States has no intention of attacking the Soviet Union, the alarm of leaders in the United States should be considered as pointless and false, because the Soviet Union does not contemplate ever attacking the United States or any other country.

Leaders in the United States are vexed

MUST BE BANNED

Correspondent on Atomic Weapons

because the secret of the atom bomb is possessed not only by the United States, but also by other countries, primarily the Soviet Union. They would like the United States to be the monopolist in the production of the atom bomb; they would like the United States to have unlimited power to intimidate and blackmail other countries. But on what grounds do they think so, by what right? Do the interests of preserving peace require such a monopoly? Would it not be more correct to say that the matter is just the opposite, that it is the interests of preserving peace that require first of all the elimination of such a monopoly and then the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon. I think that advocates of the atom bomb may agree to prohibition of the atomic weapon only if they see that they no longer have a monopoly.

QUESTION:

What is your opinion regarding international control in respect of the atomic weapon?

ANSWER:

The Soviet Union stands for prohibiting the atomic weapon and discontinuing production of the atomic weapon. The Soviet Union stands for the establishment of international control so that the decision to prohibit the atomic weapon, to discontinue production of the atomic weapon and to utilise atom bombs already produced solely for civilian purposes will be fulfilled exactly and conscientiously. The Soviet Union stands for precisely this kind of international control.

American leaders also speak of "control," but their "control" presupposes not the cessation of the production of the atomic weapon, but continuation of such production in quantities conforming to the amount of raw materials at the disposal of the different countries. Consequently American "control" presupposes not prohibiting the atomic weapon, but making it legal and lawful. Thereby the right of the warmongers to annihilate tens and hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants by means of the atomic weapon is made lawful. It is not difficult to understand that this is not control but mockery of control, deception of the peace-loving aspirations of the peoples. It is clear that such "control" cannot satisfy the peace-loving peoples who demand the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the cessation of its production.

APPEALS

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE

European Workers' Committee Against Remilitarisation of Germany

The workers of sixteen European countries were represented while those from six others were only prevented by lack of visas and other material difficulties from being present at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany which was held in Berlin from September 27th to 30th, 1951.

In addition to a working resolution, the Executive Committee adopted appeals to all German and European workers and to men and women workers of the United States, which are reproduced below.

To All German and European Workers!

On September 10th a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France was held in Washington. The aim of this meeting was to rearm Western Germany, incorporate it into the aggressive Atlantic Pact and include German units in the Atlantic Pact Army.

The decisions of the Washington Conference prove that the Western Powers are driving ahead with their preparations for a third World War.

These moves are taking place while the Schuman Plan is achieving the fusion of the steel and coal industries of Western Germany, France and the Benelux countries into the industrial foundation for an aggressive war.

The aims of Krupp, Pferdmenges, Abs and their like can never be compatible with the aims of the metalworkers and miners, or those of working people in general. These plans of the big industrialists do not serve mankind's longing for peace; they lead, not to a higher living standard, but to endless destruction, ruins and misery.

In the Atlantic Pact countries the governments are attempting to win the people for their war plans by propaganda about so-called "defence forces".

Working people must oppose these plans of the armament bosses. Their task is to fight for peace and, by peaceful work, to ensure a full and happy life for all.

The West German Government of Bonn—on the orders of the Western Occupation Authorities and under the leadership of the government of the United States—is supporting the same forces which brought Hitler to power.

Released Nazi generals and war criminals, such as Speidel, Heusinger, Guderian, Manteuffel and Ramcke are being consulted and are now ready to command the West German contingents in the North Atlantic Pact Army. Once again their experience in mass murder is in great demand.

The Bonn Government is trying to turn German youth into mercenaries to serve in the Atlantic Pact Army. 250,000 young Germans born in 1932 are to be conscripted to form the first contingent.

On October 29th a new war conference of the Atlantic Pact countries is due to be held in Rome, where the remilitarisation of Western Germany is to be confirmed and further measures to prepare a third world war are to be decided upon.

Men and women workers of Europe!

This must not happen! The peoples of Europe must not permit the repetition of the atrocities of a fascist war. Remember the horrors of two world wars which German militarism has brought to the world. Remember the concentration camps, the gas chambers, the shooting of hostages and the horrible nights of the bombing raids.

Remember the sufferings of the Korean people!

Save the future of mankind!

Millions of murdered women, men and children accuse! Act now to prevent a third world war, the horrors of which would far exceed those of the second world war!

Support the appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Parliament of Western Germany for a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany which would

stop remilitarisation and ensure peace for the peoples of Europe.

Do not waste your strength in quarrels and disputes. Build unity among the workers and all sections of the people, and fight together against war, our mortal enemy.

German men and women workers!

You bear a special responsibility in the fight against the preparations for a new war in Europe.

Fight still more resolutely against the militarisation of your country, for a united peace-loving democratic Germany.

Men and women workers of Europe!

In this critical hour the European Workers' Committee calls upon you to fight for peace.

Strengthen the ranks of all those who desire peace!

Organise exchanges of letters between the workers of your factory and those of other European countries. Exchange your experiences in the fight against the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

Organise demonstrations and meetings protesting against the Conference on October 29th of the war conspirators in Rome!*

Send your protests to Rome!

For all working people, irrespective of political opinion or religious belief, the 29th October must become a powerful demonstration against the remilitarisation of Germany, against war and for the defence of peace.

United we will save peace!

European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany.

Men and Women Workers of The United States!

In thirty years of history Europe has twice been ravaged by world wars.

Annihilation of people, destruction of homes and work-places have been the disastrous consequences of these two wars.

Once again, not only the peoples of Europe but all the peoples of the world are threatened by the danger of a new war. Thinking people know that a third world war would mean the annihilation of entire nations. The peoples of Europe, and especially the workers of Europe, will oppose any and every attempt to unleash a new world war.

It is for this reason that the workers of Europe have set up the European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany. This European Workers' Committee now calls on you, men and women of America, to prevent, in common with the workers of Europe, the war which threatens us. In the face of this danger to mankind you, too, bear a great responsibility. Remilitarisation in Western Germany is being speeded on the order of your government. It is the working people who are bearing the burden of remilitarisation; they have to bear increased taxes and prices; real wages of the West German workers and of those of Western Europe are falling continuously.

Everywhere where war is being prepared, the living standards of the working people are automatically falling.

In the light of this development, we, workers of Europe, are greatly worried about the life and future of our families and our youth. We know that you too hate war. We know that American mothers also love their children. We know that the working people of America love life just as we do, for a new war would mean much misery and great suffering for the American people as well.

In the light of this knowledge, we appeal to you to fight together with the workers of Europe for the maintenance of peace.

Form workers' Committees against war!

Collect signatures for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

Demonstrate against the war conference of the Atlantic Pact States to be held in Rome on October 29th, 1951.*

Support the appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Parliament of Western Germany for the establishment of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany.

The Occupation Authority of your government is preventing acceptance of the appeal of the People's Chamber by the Federal Parliament of Western Germany and thereby the achievement of Germany's reunification.

We appeal to you to demand through mass demonstrations and meetings that your government, together with the governments of France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, conclude a peace treaty this year with a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany which will guarantee peace in Europe.

Long live the fight of the workers of all the world for the maintenance of peace!

European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany.

* The Atlantic Pact Council has now decided to postpone this Conference until the end of November.

ECONOMIC NOTES

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Between 1st July, 1950 and 30th June, 1951, war material orders placed with certain firms amounted to the following:

	$ millions
General Motors	3,500
Ford	1,000
Boeing (aviation)	960
Curtiss (aviation)	840
Lockheed (aviation)	674
General Electric	549

The total is thus 7,523 million dollars for these six firms alone, or more than France's entire budget.

Total orders for war equipment placed with American firms amounted to a value of 22,000 million dollars, or nearly four times the entire French budget.

☆ ☆ ☆

By the end of June, 1951, strategic stocks were valued at 3,000 million dollars and orders of strategic materials totalled 1,925 million dollars. Taken together, this represents one-and-a-half times the total budget of a country like Canada.

☆ ☆ ☆

On September 28th, a military construction programme was voted involving an expenditure of $5,864,301,178, including 3,500 millions on aviation, 1,400 millions on the Army, and 800 millions on the Navy.

This amount represents one-and-a-half times the British Government's expenditure on the social services.

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Although this crazy expenditure is causing serious cuts in the living standards of the people, it is bringing in bigger and bigger profits for the monopolies. The following are some examples of profits realised in the first half of 1951 as compared with the first half of 1950:

	%
Allied Chemical and Dye Corp....	18
American Cyanamid Co. ...	81
American Woollen Co.	615
Anaconda Copper Mining Co. ...	39
Firestone Tyre and Rubber Co....	73
Reynolds Metals Co.	163
Weyerhaeuser Timber Co. ...	94
United States Rubber Co. ...	86
St. Joseph Lead Co.	87
Standard Oil Co. (California) ...	40
Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) ...	35
Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)	56
Texas Oil	59
Sun Oil Co.	73
Container Corp. of America ...	102

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The number of students will fall by 10 per cent. in 1951; and there will be between 7,500 and 10,000 less high school and university teachers than last year. 1.7 per cent. of the national income will be spent on education as compared with 2.5 per cent. in 1940.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour Must Discuss Suicidal Policy

The great debate on Labour policy which we were all expecting at Scarborough will not now take place. There will be no time for it. In its place there will obviously be a closing of the ranks to keep out its Conservative opponents. Upon that single fact the movement is united.

Yet this is very far from saying that the great debate will not take place at all. On the contrary, the widening rift between Transport House and the rank and file, closed though it must and will be for the purposes of the electoral campaign, is not to be conjured away as easily as that. All that will happen is that the debate will be postponed—to be held, in circumstances which none can foresee with any certainty, after the election.

There was probably never a time when debate within the movement was more needed, but less indulged. And it will do no harm, this being the case, to suggest one burning subject that needs debate, and needs it urgently. That subject is the prospective alliance of Britain with the West German State and its armed forces. . . . What is debatable is the wisdom of following such a policy. But the Labour movement, as a whole, has not debated this.

Hence the need for the wide discussion we might have had at Scarborough. Because a curious paradox exists here. No Labour audience, it is safe to say, has unreservedly endorsed the policy of rearming Western Germany. No Labour audience has committed itself to believing that the political situation in Western Germany is anything but bad, undemocratic and dangerous to everything the movement wants and believes. No Labour audience has ever admitted that a British alliance with this kind of German State could be anything but blankly and baldly wrong.

On the contrary, dozens of Labour organisations have said that German rearmament would be disastrous, that the West German State is a cradle for a new Nazism, that alliance with such a State should be avoided like the plague. The Co-operative Congress has gone on record very strongly in this sense. So have many trade unions.

And yet, somehow or other, at the top level, Mr. Herbert Morrison has felt himself empowered gaily to commit the movement to all these things. No wonder a debate is felt by many to be necessary. And if Scarborough cannot provide it for the obvious reason of the coming election, then a high percentage of the Labour movement will desire an extraordinary conference immediately after the election . . .

BASIL DAVIDSON in the *New Central European Observer,* 29.9.51.

WEST GERMANY

West German Youth Fight for a Better Life

Hand in hand with the accelerated war preparations of the U.S. Government in Western Germany and the announcement of the setting up of a Western German Army of 250,000, the standard of living of young workers in this part of the country is steadily deteriorating. Essential raw materials are used exclusively for war production, bringing about ever increasing unemployment, from which youth are among the worst sufferers. The coal of the Ruhr, instead of being used for peaceful industry to give work to the German people, is being exported for American war purposes . . . . The end result of this deliberate policy of the Adenauer Government, inspired by its American masters, is the ruination of peace industry and the creation of an immense pool of unemployed in Western Germany which the Americans are using and intend to use as a reserve of cannon-fodder.

In this situation it is increasingly difficult for young people leaving school to find employment, let alone learn a trade, which is becoming almost impossible of achievement. It is officially reported that there are more than 30,000 youth in Lower Saxony who up to July 1951 had not yet found a job or commenced an apprenticeship . . .

But the German workers are refusing to accept this state of affairs. They are fighting back . . .

Increasing numbers of young Germans understand that their bad living and working conditions are due to the war policy of the Western German Government . . .

Youth unity grows with each passing day as a result of the fight against the remilitarisation of Western Germany and for better living conditions. Outstanding example of this was the conference of young engineers and apprentices which took place some time ago. Because of government prohibition and police persecution this nation-wide event took place in the woods. Nevertheless, 1,183 delegates from 462 mainly big factories participated. Typical of the demands placed before the conference were those of the young workers and apprentices of the Wittman Steel Foundry of Hagen-Haspe who proposed an 11 point programme which includes the following:

The demand for a young workers' protection and trade-training law; the raising of youth and apprenticeship wages; legal recognition for one day trade training each week without loss of pay; that all apprentices on finishing their time must be kept employed for at least a further 6 months: that young workers' representatives in factories and members of youth factory committees are legally recognised; the erection of trade training schools; 24 days' holiday for youth under 18; a 42 hour week for under sixteens and a 45 hour week for those 16 to 18 years old.

This statement of proposals ends with the declaration that only in peaceful construction will youth find a future, and therefore they fully support the referendum against remilitarisation now being signed throughout the country, and demand that war production in their factory should be prohibited . . .

In the forefront of the struggle of West German youth against war preparations and lowered living standards is the Free German Youth. The attempt of the Adenauer Government to ban the Free German Youth is an attempt to suppress this ever-growing struggle of young Germany. It is doomed to fail. Young Germans recognise that this attempted ban is directed at the only youth organisation in Western Germany which consistently fights for their interests and they are taking action to get it annulled.

In this strugle for peace and a

better life in a united Germany, German youth have the support of peace-loving youth throughout the world.

World Federation of Democratic Youth *Radio Bulletin.* August 1951.

FRANCE

Unity Marches Forward

"Hello . . .Brother Lefevre? . . . This is *La Vie Ouvrière* . . . Look here, the announcement that the 300 metal workers in the Mariage plant at Saint-Quentin have formed a single united trade union is an important event, and we would like to know how it came about."

At the other end of the line a thoughtful silence, then the voice of Lefevre, which explains:

"Well! We got up a petition protesting against Pleven's monthly wage of 20,000 francs and demanding the 23,600 franc minimum, the sliding scale, the abolition of wage differentials on a regional basis, increased seniority bonuses and bonuses for tools. Although these general demands are fine, one must not forget those which are wrongly called 'little demands.'

"Well, then, this petition went from shop to shop so that everyone could add on it his own demands in detail. It was soon covered with the signatures of the whole staff, including members of Force Ouvrière[1] and the unorganised—100 per cent.

"After that we had only to set up a shop committee during a general meeting. Then almost automatically, the workers themselves got the idea of a single union. It was discussed by the committee for unity of action and was approved by all. Then we adopted the proposal and set up two secretaries, one Force Ouvrière and one C.G.T., and two treasurers, one Force Ouvrière and one C.G.T."

"How was this news received by the workers?"

"With extraordinary enthusiasm! So well, that we sent an appeal for unity to spread our example throughout Saint-Quentin, and we hope that this appeal will shortly be followed by many others!"

La Vie Ouvrière, week of 19-25 Sept, 1951.

1 Force Ouvriere, breakaway trade union led by rightwing social democrats.

CANADA

Child Labour in Nova Scotia

A new Employment of Children Act prohibits absolutely the employment of a child under 14 years in specified industries, including manufacturing, shipbuilding, electrical works, construction, the forestry industry, garages and automobile service stations, hotels and restaurants, the operation of elevators, and such amusement places as theatres, dance halls, shooting galleries, bowling alleys and pool rooms. *Family undertakings are excluded from this prohibition.* The new act thus greatly extends the number of prohibited employments for children under 14. The Factories Act has forbidden the ployments for children under 14. factories since it was enacted in 1901.

In occupations other than those listed above, hours of children under 14 *are limited to eight in a day . . . Night work of children under* 14 *is forbidden by the Act between* 10 *p.m. and* 6 *a.m. As introduced, the Bill prohibited employment after* 7 *p.m. but the later hour was inserted in passage.*

(Our italics, Ed.)

The Labour Gazette (published by the Canadian Department of Labour, Ottawa), July 1951.

IRELAND

Emigration

If there is one thing more than another that troubles the conscience of our people, or at least those of them who have the interests of the nation at heart, it is the terrible drain of emigration. Year after year thousands of young people leave our shores. The compulsion driving them from their homeland is economic—they emigrate in search of work because in our fruitful and fertile land we seem unable to provide jobs even for our small population. Many of the best among the younger generation have already left, seeking abroad the opportunities for their talents and abilities and the rewards for their efforts that are denied them in their own country. And as long as we fail to build a society and a way of life that guarantees to all our citizens security of employment at proper wages, with rising standards of living and equal opportunities in health, education and advancement, a society that provides the possibilities for a full, joyous and creative life for all, the stream of emigration will continue and its baneful influence felt in all spheres of our life, national, social and economic.

The preliminary report of the Census of Population taken in April last shows the population of the Twenty-six Counties to have been 2,958, 878, an increase of 3,771 or 0.1 per cent as compared with the last Census in 1946. The population figures as such need not concern us here; but what we wish to advert to is the extent of the emigration in the past five years revealed by these figures. In the period 1946 to 1951 the natural increase in the population amounted to 125,402 and the actual increase to 3,771 so that net emigration amounted to 121,631 or an average of 24,326 yearly, the equivalent of about 500 a week. This rate far exceeds that of the two previous intercensal periods: net emigration in the years 1936-46 averaged 18,711 yearly (about 400 weekly), and in the years 1926-36, 16,675 (about 350 weekly).

. . . In the twenty-five year period 1926 to 1951, no less than 475,500 people have emigrated. This is a staggering figure for a country whose population in 1926 amounted to only 2,972,000. It is to be hoped that the report of the Emigration Commission, when it is published, will make some practical recommendations to assist politicians and administrators to tackle this problem of emigration effectively and decisively.

Trade Union Information, issued by the Irish Trade Union Congress Research Department, Vol. 5, No. 25, July 1951.

MEXICO

The U.G.O.C.M. Proposes United Action for an All-Round Wage Increase

During the recent convention of the C.R.O.M. (Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers), the General Alliance of Workers and Peasants of Mexico (U.G.O.C.M.), affiliated to the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U., sent the above organisation a proposal for common struggle to win an all-round wage increase for the workers and to oppose the high cost of living.

The text of the U.G.O.C.M.'s proposal was as follows:

"The General Alliance of Workers and Peasants of Mexico has read in the press that on the agenda of the C.R.O.M.'s 20th Convention is the examination of the cost of living in order, very probably, to raise the question of an immediate wage increase—an absolute necessity for the workers and peasants of the country — and, also, the consideration of the actual methods of struggle for reducing the high cost of living, with the aim of remedying the present difficult and poverty-stricken conditions of the Mexican working class. The U.G.O.C.M. which will be dealing with the same problems at its forthcoming National Congress and which, furthermore, views sympathetically your organisation's activity on the workers' behalf with regard to wage increases and the reduction of living costs, therefore proposes to this great Assembly of the C.R.O.M. the holding of fraternal conversations for the purpose of achieving united action by the working masses, irre-

spective of opinion, so as to obtain, as rapidly as possible, the Mexican workers' concrete and immediate demands for the improvement of their economic and social living conditions. We send our fraternal greetings and wish you success in your work."

Noticiero de la CTAL,
(Mexico City) 15.8.51.

SOUTH KOREA

Economic Ruin and Impoverishment of the People

The people of South Korea, where the American imperialists at present lay down the law, are living in extremely severe economic conditions. Right at the beginning of the occupation, the American industrialists began a systematic liquidation of such industries as engineering, textile and others manufacturing local raw materials, for the purpose of making bigger profits by selling their surplus output in Korea.

By the time American aggression was launched in Korea, South Korean industry had been almost completely liquidated. According to information given by the American press, the level of industrial production amounted to 20 per cent of the pre-war level and the output of the metal industry to 5 per cent. On the eve of the war, more than two-thirds of industrial undertakings had closed down with the result that there were nearly 3 million unemployed in South Korea.

After the American imperialists' armed intervention in Korea, the remainder of South Korean industry was either completely destroyed or the most important items of factory equipment were shipped to Japan. During the war, the bandits of the American Army have burned or bombed 785 firms in the town of Scoul alone, to say nothing of the equipment which was taken from several dozen factories and plants.

We give below some data on the industrial situation in South Korea.

Before the beginning of the war, the electric power industry was working at only 40 per cent of full capacity. Out of three electric power plants and four hydro-electric power stations, only the electric power plant in Seoul and the hydro-electric power station of Tenpken were in operation. During the war, this latter plant was also put out of operation leaving only the Seoul electric power plant which uses fuel imported from Japan.

Coal production has been reduced almost to zero. There are 24 coal mines of varying sizes in South Korea. After the outbreak of hostilities, all these mines stopped activity. Last year, the South Korean newspapers announced that since the beginning of military operations in Korea, all mines had stopped production except for the Ursan pit.

South Korean agriculture is suffering particularly. Previously, the southern part of Korea had been considered as the granary of the whole country, but today, it is no longer in a position to feed even the population of South Korea.

According to information from American correspondents, the South Korean "Government" seizes up to 80 per cent of their harvest from the peasants. The area under crops is falling from year to year. For example, the area sown in 1950 amounted to only 30 to 40 per cent of the 1949 area.

In this situation of the extensive ruin of agriculture the Syngman Rhee "Government" is taking away the peasants' entire harvest by blackmail or intimidation. In 1950, the "Government" made plans to stock 14,231,000 sacks of rice (each sack containing about 132 lbs.). The Syngman Rhee clique used the most brutal and violent methods of plunder to carry out these plans. In spite of this, the report made by the police chief for the Kensan and Chola provinces shows that there were nearly a million sacks of rice less than the number which should have been collected. By February 18th 1950, they were able to collect only 69 per cent of the expected amount for the whole of South Korea. Many South Korean peasants were left without food, the number of people dying from hunger is increasing daily and there is a huge mass of inhabitants, without food and shelter, who are wandering throughout South Korea seeking food.

The price of rice and other foodstuffs is continuously rising. For example, on 25th June 1950, one mare (16.5 lbs.) of rice cost 5,400 wons in Seoul and in May 1951, the same quantity of rice cost 26,000 wons.

Nodon Sinmun (North Korea),
August 1951.

ARGENTINA

General Confederation of Labour Declares for Peace in Korea

As a result of the deep desire for peace of the Argentine working class, and following the announcement of the negotiations opened for a ceasefire in Korea on the initiative of the Soviet delegate, Mr. Malik, the Confederal Council of the General Confederation of Labour issued a communique which included the following statement:

"The General Confederation of Labour of the Republic of Argentina, voicing the ardent desire of the four and-a-half million workers in the ranks of its affiliated organisations, publicly expresses its fervent hope that the negotiations in progress at the moment in that distant part of the world will arrive at concrete solutions as rapidly as possible, so that mankind can feel the relief of seeing an end to the unjust sacrifice of so many useful and precious human lives."

This declaration by the Confederation must be called to mind in all firms and workers' meetings and congresses and we must direct the administration of our country to instruct the Argentine delegate in the United Nations to call for peace in Korea and a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers as the essential condition for effective and permanent world peace.

Unidad Sindical (Buenos Aires),
September 1951.

CHINA

Land and Leisure

Soon there will be no poor peasants in China. For with land reform former poor peasants are rapidly becoming middle peasants. This transformation is affecting the majority of the rural population. Before land reform, poor peasants constituted 60 per cent of the rural population and owned no land, middle peasants constituted only 20 per cent of the population and owned from 20 to 30 per cent of the nation's arable land, while rich peasants and landlords, less than 10 per cent of the population owned 70 to 80 per cent of the land. Today the situation is transformed. In North-east China, for example, middle peasants constitute 80 per cent of the rural population and 70 per cent in North China. The landlords as a class have been abolished while the old feudal land-owning system has been transformed into a peasant land ownership system.

These new middle peasants are playing a decisive role in the rural economy. In three villages in Paichen County in Heilungkiang Province, a survey showed that middle peasants, accounting for 67.3 per cent of the population own 75.7 per cent of the land, 87.5 per cent of the draught animals, 86.4 per cent of the farm tools and produced 76.8 per cent of the grain in the area. With these economic facts in mind it is not hard to understand why the once hungry and depressed peasants of China have become smiling and diligent farmers, alert to new methods of production and studying hard to master new techniques.

Everywhere the land reform has been carried out the peasants' desire to learn to read and write and study is growing apace. Today the peasants can afford the leisure to take up study for the first time and their people's government is doing all it can to foster and satisfy their desire for knowledge—to advance along the road to full emancipation.

Last spring a Tsinghua University professor participating in land reform

work in East China reported a conversation he had with a peasant who was well into his fifties. "Before the land reform it was more than I could do to scrape together enough for a cotton quilt. I had no time to read and write and anyhow it would have been useless for me to indulge in a luxury like literacy. But now," the peasant said very seriously, "I've got land, a horse and cart and I have to go to market to buy things. Really it would be a pity for me to be illiterate now that I have all this!"

People's China, 1.9.51.

BULGARIA

A New Society

In 1945, "Culture and Leisure," the organisation set up by the Workers' General Trade Union Council, possessed 10 rest homes which could accommodate not more than 2,100 people. Last year, this organisation already had 35 rest homes and sanatoria in which 47,500 manual and office workers spent their vacation in the trade unions' rest homes.

The Bulgarian People's Government has allocated huge sums for the creation of networks of workers' canteens, kindergartens, creches and other institutions to meet the needs of the people. In 1945, 1,270 public canteens organised in the factories supplied cheap meals to 154,000 workers. During the second quarter of this year, the number of workers' canteens rose to nearly 2,600 and the number of people obtaining their meals there to 280,000.

The improvement of the organisation of the protection of the people's health is direct evidence of the raising of the Bulgarian workers' welfare. Free medical attention was introduced this year and the price of medicines was heavily reduced. All workers are covered by social insurance. During this year alone, a total of more than 1,350,000,000 levas was spent on medical attention, maternity leave, etc. It is interesting to note that only 20,000,000 levas were spent on these items in 1939.

New Bulgaria is carrying out a general plan for the construction of a vast system of irrigation for all the agricultural areas which suffer from drought. In the fertile Dobrudja area, vast schemes for land improvement are in operation. The irrigation system was started up in 1950 in the Belen valley, irrigating tens of thousands of decares (1 decare equals 0.247 acres). A year later, the Brychliansk irrigation system, the biggest in the country and bearing the name of the J. Stalin system, was put into operation, making it possible to irrigate 200,000 decares of fertile land on the Brychliansk plain.

The first five-year plan for the Bulgarian people's economy (1949-1953) involves plans to fight the drought. This plan provides for a series of water stations and reservoirs for the irrigation of millions of decares of land. The reservoirs actually under construction, the J. Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov, Rossitsa reservoirs will irrigate nearly one and-a-half million decares of land.

In addition to three big water stations, several irrigation basins and canals are under construction in Bulgaria. Work will be completed before the end of the year on the Vasili Kolarov water reservoir. The Studena water reservoir, and the irrigation and drainage systems on the Karaboaze plain are shortly to be brought into operation.

Trud, 8.9.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

September 19

BULGARIA.—The fifth anniversary of the daily newspaper of the Bulgarian trade unions, "Trud," is celebrated with members of the editorial board promising to carry on the fight for peace and world friendship still more actively than in the past.

UNITED STATES.—The convention of the progressive United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America is held in New York. Delegates vote to set up a "fighting fund" of $1,000,000 to help defeat Fascism in the United States, to seek the repeal of the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act, and the Smith and McCarran thought-control laws and to strengthen the union. A report was given on the overwhelming victory against C.I.O. electrical union raiders, won in an election in the General Electric Company plant in Schenectady, New York.

— The Federal Reserve Board reports that 31% of U.S, wage-earners spent more money than they earned in 1950, and that some 17,000,000 consumers were forced to go into debt.

ALGERIA.—In spite of persecution and repression, agricultural workers in Tlemcen report a great victory after several days of strike, gaining a minimum daily wage of 350 francs irrespective of age.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Peace Committee announces that more than three quarters of a million persons have signed the petition for a Five-Power Peace Pact. Their goal is to collect 1,000,000 signatures by November 4th, 1951.

September 22

AUSTRALIA. — The Australian people in a compulsory nation-wide referendum reject Prime Minister Menzies' proposal to amend the Constitution in such a way as to make the unconstitutional Communist Party Dissolution Bill legally acceptable. The swing in public opinlon can in the main be attributed to the tremendous NO campaign carried on by the trade unions, which explained that the Government was attempting to destroy the liberties and democratic rights of all the people and to smash all opposition to its war policies.

CHINA.—It is announced that the output of Chinese heavy industry showed a 44% increase in the first half of 1951 over the same period in 1950.

FRANCE.—The seven trade unions in the metal industry of the Paris Region, including the C.G.T., Christian Union, Force Ouvrière, C.G.C. (foremen and supervisors), and three independent unions unite in sending a joint letter to the employers' group requesting a meeting of the joint management-labour committee to revise the wage agreements of October 31, 1950, and March 21-24, 1951. The C.G.T. and one of the independent unions decide to sign these former agreements (from which they had been excluded) in order to be able to participate in the discussion of their revision.

September 23

WESTERN GERMANY. — The strike of the metalworkers of Hesse ends with a compromise after four weeks of struggle. The return to work is ordered by the Right-wing trade union leaders, despite a referendum in which 63.3% of the workers voted to continue the strike. The strike was ordered on the grounds that the trade union federation's statutes require a 75% majority. The workers had demanded a wage increase of 12 pfennigs an hour and were forced to accept 3 pfennigs an hour.

— The people of Dortmund demonstrate for the acceptance of the national unity proposals of Prime Minister Grotewohl of the German Democratic Republic. The demonstration is held despite strong police mobilisation and an official ban.

September 24

GREECE.—Bank employees begin an unlimited strike for higher wages. The Greek Government interferes in the strike by threatening the strikers with "civil mobilisation."

IRAN.—An anti-American demonstration takes place during the showing of an American war film on Korea. The film is withdrawn.

CUBA.—A group of fifteen to twenty masked men force their way into the offices of the workers' newspaper "Hoy" and destroy linotype machines, press equipment, typewriters, desks and equipment valued at $80,000. The paper reappeared on August 28 after being suspended for nearly a year by the Cuban Government. Although twice ordered by the courts to restore the property to the owners, the Cuban Government in Press and radio called for the prevention of the publishing of the paper and, by implication, urged just such attacks as this.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Shop stewards representing 20,000 Sheffield engineering workers demand the conclusion of a Peace Pact by the Great Powers; they also call upon the Labour Party to rally the nation in a drive to stop war.

BELGIUM.—As a result of the national peace meetings, in which delegates of all political views throughout the country participated, a huge demonstration of 20,000 people takes place in Brussels. At a public meeting after the demonstration a resolution condemning war is unanimously voted, which declares that war preparations cannot lead to peace, that a pact among the Five Great Powers will ensure peace, and that the vigilance and action of

the people can alone ensure the conclusion of a peace pact.

ITALY.—Throughout the province of Rome a huge movement of peasants and agricultural labourers is developing with the purpose of occupying land which under the law may be expropriated for the benefit of the peasants.

This new phase of the struggle for land spreads over an area of about 30,000 hectares belonging to three large landowners, and was begun by ten peasant families. The struggle is led by the Land Committees, the equivalent of shop committees in the factories, democratically elected by the agricultural workers.

DENMARK.—The 8th World Congress of the Women's Guild of the International Co-operative Alliance unanimously passes a resolution favouring a Five-Power Peace Pact.

— The 18th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance takes place in Copenhagen. Reactionary leaders try to split the organisation and refuse to admit the co-operatives of the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic. Italian, Soviet, Rumanian and Czech delegates propose a declaration in favour of the Five-Power Peace Pact, recalling the action of the Women's Guild, but the proposal is rejected.

September 25

GREAT BRITAIN.—A strike, which lasted five and a half weeks and involved members of nine unions employed at the engineering works of David Brown at Feltham ends in complete victory for the strikers. Eleven workers who had been declared "redundant" are re-employed, and the employer gives a guarantee that the management will consult with the unions prior to any future decisions to discharge men because of redundancy.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Lilly Waechter, member of the Women's International Democratic Federation delegation which recently visited Korea, goes on trial for "making statements disrespectful to Western allied personnel"—that is, for telling the truth about atrocities she found in North Korea committed by U.S. and South Korean forces. She was arrested on September 6th.

GREECE.—The strike of Greek bank employees and the threat of a general strike leads the Government to announce the payment of half the monthly wage and that negotiations will continue. The Government is also forced to withdraw its threat of "civil mobilisation."

September 26

U.S.S.R. — A Soviet delegation, headed by L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, leaves Moscow for Peking to participate in the celebration of the second anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, on the invitation of the All-China Federation of Labour and several other progressive organisations.

BULGARIA.—In celebration of Bulgarian - S o v i e t Friendship Month, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions sends greetings to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions saying they will strengthen international labour solidarity under the banner of the W.F.T.U. and will fight alongside the Soviet Trade Unions in the cause of peace.

— The Bulgarian Miners' Union wires protests to the Prime Minister of Bolivia against the death sentence imposed on four Bolivian miners for the fight for the rights of workers.

UNITED STATES.—The Press reports that during the year from July, 1950, to July, 1951, the dollar dropped in value, so that it now buys 8.3% less food, 7.6% less clothing, 14.2% less house furnishings, 3.7% less fuel, and 3.6% less in personal items, recreation and automobile expenses.

— More than 9,500 workers go on strike at two New Jersey plants of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation (producing over $1,000,000,000 worth of Sapphire jet engines). The strike begins after breakdown in the negotiations over the workers' demand for a 15 cents an hour wage increase.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Governor-General announces at the opening of Parliament that the Government will introduce legislation to make secret ballots on all strike issues compulsory, and to make picketing illegal, in a move to nullify their recent failure to destroy the dockers' union and to cripple trade union action in the future.

AUSTRALIA.—The new Budget as presented to Parliament calls for "defence expenditure" of £181,000,000, £33,000,000 more than current military expenditure, and comprising one-fifth of the total budget. The bulk of this expenditure is to be raised by an extra levy of 10% on incomes, and a high sales tax of 12½% on necessities, rising to 66⅔% on "luxuries." It is clear that the major part of these huge expenditures will come out of the workers' pay envelopes.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The T.U.C. General Council urges the Government to defer railwaymen from the call-up to the armed forces because of the serious shortage of railway staff. The railway unions state that the real reason for the shortage is the very low wages paid to the workers.

September 27

INDIA.—A demonstration of about 10,000 hungry people marched through the streets of Calcutta carrying posters demanding food and clothing. The police arrest about 100 persons.

FRANCE.—Representatives of the C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. (Christian trade union centre) have their first exchange of views on the problem of wages, the sliding scale, and an economic programme. The C.G.T. delegation expressed the hope that further meetings will permit agreement to be reached on the problems under discussion.

— The National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. meets, noting successes in wage increases won in preceding struggles through unity of action but, considering them insufficient, asks the workers to continue the fight particularly for unity, for the 40-hour week, for the guaranteed minimum of 23,600 francs throughout France and for the sliding scale. It approves the unity proposals made by the C.G.T. Executive Bureau to other trade union centres, and requests it to pursue the struggle for unity.

ITALY.—Regional representatives of the three trade union centres meet to consider the economic situation in the province of Turin, following the decision of the management of the Fiat plant to reduce working hours for 45,000 employees. The trade union representatives agree that the decision of Fiat can only aggravate the economic problems of the workers and

large sections of the people. They demand that the decision be withdrawn, and, in an attempt to solve the problem, request an interview with the management of Fiat. The workers support the trade union action in meetings and work suspensions.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Workers at Napiers Aero-engine factory at Acton reject the management's proposal to import and employ Italian machinists. They say that adequate wages to British workers would solve the problem of labour "shortage."

September 28

RUMANIA.—The Presidium of the National Assembly introduces, as the highest distinction for exceptional merit in the development of the economy, culture and science, the title of "Hero of Socialist Work." Persons awarded this honour will receive a gold hammer and sickle medal.

ITALY.—On the decision of the regional union, 8,000 Sicilian miners strike for 24 hours and make a spirited protest demonstration against Governmental indifference to Sicilian industrial problems, and against the system of sugar exploitation used by mine employers, especially at Caltanizetta and Lercara.

September 30

GREAT BRITAIN.—The London Area Council and the London Trade Union Advisory Committee of the British-Soviet Society sponsor a Conference in London, representing 73,000 trade unionists and members of the co-operative movement. A declaration of fraternal greetings is addressed to the President of the Moscow Regional Council of Trade Unions pointing out that "there are no differences between our two countries that cannot be settled by negotiations."

INDIA.—Progressive candidates in the forthcoming elections are being jailed. In North Malabar peasant leader Gopalan is arrested and the president of the All-India Kisan Sabha (peasants' organisation) is jailed shortly after his candidature is announced. Patit Paban Pathak, a well-known Communist, was re-arrested immediately after being released by court order on a charge arising from leading a successful strike.

ITALY.—The peasants' movement for occupying the land spreads throughout Rome province. The greatest popular solidarity supports this great struggle in all communities. Workers in all categories — metal workers, building workers, Government employees, bakers, transport and port workers, workers in the graphic arts, etc.—have subscribed hundreds of thousands of lire and gifts for the struggling peasants and agricultural labourers. The Rome trade union headquarters has organised a "country workers' week" in all factories in the capital and province of Rome for the support of the peasants.

October 1

CHINA.—The second anniversary of the great Chinese Revolution is celebrated with huge military and civilian parades. This important event, which liberated the Chinese people from imperialism and economic bondage and has made the People's Republic of China a powerful bulwark of peace, is commemorated with great enthusiasm by the Chinese people. Messages from all over the world bring greetings on this occasion to the Chinese people and the leaders of the Government.

Prime Minister Stalin, of the U.S.S.R., emphasises in his message to the Chairman of the Central People's Government of China, Mao Tse-Tung, that the friendship between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union "constitutes a firm guarantee of peace and security in the Far East."

AUSTRIA.—The second post-war convention of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions opens in Vienna. It soon becomes apparent that the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders and the trade union leaders of the Volkspartei are trying to prevent the workers of Austria from fighting for their economic and trade union interests, despite growing unity.

UNITED NATIONS.—The Security Council begins discussion of the British complaint about the nationalisation of the Iranian oil industry. The Soviet representative, Mr. Tsarapkin, points out that nationalisation is an internal affair and therefore does not come under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, and that discussion of the situation means a grave infringement of Iran's sovereignty.

INDIA.—Three thousand Indians join the ranks of the Korean People's Army as volunteers.

October 2

GREAT BRITAIN.—Labour Party rank and file express their opposition to the rearmament drive, American domination, the rising cost of living, and the danger of war by casting more votes for members who have been critical of the Government's policy for Executive Committee at the Party Conference at Scarborough, than for those following the official war policy line of the Labour Party, Foreign Secretary Morrison and Colonial Secretary Griffiths. Shinwell, Minister of Defence, was defeated.

October 3

GREAT BRITAIN.—Chancellor of the Exchequer Gaitskell states that a serious situation exists in the "sterling area." He discloses that during the third quarter of 1951 the sterling area incurred a net gold and dollar deficit of $638,000,000.

— A Sheffield branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union sends greetings to the people of the Soviet city of Stalino. The message pledges the members of the union to do all they can to strengthen friendship between the British and Soviet people. The union branch also passes a resolution in favour of the conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact.

October 4

WESTERN GERMANY.—Mrs. Lilly Waechter, member of the Women's International Democratic Federation commission which visited Korea, is sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and fined 15,000 German marks ($3,570). All but three weeks of the imprisonment is suspended and Mrs. Waechter is placed on probation.

October 5

FRANCE.—Paris taxi drivers begin a slow-down strike which consists of meticulously obeying every police and traffic regulation, thus slowing up the movement of traffic throughout Paris. The slow-down is in protest against a law requiring physical examinations every 10 years for drivers under 45, and every 5 years for drivers over 45. Drivers charge that this law is to be used to discriminate against older men and deprive them of their livelihood.

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Jim HOLLYMAN

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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The General Council of the W.F.T.U. Speaks for 80 Million Members

THE 5th session of the General Council of the W.F.T.U. opens on November 15th.

The 4th session of this important body took place in July 1949 in Milan, on the occasion of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress.

At its 5th session the General Council will proceed to an overall examination of the activities of our world trade union movement, analysing their results and closely checking the application of the decisions and resolutions adopted by the 2nd Congress of the W.F.T.U.

The General Council, however, is not merely an automatic recording machine, an examining body, or an assembly clinging to and recounting the past. The General Council, constitutionally granted sovereign powers by the World Trade Union Congress, will deal with the future direction and new activities of our world-wide workers' organisations. After reviewing the struggles and demonstrations of men and women workers all over the world, the General Council of the W.F.T.U. will give a new impetus to workers' efforts in the wide field of social activity with which trade union organisations are concerned.

The General Council is a responsible organ of a trade union movement which is active, alert and effective on a world scale, thanks to the activity, alertness and effectiveness of the trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

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THE General Council is responsible not only to the millions of workers who are members of trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U., but also to the workers of all countries. For our General Council is also responsible to workers, who, though

they are organised, are not members of the W.F.T.U. This is because no other trade union organisation is in a position to speak in the name of all workers. No other organisation can say, as the W.F.T.U. can say, that it is linked with the masses of the workers. No other organisation sets an example, as does the W.F.T.U., of constant and permanent devotion to the aspirations, needs, wishes and decisions of the workers themselves.

In the W.F.T.U. you will not find trade union organisations treading under foot the principles of trade union democracy or aligning themselves against the legitimate demands of the workers. On the 25th October, the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* quoted a New York despatch from the American United Press agency : "The New York dockers, it is known, are on strike in protest against the contract signed in their name by the A.F.L. union with the ship owners."

This phrase "it is known" reveals a whole policy. It explains a trade union policy which is not ours, a method of trade union work foreign to the W.F.T.U.

It is known that the A.F.L. dockers' union leaders are completely contemptuous of the dockers' opinions. It is known that they sign wage agreements harmful to the workers' interests. It is known that they want to impose this agreement against the will of the vast majority of dockers whether trade unionists or not. It is known that the workers are united and are striking against both their trade union leaders and the ship owners.

It is known, but to whom is it known? To everybody, of course, even to the A.F.L. leaders, virtuous champions of democracy who direct their fire against the W.F.T.U. It is known also to the troubadours of "free" trade unions who lead the I.C.F.T.U. in Europe. We would like to hear their ballads about the New York dockers' strike, but they are silent. Where are they with their pure unblemished trade unionism, which must be worshipped like a god? They are silent because Green, Woll and others in the U.S.A. demand silence.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders' reply to the telegram sent them by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. last July was—Give us proof of your sincere desire to serve the interests of the workers.

Could they give proof of their sincerity by explaining their position with regard to this strike of 40,000 New York workers who, in order to defend their interests, are obliged to go on strike against a trade union leadership which has, without consultation, affiliated them to the I.C.F.T.U.

On the contrary, they are silent as if it were a fact of no importance, an event of no concern to the I.C.F.T.U.

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BUT the General Council of the W.F.T.U. will not remain silent about a struggle in which the workers are fighting for their basic interests and against an autocratic, reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The W.F.T.U. will not remain silent

in this case or others of a similar character which explain how, why and against whom the workers have to fight in defence of their wages, and to win the "freedom" to decide for themselves the terms of work contracts.

In refusing to remain silent on events of such social importance the General Council will demonstrate that the W.F.T.U. is indeed the only trade union organisation in the world representative of the vast majority of workers. This explains the great responsibility which devolves on the executive body of the international trade union movement which will meet in Berlin from November 15th to 21st.

This New York dock strike enables us to explain by example just one of the reasons why our General Council has a special responsibility to workers everywhere. The present international situation will provide our Berlin assembly with other reasons for taking important decisions. We must come to the aid of the millions and millions of workers who, in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, expect a great deal from international solidarity and mutual assistance among the workers of every country.

More than any trade union organisation, local or national, the General Council must help to give a positive character to the workers' world-wide movement for unity of action in fighting against the international consequences of the war economy ordered and directed by the North American imperialists.

This is the predominant task, at the present moment, of the General Council of the W.F.T.U.

It must rouse and stimulate the spirit of struggle among the masses. It must point out the road which leads the workers towards anticipated successes, even if they are only partial ones.

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THE General Council must create new responsibilities for achieving unity of action by the workers, and open the way to complete unity in active national and international trade union life.

The General Council must provide an opportunity for a full and complete exchange of experiences and opinions among the responsible leaders who are going to meet together there.

This useful exchange, the lessons learned and the new experiences being gained today in many countries, will help to define the role of our World Federation of Trade Unions. It will thus become more than ever a mass organisation closely linked with the daily life of the working class.

Blows have been struck against the W.F.T.U. by the splitters and by reactionary governments. But in spite of the obstacles created by its enemies the W.F.T.U. has steadily increased its influence.

In Berlin the General Council will be able to record that at the end of this

year, after six years of existence, the W.F.T.U. now has 80 million members, a figure never previously reached.

We must make greater efforts to increase trade union membership. In the capitalist countries and dependent territories millions of working men and women of all trades are still unorganised. The trade unions must go to them and bring them help and assistance. The General Council will deal with the essential problem of increasing the number of organised workers throughout the world.

In the Soviet Union, People's China and the People's Democracies, the number of manual and intellectual workers organised in trade unions is continually growing. This growth is parallel with the economic and industrial advance that is evidence of the active role of the trade unions in these countries.

In other countries the existing organisations must pay more attention to the question of increasing membership, to the creation of new trade unions where they do not already exist, to the development of the numerical strength of the existing trade unions.

The scope of the mass movements for economic demands makes it possible for every trade union to widen its field of recruitment. To consolidate the fighting trade union organisations is to prepare new successes in the interests of all the workers.

The W.F.T.U., a powerful international body of the working class, has overcome difficulties; it has grown up in a ceaseless battle for its rights; it has conquered many obstacles by means of the support and confidence given to it by the experienced leaders of the trade unions in many countries and by great numbers of workers.

Reviewing all that the W.F.T.U. has undertaken since the Second Trade Union Congress, not hesitating to speak of past weaknesses as well as past successes, the General Council will pave the way for new progress by our world trade union movement. It will make its contribution to strengthening unity, and will help the workers of the world in their historic fight for the welfare of all humanity.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

GAP WIDENS BETWEEN BRITISH RIGHT-WING LEADERS and RANK AND FILE

By

GWYN WILLIAMS

THE 83rd annual Trades Union Congress gave unmistakable emphasis to the widening gap developing between the right wing leaders of the British Labour movement and the rank and file workers. This separation had already become evident last year as a result of the defeat of the 'wage freeze' policy of the T.U.C. General Council and the overwhelming demand expressed by delegates for Government application of the principle of 'equal pay for equal work.'

When this year's Congress opened at Blackpool, in the first week of September, 1951, it was against a background of growing crisis for the British workers. Rising prices were rapidly forcing down already lowered living standards and inroads had also been made into the gains won by the workers in the field of social security; at the same time, employers' profits continued to reach record levels.

Overshadowing the entire economic and social picture was the 4,700 million pound arms programme of the Government, to which the General Council of the T.U.C. has committed the trade union movement. At the same time disastrous results to the financial stability of the sterling area caused by the restriction of trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, at the demand of the United States, were making themselves already apparent.

On the other hand, the workers had been giving clear indications of their determination to fight. Widespread strikes and militant actions for wage increases have taken place during the past year; and discontent and criticism of the gigantic arms programme and its consequences has been deepening. The overwhelming pressure of the rank and file has also compelled the Government to repeal the notorious Order 1305, which forced arbitration on the unions and, in practice, made strikes illegal. In fact, at the time of the Congress, more than 6 million workers had another round of wage demands either pending or already under negotiation with the employers.

On the political side, the discontent and rising temper of the working class was being used by Mr. Bevan and other Labour M.P's to mobilise support for their policy of demagogy and opportunism. These so-called 'leftists' hoped in this way again to lull the workers into 'blind loyalty' and so continue, with little alteration except in words, the present disastrous policy of the right-wing leaders.

Right-Wing Leaders versus Rank and File

BEHIND this situation of worsening conditions and rising discontent was the vital question and prospect of a General Election. This was the over-riding factor dominating

"Abracadabra." Lincoln Evans of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, pretending he's got nothing up his sleeve.

the thoughts and actions of the right-wing leaders of the General Council. The weapon used to secure at least paper support for themselves and the Labour Government was, of course, the card vote.

In particular the right-wing bureaucrats counted upon the votes of the extreme right-wing Transport & General Workers' Union, dictated to by Arthur Deakin, and the Municipal & General Workers' Union, dominated by Tom Williamson. With a group of others they can be relied on to cast about 2,500,000 votes against any progressive resolution or in favour of a reactionary one.

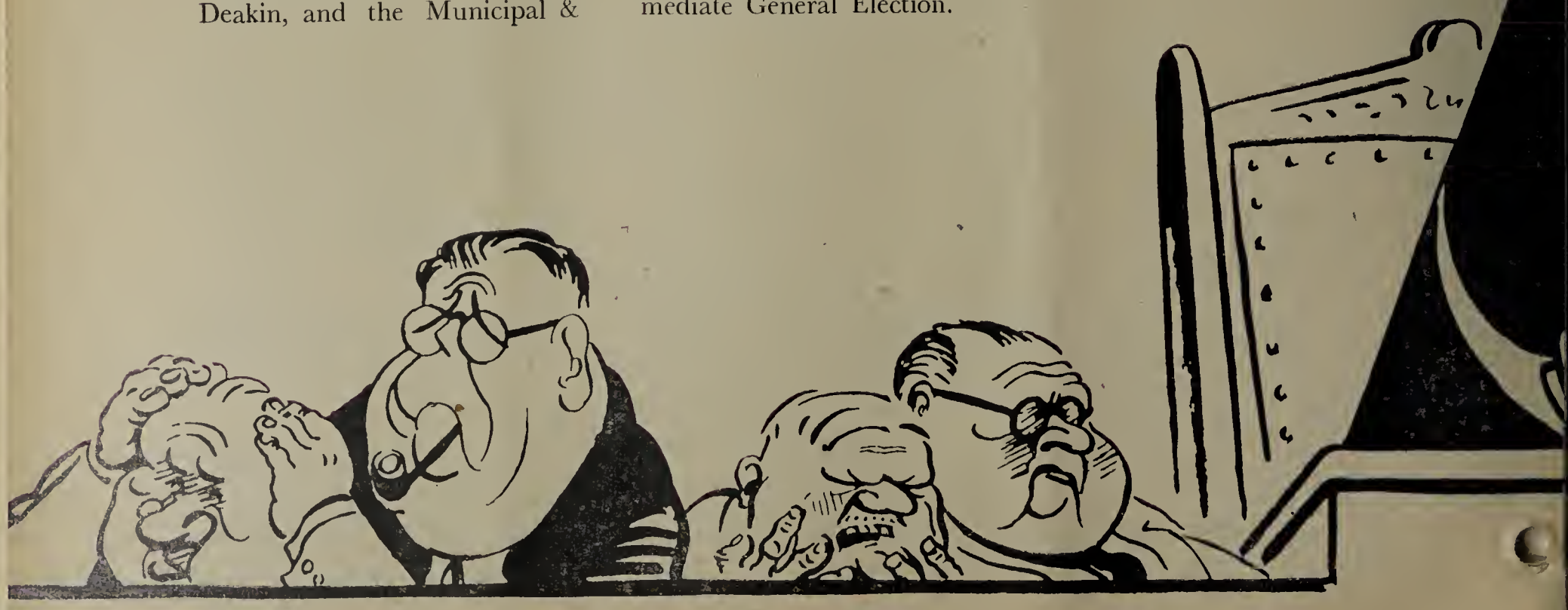
It was evident to everyone, that their supporters showed little enthusiasm or confidence in the majority bloc vote in favour of the General Council's policy. For, in spite of the paper majorities won by the General Council on wages and foreign policy, the weakening position of the Tewsons, Lawthers, Deakins and Williamsons was clearly high-lighted during the debate in which they were mainly on the defensive.

The real positive policy came from the group of unions which have carried the fight for progressive policies since the war. To this group was added, at the 83rd Congress, the powerful National Union of Railwaymen, and on the important issue of German and Japanese Rearmament, the 800,000 strong Amalgamated Engineering Union. Indeed the Congress revealed the growing gap between the right-wing leaders and the rank-and-file. And this is obviously one of the main factors which led to the decision for an immediate General Election.

The Importance to Britain of East-West Trade

IN this debate the General Council evaded the issues contained in the resolution and mobilised its bloc vote instead. They had no real answer to the obvious importance of trade with the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies; that is, its importance in preventing Britain's serious economic position which results from dependence on America. Nor could they reply to the fact that such trade would have avoided the steep rise in raw materials and food prices now costing Britain, according to Chancellor of the Exchequer Gaitskell, 1,000 million pounds more than last year.

In his presidential address, which was heard in almost complete silence, Mr. Alfred Roberts had demanded full support for the war programme while violently attacking the peace movement. This resolution on restoring normal East-West trade



provided the answer. For in the words of Jim Gardner of the Foundry Workers: "East-West trade would also establish the basis for peace and so allow the wealth, wasted on weapons of destruction, to be used for Socialist construction, and for raising the living standards of the British workers."

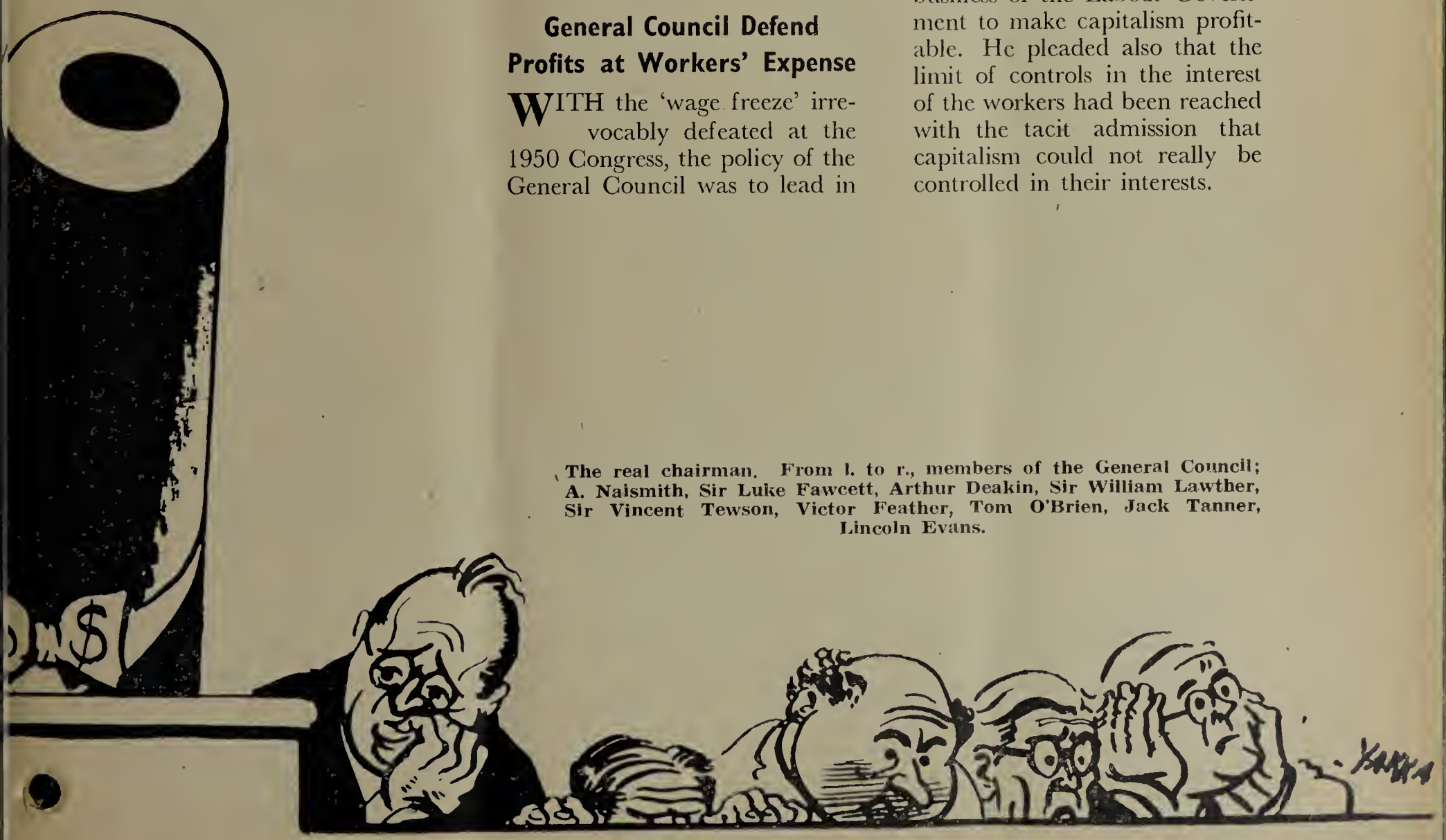
The General Council preferred to line up with the American trade union leadership, when even the Tory Party, as well as the Labour Government, have pleaded with the Americans to allow Britain to develop East-West trade. Their plea for such trade emanated, however, from the need to avoid economic ruin developing from the present crisis, rather than the need for the complete independence of Britain from American domination and war policy. A very substantial minority of nearly 2 million votes supported the demand for full East-West trade.

Tom Williamson, boss of the Municipal and General Workers' Union.

General Council Defend Profits at Workers' Expense

WITH the 'wage freeze' irrevocably defeated at the 1950 Congress, the policy of the General Council was to lead in with Chancellor of the Exchequer Gaitskell to introduce their programme of 'moderation'; to trade on the loyalty of many delegates to the Labour Government; to impress upon the delegates that there was still worse to come in the economic and social field; to use all their big guns to attack every and any criticism of official policy as 'Communist'; and, in this way, assure at least paper support for themselves and for the Labour Government.

The delegates showed little enthusiasm for the General Council's report on wages which apologetically informed the Government that 'the trade unions must endeavour to maintain the real wages of their members by demanding increases'. However, the main import of Gaitskell's speech was the allegation that wage increases *could not come out of profits* and it was the business of the Labour Government to make capitalism profitable. He pleaded also that the limit of controls in the interest of the workers had been reached with the tacit admission that capitalism could not really be controlled in their interests.



The real chairman. From l. to r., members of the General Council; A. Naismith, Sir Luke Fawcett, Arthur Deakin, Sir William Lawther, Sir Vincent Tewson, Victor Feather, Tom O'Brien, Jack Tanner, Lincoln Evans.

The real attitude of the General Council was in fact revealed when discussion opened on a resolution which called for a general wage increase at the expense of profits. Here, the big battalions were brought out and the resolution was defeated by 5,284,000 votes to 2,199,000. Thus the wages policy of the General Council, it may be concluded, is to refuse to give any positive lead, to avoid showing their utter opposition to increases in real wages, to confuse the issue and quietly work against any general wage movement.

It was left to Mr. Len White of the Civil Service Clerical Association to show the implications of the vote when he pointed out that it was the only resolution on the agenda which supported the immediate wage claims of 5 million workers and that, therefore, the General Council and its prefabricated majority was supporting the employers in defeating the resolution.

Workers' Demands are Stronger than bloc Votes

IN spite of the voting figures the cold reality was that over 5 million workers were demanding increases in wages and that most of the unions who voted down the resolution would be leaving the Congress Hall for the negotiating table. The National Union of Railwaymen stated, for instance, that nothing would deter them from putting forward their wage claim, and logically voted for the resolution. The miners, on the other hand, with a right-wing dominated National Executive, were put in the ridiculous position of voting against the resolution while stating firmly that they were as adamant as the railwaymen to have their wage increases.

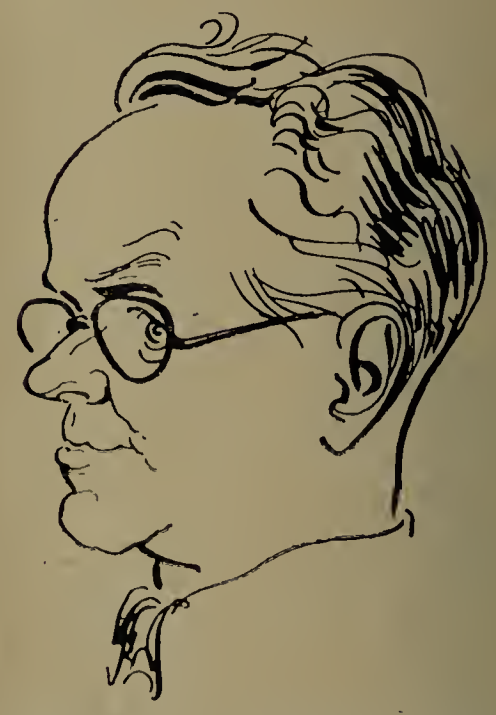
Len White, a progressive leader of the Civil Service Clerical Association, seconded the resolution on wage increases at the expense of profits.

Richard J. Gray, fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labour.

Congress also adopted another resolution which called for price control, reconsideration of the Government's decision to limit subsidies in face of rising prices, control of profits and the removal of purchase tax from household necessities, among other points. This resolution also recognised that the situation was due, amongst other factors, *to international rearmament* and the diversion from home production to the arms programme. The purport of the resolution was in direct opposition to the policy expanded by Gaitskell and for which he sought support, while his apparent "success" on the other resolution left him empty-handed.

Tewson's Paper Victory for German-Japanese Rearmament

A BITTER and heated debate took place around a resolution condemning the rearmament of Germany and Japan. Although, by a show of hands, the delegates had previously rejected the resolution calling for a new initiative by the Government to end the 'cold war,' to make general disarmament possible and to secure the control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, this particular aspect was treated separately. Without doubt it has raised more opposition from the rank and file of the trade unions, the Labour Party, Ex-Servicemen's groups, and Women's organisa-



Jim Gardner, a delegate of the Foundry Workers, moved the resolution for the resumption of normal East-West trade.

tions than any other aspect of British foreign policy.

Speaker after speaker condemned the revival of a German and Japanese fascist army. The General Council could only muster two speakers to support its point of view that it was necessary and desirable. One of them was Sir Vincent Tewson, the General Secretary; and what was significant in his speech was the tacit admission of the tremendous public feeling against the revival of a German and Japanese army.

Dr. Cardew of the Medical Practitioners' Union moved the resolution against the cuts in health services caused by rearmament, whose near adoption was a moral defeat for the General Council reactionaries.

He attempted to lull the fears of public opinion with the extraordinary declaration that Germany and Japan would only be rearmed "on the clear understanding that the Nazi war machine and the Japanese warlords would not be revived." Should Britain and the United States succeed in carrying out their policy this is a statement that Tewson will one day have to swallow in public.

The card vote on this question was 4,484,000 against the resolution and 2,608,000 for, leaving the General Council with a pasteboard victory in which no one believes, least of all the leaders of the General Council.

In spite of the efforts of the leadership many progressive resolutions were adopted by the Congress. On the question of the cuts in the Social Services, carried out by the Government to help finance the Arms Bill, the deep opposition of the delegates defeated, on a show of hands, the General Council's defence of the Government. And even when they demanded a card vote, the General Council was only able to mobilise a very small majority in favour of the cuts.

Rosamund John, well-known screen and stage actress, representing Actors Equity, defended the independence of the British film industry against the inroads of Hollywood.

Bridging the Gap with Democracy

THERE is little doubt that the General Council leaders and the Labour Government found the 83rd T.U.C. very much out of step with their expectations—the substantial loyalty which they had so long exploited was becoming a shadow. The result of the 83rd Congress was certainly one of the factors which made Mr. Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister,

Jim Hammond of the Scottish Area Miners' Union seconded the resolution opposing the maintenance of diplomatic relations with Spain, which was unanimously carried.

decide on an immediate General Election, and the right-wing leadership to change the presentation of their policy. The election manifesto no longer mentions 4,700 million pounds as a "minimum requirement" for arms. The figure and the over-riding priority of arms has been left out.

The decision for a General Election on October 25th also effectively gagged the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough, in the first week of October. The agenda with its critical resolutions was scrapped in favour of the election manifesto. In this situation of complete frustration the only way in which the rank-and-file could express their opposition to the right-wing leaders was by their votes in the election of the Labour Party Executive—seven of whom are elected directly by the Constituency Parties (local branches).

Nine-tenths of the active members of the Constituency Parties are the active trade unionists. There can be no doubt that it was the rank and file trade unionists who gave

Mr. Aneurin Bevan and his supporters their huge majorities. In defeating Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Defence—after twelve years on the Executive—and placing Morrison, the Foreign Secretary, with Griffiths, the Colonial Secretary, below the Bevanites in the poll, the rank-and-file were expressing their opposition to the right-wing leadership rather than support for Bevan or confidence in his demagogic double talk.

The voting demonstrated with real clarity the widening gap—to which we have already referred—existing between the policy of the T.U.C. General Council and the Government on the one hand and the rank and file of both the unions and the Labour Party on the other, thus confirming, with rapid emphasis, the deep and widespread support for the minority views presented at the 83rd Congress.

LEFT: **J. B. Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, vigorously opposed the rearmament policy and poverty. He is one of the very few progressive leaders on the General Council.**
RIGHT: **Boiler Makers' delegate Ted Hill, another of the few progressive members of the General Council, also fought against the rearmament policy.**

Wally Stevens of the Electrical Trades Union moved the resolution demanding wage increases at the expense of profits.

The Voice of the British Rank and File Workers

THE powerful National Union of Railwaymen did more than throw their weight—as we said at the beginning of this article—into the fight for a progressive policy at the Trade Union Congress. For early in September, 1951, they threw open the columns of their journal *The Railway Review* to the rank and file of the Labour movement on the question "Is Rearmament the Socialist Way to Peace?"

The response was overwhelming and the 80 odd letters which have already appeared are but a fraction of the huge correspondence received by the journal. It is more than significant that the vast majority of the letters declare in no uncertain language the fallacy of arms and the anti-socialist basis of the rearmament programme of the Labour Government. They demand a socialist approach to peace and the letters reproduced elsewhere in this Review express the general trend, for the rank and file of Britain have little in common with the right-wing leadership of the British Labour Movement.

There is no doubt that more and more workers are refusing to be bound by blind loyalty to the right-wing leaders and are expressing their determination to see their own interests safeguarded. This growing consciousness among the British workers will have to be taken seriously into account by the new Government.

The 83rd Trades Union Congress was only a stage in this movement; only a step on the long road to a militant, progressive trade union policy which the British working people, in the factories and offices, are learning to wage in unity against their exploiters and also against those within the Labour movement who would tie them to the wheels of the war chariot.

British Workers Oppose Rearmament

The widening gap between the rank and file workers and their rightwing leadership in the T.U.C. General Council on Britain's militarisation policy—and its consequences for the working class—was fully shown by *The Railway Review,* official organ of the National Union of Railwaymen when it opened its pages to a discussion of "The Greatest Question—Is rearmament the Socialist way to peace?" and invited its readers to express their views on this question. About eighty letters, a small fraction of the total received, were published in three issues of the *Review.* The overwhelming majority of these letters expressed opposition to rearmament as a policy, and the enthusiastic response which the journal had to its invitation is ample evidence that this is a burning question of great interest to the workers of Britain.

We publish here significant excerpts from the paper's editorial and from a few of the letters :

"...We, the ordinary people, matter more than the upper classes in this country, the war-hungry maniacs of America and elsewhere, the bloody thugs in Germany, and Japan, the supercilious Foreign Office advisers, the militarists of all countries whose work is death, destruction, evil, unhappiness and the maiming and hurting of innocent people, of tiny babies and women.

"The leaders will be forced to carry out our wishes if we make them . . . We think, and the majority of the rank and file of the labour Movement believes, that the method of securing peace by the threat of force is a negation of Socialist principles and of common humanity..."

Editorial in *The Railway Review,* 21.9.51

"...Brothers, it is our duty to fight against rearmament, and the statement by the Labour Party Executive that we can have peace through rearmament is wrong and false"

F. G. Hunwick, West Ealing.

"...Union delegations who have been to Russia have returned and told us that the Russian peoples desire peace sincerely. They are spending money on health services, building hydro electric plants to give distant farmlands electric light, etc. Russia has tasted the inferno of war. She suffered terribly and does not wish to experience the same terrors again.

"The people of America are innocent too, but the munition kings of Wall Street are guilty. They will plunge the peoples of the world into slaughter : British, American, Russian, black, yellow, white, it makes no difference to these greedy monsters who kills who, so long as they make their millions'.."

Harry Pinder, Manchester.

"I desire nothing more than to do a good day's work for the reward of a decent living, a little pleasure, security when I get too old to labour. To know my children will not be torn from me, perhaps never to return.

"I believe the great mass of the people—irrespective of race or political outlook—desire the same...

"When imperialists of America openly prepare for war against the Soviet Union, and make no secret of their aims, I am ashamed that the Labour Movement will tolerate such leaders who, having forsaken any Socialist principles they might have held, meekly obey their American masters, adding burden after burden on the backs of the people. Peace can only be achieved when the workers organise themselves to fight one battle—and that being to defeat the aims of those who profit by war."

Hubert Smith, Colne, Lancs.

"..'Can one as a trade unionist who believes in 'workers of the world uniting,' can one as a Socialist, who believes in the abolishment of exploiting their

fellow men, can Christians who believe that God created all men equal, find justification in piling up tanks, guns, battleships and atom bombs?

"No, I submit that under the principles of Socialism that piling up arms is not the Socialist way to peace, but the Capitalist's way to war."

G. Tozer, Garry, Glam.

"By accepting the view that armaments pave the Socialist way to peace, the teachings of Keir Hardie must be contemptuously passed over and the man who laid the foundations of the Labour Party ignored as if he had never been born.

" 'Armaments,' Hardie wrote, 'provide the most corrupting influence of any in the nation, and ensure. if not the inevitability of war, that many great and powerful interests will demand that this country take part in war.'

"It is the saddest nonsense to postulate that the offensive war potential now being created, under the most violent arms race the world has ever seen, is for the purpose of maintaining peace and good will and international co-operation..."

Samuel Thomson, Glasgow.

"..Our (British) 'defence' programme is based on the assumption that Russia threatens us and is going to attack us. To believe that shows either a lack of understanding of Soviet policy or else it is deliberate lying to hide from the working class the cardinal principle of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, i.e. the peaceful co-existence with capitalist countries. During the war years Russia was admired by the working classes, and the capitalist classes were uneasy and tried to destroy that admiration in case we copy the Soviet way of life and eliminate our capitalist class.

"The arms programme did not begin with the Korean war; it began with Churchill's Fulton speech of 1946, carried on by the Truman doctrine of 'containing Russia,' and led us into the Atlantic Pact of 1949, which disrupted the United Nations. Now we find as allies the German and Japanese Fascists. Peace cannot be established on such a foundation. An arms race always leads to war.

"The way to peace is through Socialism, trade and friendship with all; the withdrawal of troops from other countries; the banning of the atom bomb, and a reduction in the number of arms of all countries. Such a peace can be negotiated by a Five Power meeting of Britain, People's China, France, Russia and the U.S.A."

W. H. Stamp, Enfield, Middlesex.

"...What then is the remedy?

"Firstly, Governments of the major powers to be compelled by pressure from their peoples to meet and discuss this vital question. Any Government refusing to do this to be exposed as wanting war.

"Secondly, all forms of war propaganda—incitement to war, racial discrimination in any shape or form—whether by press, radio or open speech, be heavily punishable by law, proportionately to the nature of the offence.

"Thirdly, the reassertion of our national independence, exercising our right to negotiate and trade with whom we like on an honourable and reciprocal basis . . ."

H. C. Gardner, Fulham.

"...It is our considered opinion that the piling up of arms is not a Socialist road to peace.

"The alternative is the policy of the National Union of Railwaymen, laid down at this year's Annual General Meeting. This policy calls upon the Government to take the initiative in calling a Conference with a view to the nations of the world discussing a drastic reduction of arms, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and the abandonment of the proposal to rearm Germany and Japan.

"The policy of the N.U.R. is a Socialist way to peace. This policy, coming from the Government, even at this late hour, would rally the peoples of the world in support.

"Side by side with this, the Labour Government must establish new relations of friendship and co-operation with the Colonial peoples on a basis of national independence and equal rights. By friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union, People's China and People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

"To do these things, Britain must be independent, and we cannot be independent unless we break the connection with American imperialism, and are dependent on no country. This can be done. It must be done if Britain is to survive.

"The working class must enter this campaign for peace. We cannot allow the Quakers, clergymen, and other well-meaning people to campaign alone for peace.

"Only the working class, with the railwaymen as the vanguard, can decide the question of the hour—peace or war.

"We say it must be peace."

W. Pike, G. Owen, H. White, E. J. Folster, D. Williams, Geo. T. J. King, F. Fox, Tom Ahern, C. J. Seymour, H. Portner, R. J. Baker, J. Wilson, A. Gardner, D. Johnson, S. W. Carpenter, S. Rothman, E. S. Bell, E. Reed, T. Stanwall, C. W. Winder, K. Hester, R. Ketchen, D. C. Perrott.

PEGGY HIGGS

The School and War

SO long as war budgets in capitalist countries continue to eat their way into credits for education, the odds are that your child, if he lives in a "western democracy," will be robbed of adequate schooling. If he lives in a colonial country, he may not go to school at all. Vast treasures of potential ability, instead of enriching civilisation, are being poured today into the melting pots of the munitions' manufacturers; but at the same time, an ever-stronger alliance is being forged between teachers and parents, intellectuals and workers, to defend the citizens of tomorrow against the squandering of their future.

In recent publications of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) a host of facts and figures bear witness to the fact that educational opportunities in countries under U.S. domination are dwindling in direct proportion to the increasing percentage of the national income devoted to war preparations.

As the Federation points out, many of these figures, based on official government documents, are far short of the reality. Nevertheless they tell a grim story of the shelving of the construction and reconstruction of school buildings while children are turned away from crowded and insanitary classrooms, and teachers are unemployed.

In some countries, on the other hand, there is a growing shortage of qualified teachers while low wages and poor conditions put a brake on recruitment to the profession. Attacks on higher education and trade training, and racial discrimination in the schools, are other aspects of the picture.

SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

HERE are some typical figures concerning the rich United States of America. There, according to official statistics published during the 1950-1951 period, 464 dollars per head were to be devoted to military expenditure during that period, as compared with 36 dollars per head for education.

Expenditure for education thus amounted to 7.7 per cent of the expenditure per person for war aims: this at a time when 3,440,000 children were receiving inadequate schooling because of overcrowded classes, double and triple sessions, large numbers of teachers lacking the necessary qualifications, and the lack of textbooks and other educational material.

One million children (mainly children of migratory workers) only go to school 60 days a year. And the country produces, every year, 200,000 functional illiterates (i.e. persons with less than a 5th grade education).

As for "equal opportunity", the figures show that in education as in other fields it is a hollow sham. In the Southern States, separate schools exist for Negro and white children. An investigation made in 1946 showed that average expenditure per class in one year was as follows: in schools where segregation was not practised officially, in the North and the West, 2,199 dollars; in schools for white children in the South, 1,166 dollars; and in schools for Negro children in the South, 477 dollars.

Thus the worst conditions for both white and Negro children exist in the ultra-reactionary southern States. But the Negro children suffer the most.

Ten per cent of the children of the U.S.A. were in classes costing 4,160 dollars a year. And *ten per cent—Negro Children of the South—were in classes costing only* 125 *dollars a year.*

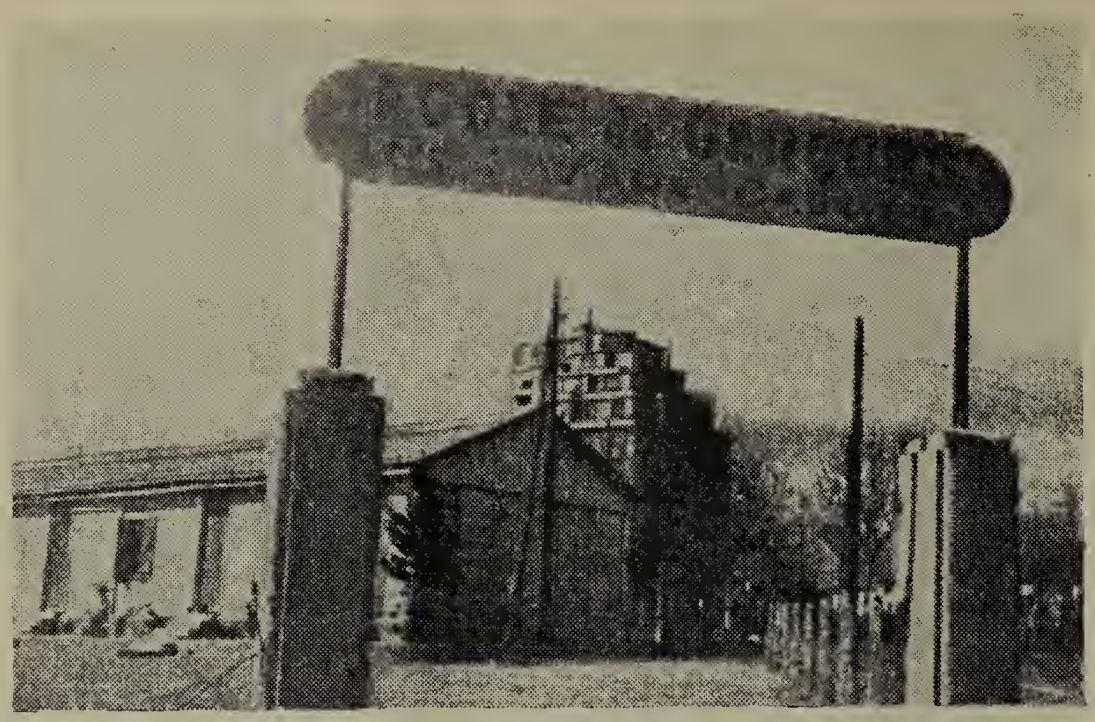
The situation has not improved to any marked extent since 1946. For example, the 1948-1949 figures show the State of Arkansas spending 103.29 dollars per year for a white child and 59.57 for a Negro child; Mississipi, 114.74 for a white child and 23.82 for a Negro child; Georgia, 126.87 for a white child and 58.73 for a Negro child.

IN FASCIST SPAIN, GREECE AND DEPENDENT OR SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES

IT is in Spain that the greatest gap exists between the budget for education and the budget for war. In 1950, 62 per cent of the total budget was earmarked for war preparations and 5 per cent —barely a twelth of the war budget—for education.

The results are catastrophic. The number of illiterates has increased by 25 per cent as compared with the statistics of the Spanish Republic. In the countryside, the schools are crumbling into ruins; in a number of villages they no longer exist. Since 1939, the proportion of school-age children actually at school has dropped from 85 to 55 per cent, and to 50 per cent in big cities like Madrid and Barcelona where the greatest poverty exists. *The children of Spain are being starved—physically and intellectually.*

In Greece, where there were 8,000 schools before the war, there are only 1,000 now. In Iran, only 7 per cent of the children go to primary school, for



TOP: **A boys' school in Toulon, France. It was bombed out in 1943. Our photo shows its present condition.**

BOTTOM: **Opposite the boys' school, a recently constructed elaborate school for the Maritime Constabulary.**

their parents, in order to feed them, are obliged to send them to work in the textile factories. In the carpet factories, 60 *per cent of the workers are children under* 10 *years of age working* 13 *to* 15 *hours a day for a wage of* 1 *to* 1.5 *real* (*the price of* 150 *grams of bread*). In these conditions, of course, child mortality attains monstrous proportions.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, where the imperialists cynically try to keep the populations in a state of primitive ignorance in order to plunder them at will, the figures speak for themselves. In 1949, in the Latin American countries, there were 60 million illiterates for a total population of 140 million. In Malaya there are 500,000 children without schooling, which represents, if Singapore is excluded, a proportion of 67.9 per cent, and illiterates number 54.3 per cent of the whole population.

In Northern Africa, according to official statistics, less than 12 per cent of school-age children attend school. In Tunisia, for example, all European children, attend school; in Morocco, all European children, but only 7.5 per cent of Moroccan children, attend school.

IN THE U.S.S.R. and THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

TO set this criminal waste of intelligence and creative ability in its true perspective, and to understand all that these children are missing, one need only glance at what is happening in the countries where State expenditure is directed toward peaceful progress and the satisfaction of civilian needs.

Here are some of the achievements in the field of education in the Soviet Union under the first post-war Five Year Plan, fulfilled in 4 years and 3 months.

Out of 17,300 schools destroyed, 15,000 had been rebuilt by 1949; in 1950, 1,159 new schools were built through the efforts of the Ministry of Education, and approximately twice as many by collective farms and local Soviets. There were 37 million pupils in the primary and secondary schools in 1950, 8 million more than in 1940. And students receiving higher education had risen in the same period from 812,000 to 1,247,000.

Poland is a country where educational opportunities were extremely limited before the war, and one million children went without schooling. In the new Poland, far-reaching changes have taken place in the educational system. Not only do all the children of the workers and peasants receive an education, they receive schooling for a longer period of time. The "four year" school which predominated before the war has almost disappeared, and in 1949, 3,337,000 pupils were attending "seven year" schools as compared with 203,600 in "four year" schools. The number of students receiving higher education had risen from 45,000 before the war to 117,000 in 1950. Twice as many students —60,000—finished university or teachers' training college in 1951 as compared with the year before.

And plans discussed for the 1951-1952 school year include: a doubling of adult education, vocational courses for a quarter of a million workers, and 3-year B.Sc. courses for 5,000 of the best qualified workers, both men and women.

JOINT ACTION OF TEACHERS AND PARENTS TO DEFEND THE SCHOOL

In the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples Democracies, government bodies, teachers and parents co-operate in the vital work of educating in the full sense of the word, developing to the utmost the special abilities of *all* the children, and preparing them to play an active part in running their country. No unemployment here; wages and conditions which attract ever more recruits into the teaching profession; full opportunities for teachers to improve their qualifications; a flood of new textbooks and educational material flowing out to reach even the most isolated schools.

But the action of teachers in these countries and in the capitalist and colonial countries, though it takes different forms, is devoted to the same major aims : to create more and better schools; to put at the disposal of youth all the conquests of science, all the treasures of culture; to maintain peace in the world.

IN the west, more and more teachers are joining forces to fight for credits for education instead of war. They are taking a stand against the teaching of chauvinism and the practice of racial discrimination in the schools. Joining hands with the workers, they are courageously striking out for a world where full educational opportunities will exist for all children, regardless of race, colour or religion, and where the teacher will be, in fact as well as in theory, an honoured and adequately paid servant of the community.

Their action is most successful when teachers, parents, intellectuals, the broadest possible sections of the public, join together to defend the school.

Of particular interest in this connection is the Italian national conference on "The School and War," organised at Florence on April 25 and 26, 1951, by the Association for the Defence of the National School.

The aim of this conference was to draw up, with the help of reports by experts, teachers, communal administrators and parents of school children, as complete a picture as possible of the damage to Italy's schools resulting from the war. The factors taken into account included the effects of the war on school buildings and equipment, and on the physical and moral health, the educational and cultural development, of the children.

The conference was an outstanding success. It was supported by broad sections of the public, by well known intellectuals and by members of parliament from all the political parties.

Here are some of the facts it established. *In Italy today two million children of primary school age cannot go to school for lack of classrooms, and* 100,000 *teachers are unemployed.* In Northern Italy, 14 per cent of the adult population are illiterate, and 25 per cent in the South.

There is a lack of 70,000 classrooms, representing a value of 210 billion lire. The government was "unable" to find this amount, though it "found" immediately the 250 billion lire for military expenditure imposed by the Atlantic Pact. Side by side with these figures was presented a tragic picture of children suffering from malnutrition, ravaged by diseases such as scurvy which had previously completely disappeared in Italy, and juvenile delinquency on the increase.

The conference unanimously supported a proposal for calling an international conference which could organise effective united action in defence of the school. It concluded with an imperious call to the government to support every step towards the maintenance of world peace, ranging from peace and non-aggression pacts to direct meetings between the representatives of the Big Five, and from disarmament proposals to economic and cultural exchanges between the peoples.

For twenty years these barracks have served as a school in the Vaise district of Lyon, in France.

Italian students demonstrating "For a Democratic School, For a Science of Peace."

SUCCESSFUL UNITED ACTION

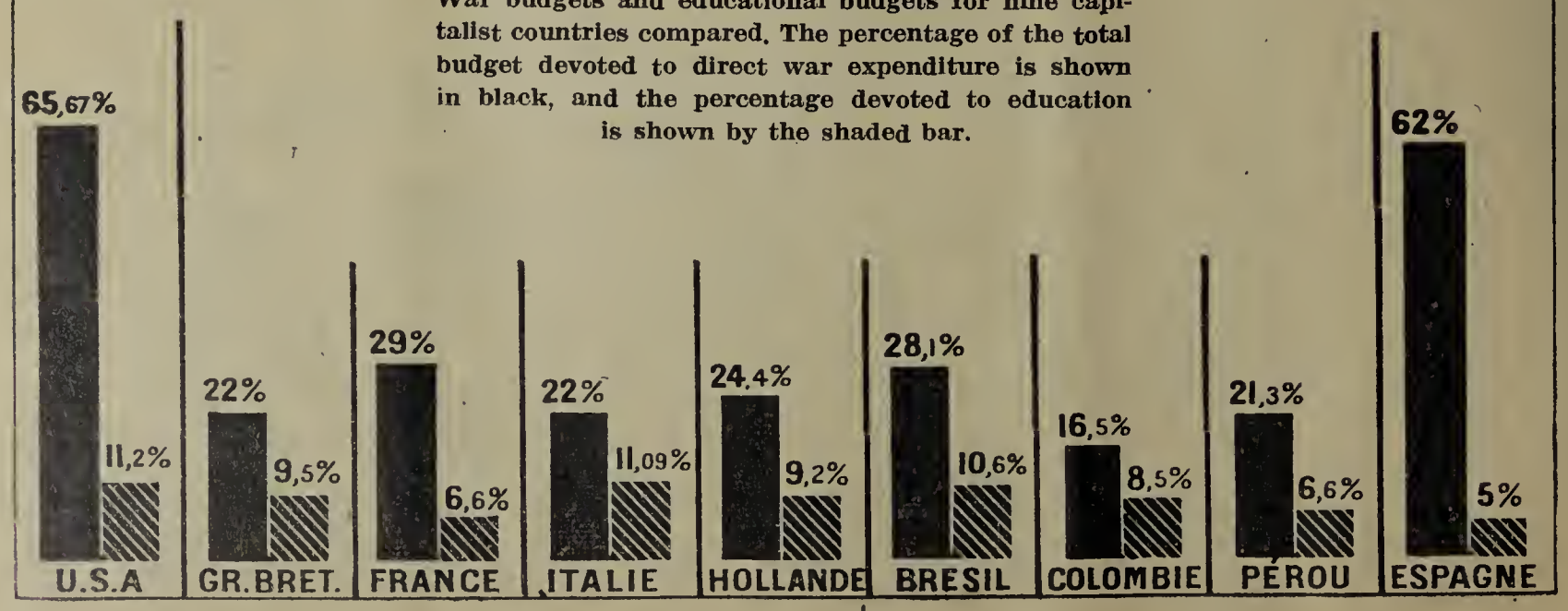
MANY recent examples could be cited of successful united action, on a local or national basis, in defence of the school, of teachers' rights and of their standard of living.

In the Lebanon, for instance, by repeated demonstrations, the Women's League obtained the opening of three schools in a district where before there were none for 180 villages.

In New South Wales, Australia, after a campaign which brought into action parents, progressive organisations, and the teachers' trade union, grouping 95 per cent of the teachers, the highest wages in the Commonwealth were won.

United action has prevented the victimisation of teachers for their militant activities or their political opinions. In France, Robert Enard was attacked for "violation of scholastic neutrality"—because he had explained to his pupils the reasons for the patriotic strikes organised in the industrial Technical School of Drancy (Seine) against the presence of General Eisenhower in Paris. In spite of government pressure, the vigorous united protests by trade unionists, teachers, pupils of the school and their parents forced the Departmental Council of the Seine to refuse to take action against him.

War budgets and educational budgets for nine capitalist countries compared. The percentage of the total budget devoted to direct war expenditure is shown in black, and the percentage devoted to education is shown by the shaded bar.



Combined action by trade unionists and parents in Western Germany prevented the suspension of Dr. Rott of Mainz, and of a teacher in Bremen. In Dusseldorf, out of 12 teachers dismissed under an Adenauer decree calling for the exclusion of Communist teachers, 10 have been reinstated thanks to the joint action of trade unionists and parents.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY TO SAFEGUARD EDUCATION AND PEACE

GAINS in the teachers' fight for better wages and conditions are also gains in the struggle for progress and peace. But as the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) points out, under present conditions such successes tend to be local and partial, constantly jeopardised by the increasing cost of living, by inflation resulting from the continuous increase in war budgets.

Without minimising the importance of such local successes, it can be said that in order to make these permanent and far-reaching, the teachers, supported by the parents and all who are interested in education, must consolidate their union on a national and international scale and link their action in defence of the schools.

A school for Turkish children in Plovdiv, Bulgaria. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the rights of national minorities, including the right to education, are fully observed.

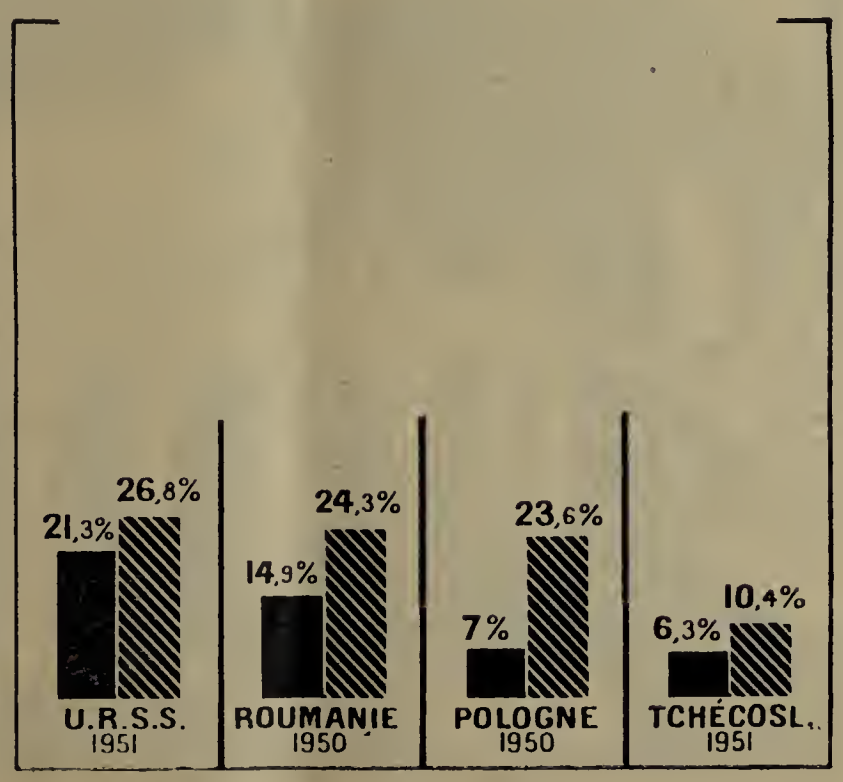
That is why the World Federation of Teachers' Unions has directed its activities in the past year towards strengthening the international unity of teachers for the defence of education and of peace. Some progress has been made through the Liaison Committee of International Teachers' Federations of which the World Federation of Teachers' Unions is a member. This Committee has adopted important resolutions calling for school budgets commensurate with the needs of the children, and concerning the academic and civil rights of teachers.

To make clear the need for united action and to propose a basis on which it might be established, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions issued a brochure on school budgets versus war budgets, which contains a wealth of statistics, in addition to those quoted in this article.

To promote the campaign for peace and for the education of the children in a spirit of international co-operation, an International Teachers' Peace Caravan was organised. In this Caravan teachers from France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and Austria travelled through a number of European countries this past summer, meeting with teachers, parents and workers.

The inter-related goals of defending education and of maintaining peace motivated the discussions and actions of the enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions at Erfurt (German Democratic Republic) this summer. A number of sessions were open to observers from non-affiliated organisations so that discussion might be as broadly representative as possible.

The presence of teachers from Western Europe, from the People's Democracies, from the



Contrast the capitalist countries with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. War budgets in black and social cultural budgets shaded. (U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies educational expenditures are included in the more general budget for social and cultural expenditure, of which they generally constitute about one half. This is not true of Czechoslovakia, whose total is for education alone.)

Soviet Union, from China, from North and South America—all united in their concern for the welfare of the children and for peace—created an atmosphere of confidence in the struggle. (A representative of the African teachers could not attend because he was unable to obtain a passport, while an observer designated by the Teachers' Federation of New South Wales, Australia, was kept away by technical difficulties.)

Following the arrival of the International Teachers' Peace Caravan, and reports and discussion on its experiences and accomplishments, it was decided to utilise these experiences in organising similar activities in the future.

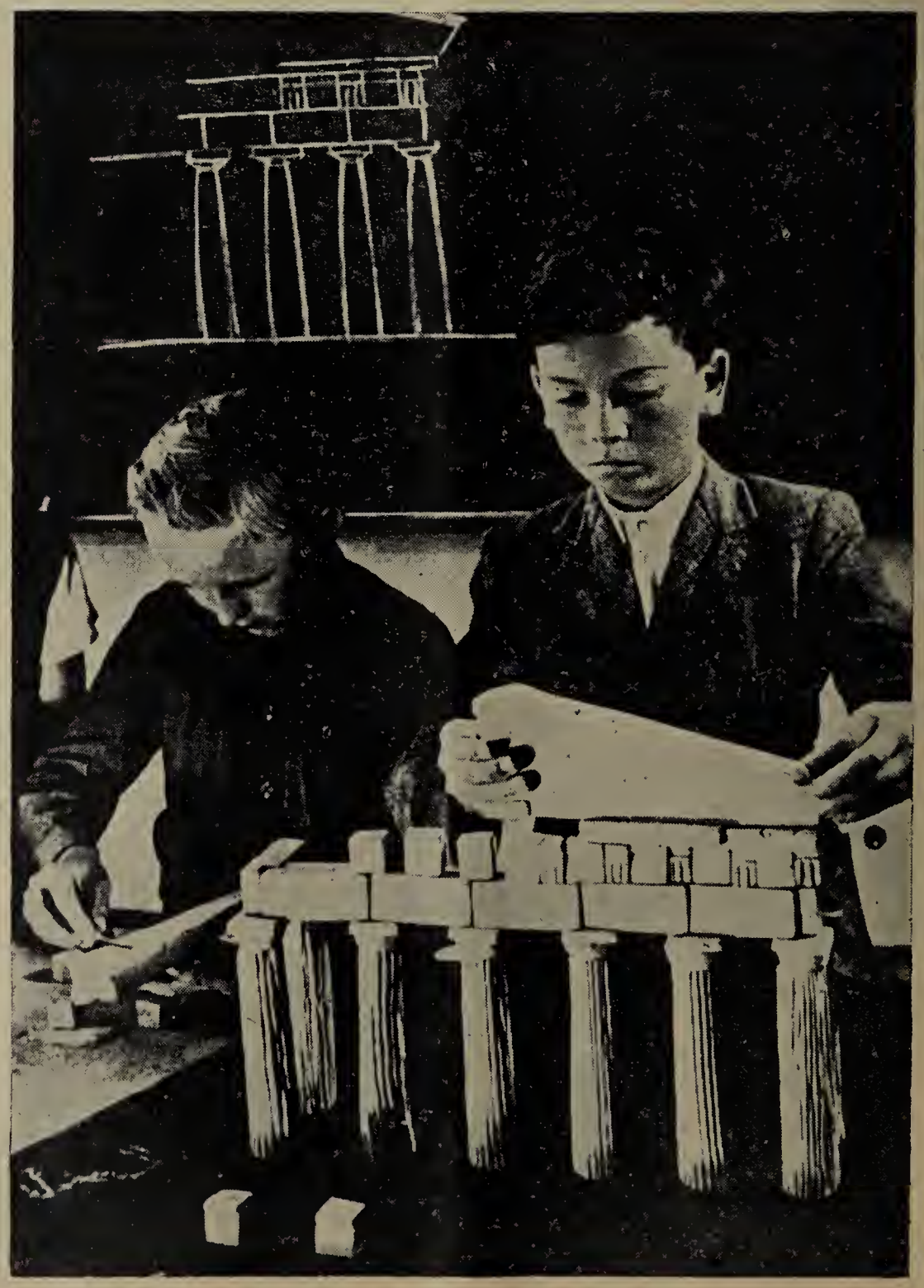
An important part of the general resolution was the recommendation to national organisations that the campaign for collecting signatures in support of a Big Five peace pact be intensified among teachers, and that great stress be put on the need for teachers to collect signatures among the general public. A letter of support for its programme was sent from the conference to the World Peace Council.

Teachers attending this meeting were able to see for themselves how, in the German Democratic Republic, educational opportunities have been increased under a government concerned with maintaining peace and improving the welfare of the people. Reports on school conditions showed that Nazi teachers have been replaced by teachers trained in a spirit of democracy, that new text books free of all chauvinism and militarism have replaced Nazi and militaristic texts, that a unified, democratic system of education open to all the children has been established, and is constantly being improved and extended.

Reports from a number of countries showing the disastrous effects of war preparations and repression on the conditions of the schools, the salaries and civil rights of teachers, and on the content of education brought out the need for decisive action and for unity.

To prepare and carry out such actions the national teachers' organisations were called upon to hold widely representative conferences with the participation of teachers of all points of view, and of delegates from trade unions and women's and youth organisations, in order to map out programmes of action for better school conditions and against war; to arrange meetings of city and rural workers at which teachers might present reports on the conditions of the schools and on the need to struggle for a democratic education for all the children; to acquaint the people with the causes for the steady deterioration of educational opportunities in the capitalist and colonial countries; to co-operate actively with organisations of youth and women in organising child welfare conferences; and to organise support for teachers victimised because of their activities on behalf of education and of peace.

In a separate resolution it was emphasised that in this period of increasing war danger, joint



This is how pupils in the primary schools learn the history of art in Hungary. Artistic appreciation is developed by training in creative art.

action on the part of teachers with the working class to preserve peace and to improve educational opportunities is a basic duty and responsibility of the national teachers' organisations.

For unity on an international scale, the Executive Committee gave the Secretariat of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions the task of approaching national and international teachers' organisations in order to explore the possibility of organising jointly an international conference of teachers in 1952 for the defence of education and of peace. The Executive Committee approved the text of an open letter addressed to all national and international teachers' organisations which reads in part:

"The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, meeting in Erfurt, proclaims its firm conviction that the teachers of the entire world, regardless of their political or religious convictions, have common tasks for the accomplishment of which they are called upon to unite their efforts.

"We think that there is not a single teacher who does not want all the children to have the opportunity to study and to become educated and cultured. But for this it is necessary to build more schools, to increase the number of teachers and to assure them a livelihood. It is also necessary that every child should have the right to be taught in his native language.

"The economic and social conditions of teachers in capitalist and dependent countries are very poor. Salaries at a poverty level, lack of social security at the expense of the state, lack of paid vacations, suppression of thought and of expression, no right to form truly democratic organisations of teachers—such basically is the situation of teachers in a number of capitalist countries.

"Our first efforts should be directed towards organising national unity conferences of teachers to find concrete means of action against the deteriorating conditions of the schools and the teachers, and against the threat of a new world war.

"We call on all national and international teachers' organisations to discuss the question of unity of all the teachers on a national and international level."

Against Intensified Exploitation

In accordance with the aspirations of all workers, the Trade Unions International of the Metal and Engineering Industries (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) several months ago launched a campaign for a fight against the increasingly savage and intensive exploitation of the workers by the employers with the help of the reactionary trade union leaders in the United States, Britain, etc.

The T.U.I. called on the workers to fight

—against intensified exploitation,

—against speed-up,

—against overtime,

—against accidents, sickness and unemployment,

—for higher wages,

—for a real guaranteed wage,

—for the workers' right to discuss times for piece-work, assembly work or payment by results,

—for bonuses calculated on the basis of the total guaranteed wage and maintained at least at this level whatever the quantity of output.

In its Bulletin on the fight against speed-up, the T.U.I. describes the big step forward which this struggle has taken in the United States, Britain, France, Holland and in a number of other countries.

Knowing the fatal consequences for men and women workers, of the employers' policy of intensifying the rate of work, the T.U.I. has called on all workers in the metal and engineering industries to organise, in November 1951, a *Week of international action against intensive exploitation, speed-up, overtime, accidents, sickness and unemployment.*

This week, the Bulletin emphasized, must be considered as the starting point of a powerful movement against intensified exploitation and its consequences.

CHINESE FOOD WORKERS HELP BUILD THE NEW CHINA

by **YUAN CHIH-HO**

(Chairman of the National Committee of the Food & Tobacco Workers' Trade Union of China).

THE Food and Tobacco Workers' Trade Union of China has about 300,000 members in 12 large cities of China such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and other large centres.

The remainder of the million food workers and clerks who are scattered in the several thousand smaller cities and towns are guided by the regional council of trade unions, because with the breadth of China and her widespread population, we still lack adequate communications to bring together these workers, who are working mostly in the private enterprises. It is more convenient for the county trade union councils to work with them under a unified policy.

As to the work in labour emulation, political teaching, cultural and educational activities, practical measures are adopted according to the peculiarities of each locality. The important point is to solve the questions of wages, labour insurance and the well-being of the workers.

The daily guidance given by the Chinese Food Workers' Trade Union to the shop clerks and workers is stressed in the big cities, where experience can be gathered in a few selected enterprises for experimentation and for outstanding examples. Experiences thus obtained will be promoted among the shop clerks and workers of smaller cities throughout China. Such a way of working is in complete harmony with the whole movement of the Chinese workers.

In addition to the 300,000 food workers organised in the Food Workers' Trade Union, we have also worked among hundreds of thousands of salt workers in China, helping them to develop their production. A preparatory committee of the salt workers was thus set up in 1950 and representative meetings were held in eight big salt-producing regions with a membership of 200,000 workers. Eight regional committees were organised to guide the work in production, in political teaching and in cultural and educational activities. They also helped to solve the problems of wages and labour insurance of the salt workers.

With regard to cultural life, according to recent statistics from 10 cities, 160 spare-time schools and 221 clubs have been erected in the industry. (One of the clubs in Mukden can hold as many as 1,700 people.) These were built for the workers to read or carry on cultural activities, after working hours, such as dramatic performances, concerts and all sorts of games including chess. Political education on patriotism and internationalism is also conducted in the form of cultural activities. The workers show a lively interest in these achievements, which were made possible by the liberation of their country.

Socialist Emulation Leads to Increased Production

DURING the two years after the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Central People's Government has devoted great efforts to restore and develop the food industries, which have so much to do with the living conditions of the people. For instance, in the days of the reactionary regime, China had to import from foreign countries large quantities of foodstuffs for grain processing. This year the yield of foodstuffs exceeds last year by 24 per cent. Not only have we more than enough for domestic consumption, but we are able to export grain to other countries;

Workers packing the fine flour, in the packing department of the Foo Hsin Mill at Wuhan.

The quick transport of food to distant areas has helped to solve the perennial food problem in China. The finished product being moved out of the Foo Hsin Flour Mill and loaded for shipment.

we have already contracted to ship 510,000 tons of rice to India.

In the tobacco industries, we have also freed ourselves from the clutches of Anglo-American imperialism. The output of last year's cigarettes was insufficient to meet popular demand. This year, the People's Government encouraged the peasants to raise more tobacco leaves, and as a result, the quantity of tobacco leaves increased four times as compared with last year. Thus, the tobacco industries throughout China are not only guaranteed adequate supplies of raw materials, but have set up new factories for toasting tobacco leaves.

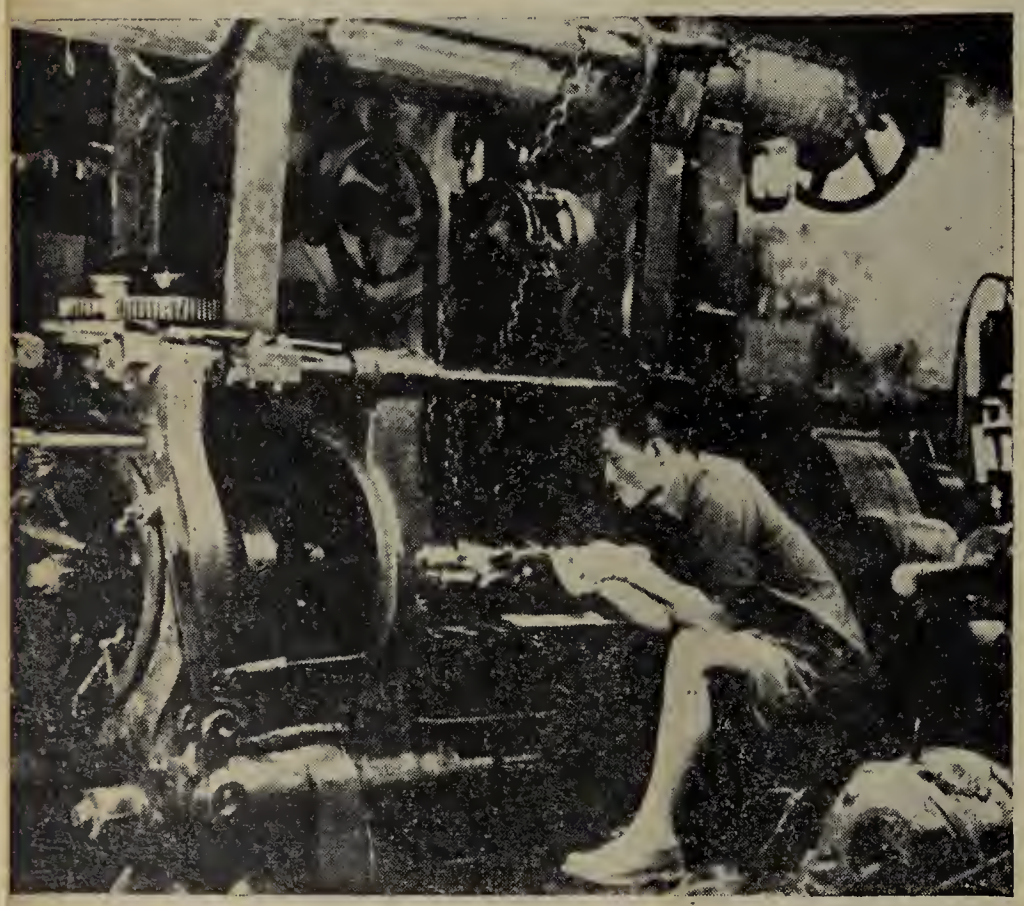
Cooks of the Sun Ya Restaurant in Shanghai, carefully preparing delicious dishes for which Chinese cookery is justly reputed the world over.

Other food industries such as salt, vegetable oils, tea and fisheries have all increased output several times as compared with last year.

To ensure the fulfilment of our national production tasks, the Chinese Food and Tobacco Workers' Union actively educates the workers to develop patriotic emulation campaigns for the reconstruction of our motherland. In Canton, Brother Kang Cho of the Hsieh Cheng Rice-Husking Mill displayed his ingenuity and substituted a mixed fuel of coal gas and oil dregs to run the machine in place of diesel oil. He thus solved the problem of fuel supply arising from the American imperialist blockade. He not only helped to increase the factory's output of foodstuffs by 27 per cent, but also economised on the operating expenses by more than a million Chinese dollars a day. Another food-processing factory in Foochow increased output by 124 per cent as compared with last year, because the workers of the whole factory displayed unprecedented enthusiasm towards labour.

Chang Shu-yun, a model woman worker of a tobacco factory in Tientsin, after mastering the Kovaleov method of operation, increased production by 40 per cent.

According to the June statistics for Mukden and ten other cities, 327 model groups emerged from the patriotic labour emulation and some of them created new records in production. For example, the Li Chuan-kiang Group in a vegetable oil refinery in the city of Shihping established the new



record of 13.8 per cent in the extraction of oil. Many more such examples can be enumerated.

Because the Central People's Government pays great attention to the development of a peaceful food industry, it is possible to obtain ample supply of raw materials and to rehabilitate and construct new factories. The conscious efforts of the working class also help to increase production. At the same time, the stabilisation of commodity prices has improved the conditions of the workers.

Meanwhile, the trade union co-operates with the government to make reasonable adjustments in the old wage system. For instance, the wages of the workers in a certain tobacco factory in Tientsin have increased on an average of 30 per cent as compared with the past. In factories the 12-hour shift working system is being replaced by the 8-hour shift for the purpose of improving working conditions.

Furthermore, in March this year, the Central People's Government promulgated the Labour Insurance Regulations which were put into effect throughout the country since May 1st. In the food industries, according to statistics of 11 cities, factories employing more than 100 workers and staff members each, have fully carried out the Labour Insurance Regulations and many factories with less than 100 workers and staff members have also partly carried out the Regulations. This contributed to solving the problems of maternity, old age, sickness, death, injuries and disability for both men and women workers, and greatly raised their enthusiasm in their own work.

The Chinese working class plays an important role in the peaceful construction of our motherland.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China decided to control the Huai River which caused serious floods every year in the past. The river stretches over 1,160 kilometres and an area of about 240,000 square kilometres. Under the old regime, every major flood inundated countless acres of land, damaged houses and drowned many people. Since the establishment of the People's Government two years ago, it was

Top:

New China no longer needs to import tobacco. This is the cigarette packing department of the Chung Hua Tobacco Company in Shanghai.

Centre:

Wei Chun-hua is a shock worker in the China Vegetable Oil Company in Tientsin.

Below:

Tobacco workers are now given ample time and facilities for study. This studious class is in the Chung Hua Tobacco Company in Shanghai.

These trawlers of the Shantung Sea Products Company are now equipped with diesel engines and contribute greatly to the increase in the production of sea foods.

decided that a great effort must be applied to control this river; and actual work was started on a five-year plan in January 1950.

The Chinese working class answered the call of the People's Government with great enthusiasm and about three million workers and peasants, over 10,000 engineers and technicians, took part in the first stage of this gigantic project from the end of last November to July this year. Because of the strenuous efforts of the emancipated Chinese working people, the first part of the work was completed in time. The primary results may be described as " Minor floods under heavy rainfall, and no flood when rains are small." Thus 17 million *mous* (each *mou* equals one-sixth of an acre) of arable land are protected against inundation, even in the most disastrous flood seasons.

International Solidarity

TO strengthen its efforts in the defence of peace, the Chinese Food Workers' Trade Union musters all its forces to develop international solidarity. Under the correct leadership of the W.F.T.U and the Secretariat of our Trade Unions International of Food and Tobacco Workers, we have done much to improve our relations with trade unions of other countries.

Our day to day correspondence with the fraternal trade unions of different countries helped to bring closer unity and friendship to the international working class. As to our fellow workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, we have paid close attention to their heroic struggles for peace and their rights of existence.

On December 6th 1950, the Japanese reactionary regime, following the instructions of American imperialism, engineered a provocation known as the Matsukawa Incident and sentenced 20 trade union leaders to death or life imprisonment, for alleged sabotage. The Chinese working class was greatly infuriated by this outrageous persecution. Protests were raised from all over China. The National Committee of the Food and Tobacco Workers' Union of China sent a joint protest together with other trade unions of China to the Yoshida Government and demanded the immediate release of the imprisoned workers. At the same time a strong protest was published in the *Workers' Daily* in the name of our Chinese Food and Tobacco Workers' Union condemning the criminal acts of the American imperialists and their puppet regime in Japan. We also sent our circulars to food workers all over the country calling them to support the struggles of the Japanese working class.

The Chinese food and tobacco workers have organised demonstrations and protests in food and

An athletic field is placed at the disposal of these workers of the China Vegetable Oil Company in Tientsin.

Artistic and cultural clubs are being formed in factories and are very popular. Here is a group of waist drum dancers of the Ih Chunc Tobacco Company of Canton.

tobacco plants throughout China against the imprisonment of these Japanese workers.

The Chinese Food Workers' Union expressed solidarity with the striking workers in Dutch food processing plants, with the Greek seamen being persecuted by the reactionary Greek regime, and protested vigorously against the banning of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth by the French Government.

The Chinese food workers have also established closer relations with food workers in India and Pakistan.

The situation in Asia and the world is undergoing significant changes. We firmly believe that under the leadership of the W.F.T.U. and the Food Workers' Trade Unions International, the great solidarity of world working class will grow stronger every day. No matter what intrigues and machinations the Anglo-American imperialists may cook up, our strong unity will never be broken.

Chinese Workers in the Fight for Peace

THE Chinese working class, under the leadership of its own political party, the Chinese Communist Party, stands at the forefront in de-

Men and women workers and their children receive medical care in clinics attached to their work places. Here is the consultation room of the Chung Hua Tobacco Company in Shanghai.

fending world peace. The movement for resisting American imperialism, aiding the Korean people, defending our homes and motherland, which has developed since the American interventionists started their aggressive war in Korea in June last year, is a sign of the lofty spirit of patriotism and internationalism of the Chinese working class.

Apart from organising the best sons and daughters of our labouring people into the Chinese People's Volunteers to help our Korean brothers fight against the American aggressors at the battlefront, the Chinese food workers, like the workers of other industries, actively take part in the fight against imperialism and for the defence of world peace.

The 300,000 trade union members of the Chinese food industries and more than a million fishermen have signed the Appeal against the rearmament of Japan and for the conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact. The total number of persons who signed the Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact and against the rearmament of Japan reached over 340,000,000, which is more than three-fifths of the Chinese population.

When the Governments of the United States and Great Britain convened the San Francisco conference to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan, they excluded from participation the delegation of the People's Republic of China. India and Burma refused to take part in the conference. The treaty thus concluded is in fact not a treaty for peace, but a treaty for war through which America and Britain intend to start new aggression in Asia. The Chinese and Asian peoples resolutely oppose this treaty.

At present, the workers and peoples of all countries in Asia are mustering enormous strength to overthrow imperialist oppression and to win peace in the Far East and throughout the whole world. We are firmly convinced that peace will be preserved and consolidated if the people take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and uphold it to the end. We call on the food and tobacco workers of all countries to unite under the banner of the W.F.T.U. and the Food and Tobacco Workers' Trade Unions International and struggle to the end for the realisation of the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the five great powers, for the cessation of the war in Korea, against the rearmament of Western Germany and Japan, and in defence of world peace.

French and British Clergymen Give Their Impressions of Hungary

ON the invitation of the Protestant Churches, three British and nine French clergymen belonging to the Anglican, Lutheran and Reformed Churches, paid a visit to Hungary from the 12th to the 22nd September, 1951, in order to acquaint themselves with the religious life of the country and with the institutions of People's Democracy.

The correspondents of the *Hungarian Bulletin* had an opportunity of interviewing several members of this group of visiting clergymen shortly before their departure from Hungary. Here are a number of extracts from the statements made on that occasion.

Invited to give his impressions on the life of the Hungarian people, the Reverend Albert Finet of Paris, Editor of the Protestant review *Réforme*, stated :

"I have had the opportunity of visiting both agricultural and industrial areas. In the agricultural areas of the Great Hungarian Plain and beyond the Tisza, I was chiefly interested in the producers' co-operatives. I had long talks with the working peasants of the Petöfi producers' co-operative. My chief interest, however, was not in the achievements of production, for Hungarian agriculture was formerly notoriously backward, and it would be difficult to compare it with our conditions in France. What I looked for above all was the transformation of the individualist outlook which is a characteristic of the peasantry, and, indeed, this transformation is truly amazing. The peasants are confident and sure of themselves. Young and old join wholeheartedly in the work of the collective. I saw, in the Petöfi producers' co-operative, that Hungary has succeeded in building a new collective life and a new economy for the peasantry.

"Among the industrial areas which I have visited, I have been deeply impressed by the giant Danube Steel Combine which is being built at Dunapentele. It is impossible to restrain one's emotion at the sight of this mighty town, created almost overnight from nothing but man's effort. The most striking thing is to see how the workers devote themselves to their work of peaceful construction."

The Reverend Finet had this to say about religious life and the situation of the Church of Hungary :

"Naturally, I considered that my most important task was to inform myself about the situation of the Church. For this reason, I visited several Protestant congregations in the capital and in the provinces, where I talked with leading personalities of the Church, with clergymen and with members of the congregations. I took part in services in the Szabadság Church in Budapest, in the village of Godollo near Budapest and in the town of Debrecen in Eastern Hungary.

"The services took place in an exalted and pious atmosphere. I have been deeply impressed by the complete identity of the congregation with the church, by the spirit of confidence and brotherhood established between the pastors and their flock and by the way in which they help each other in such a selfless way in their religious life.

"I had a long interview with Istvan Kossa, President of the National Office for Religious Affairs. The conversation which I had with him convinced me that the State gives its support to the Church."

The Reverend Dr. Bryn Thomas, an Anglican clergyman, stressed the perfect harmony existing between the Hungarian Church and State :

"The harmonious co-operation between State and Church is well illustrated by the fact that the State pays an average of 800 forints (about 24 pounds, or 68 dollars) a month to ministers and priests, that is, it contributes this sum to the stipends of the clergy of all Churches.

"In 1950 the Hungarian People's Republic spent approximately 12 million forints (ca. 360,000 pounds, or 1,000,000 dollars) on the restoration of Protestant churches. It contributed 31 million forints (ca. 930,000 pounds or 2,600,000 dollars) to supplement the stipends of Protestant ministers and 60 million forints (ca. 1,800,000 pounds or 5,000,000 dollars) to

supplement the stipends of Catholic priests. It was during my own stay in Hungary that the State allotted an additional 5 million forints (150,000 pounds or 421,000 dollars) for the rebuilding of five Roman Catholic churches.

"It is true that in Hungary two archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church—Mindszenty and Grösz—were imprisoned. These two high priests, however, would have been brought before a court and given a severe sentence in any other country. We in the West must realise that in the East the people cannot forget the violent influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of politics, of which they were victims for such a long time. Today Hungary is governed by Hungarians for the benefit of Hungarians. A firm faith in the future radiates from the faces of the people, in the farmsteads, in the factories, in the schools, universities and in the Church alike."

Asked whether he had noted the will for peace of the mass of the Hungarian people, the Reverend Albert Greiner of Paris, Editor of *The Lutheran,* replied :

"The problem of peace is on the agenda in Hungary. It has given its name to a large hotel, to a street, to a cigarette, showing that every means is utilised to convince public opinion of the importance of peace. There is no doubt that this widespread propaganda in favour of peace is in line with the opinion of the Hungarian people themselves. I should like to say, further, that the ideal of peace corresponds with the opinions of all peoples.

"The Hungarian people, however, do not confine themselves to wishing for peace. They need it in order to carry out their plans of construction. I saw this in a concrete form at Dunapentele, where they are building a gigantic Steel Combine on the banks of the Danube, surrounded by a new city. The Hungarians want peace, they need it, and it is clear that they are doing everything possible in the interests of peace.

"Like all Western visitors, I arrived in Hungary with certain prejudices. My visit has enabled me to establish a human contact with the new Hungary. I have seen here men who live, work and strive to realise their plans and desires. Sometimes they succeed, and sometimes they fail. Nevertheless, they live and fight as men, and perhaps that is the most wonderful experience that I have had during my stay in Hungary.

"Behind the so-called 'Iron Curtain' I have found an active and animated life, diligent and hard-working people, inspired by the same ambitions as the masses of people in the West. From the moment that one has seen this with one's own eyes, it becomes easier to understand this new country, where one finds so many positive things, including religious life and the activity of the Church."

The Reverend René Rognon of Paris, a pastor of the Reformed Church, said :

"I feel that I have come to understand something of the new man in the making.

"I have been struck by the quickened rhythm of the work of construction. It is noticeable that everything is urgent, that everything starts from the beginning. The new Hungary has to be built from its very foundations. The Danube Steel Combine, for example, is being built by tens of thousands of workers who, up to a year or two ago, were still peasants. Highly skilled workers and technical cadres will arise from among them when this great steel enterprise is completed. This is characteristic of the new Hungary, where man is the focal point of the great development which is taking place.

"Among the factories which I visited, I spent a great deal of time at the Kistext Textile Factory, whose achievements in social services, the nursery, the house of culture, the worker's club and sports stadium, have greatly impressed me. Far from being luxurious, these facilities are very simple, but they impressed me far more than a great show of luxury would have done. I have seen that they do not concern themselves with creating a false display for the purposes of propaganda, but with important social achievements which form part of their daily lives and are born of their collective efforts.

"I formed the same impression in a producers' co-operative near Debrecen. It was not one of the 'Millionaire' co-operatives. It was even fairly poor. Nevertheless, it was one of the thousands of co-operatives which have been formed recently, and which are going forward on the road to progress. Both in the factories and in the producers' co-operatives, I gained the feeling that these new institutions reflect the common will of the workers and peasants, and are in line with the ambitions of the Hungarian people.

"I have seen countless examples of the desire for peace of the Hungarian people. In every country in the world, in the West as in the East, a great deal is said and written about peace. But with us, in the West, however, there is a certain defeatism underlying the declarations for peace. They try to make people believe that, although everyone wants peace, war is inevitable. In Hungary, however, all that is said and written testifies to a sincere and unshakeable faith in peace, as do also the splendid facts of construction."

Italian Women in the Struggle for Bread and Peace

by

Maddalena SECCO

ITALIAN women workers are in the forefront of the struggle being waged by the Italian people against the de Gasperi Government's war policy of hunger and poverty. This is understandable since female labour plays a considerable, and sometimes determining role in the economic life of the country, —in industry, in agriculture, and in the crafts.

It is sufficient to glance at the following figures to grasp the important function women have in the political, economic and social life of the country.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) estimates that there are some five million Italian women workers; approximate figures for the most important industries are as follows: textile, 400,000; women who take in work at home, 400,000; metal and engineering, 97,500; agricultural day labourers (*braccianti*), more than 800,000; share-cropping, 650,000; chemical industry, 70,000; clothing, 123,000. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour, female labour comprises 89% of the total labour in the food industry, 73% in textile, 51% in clothing, 24% in wood, 26% in cardboard, 32% in printing, 26% in leather, 40% in rubber, 24% in chemical products, about 4% in metal, 8% in engineering, 34% in electrical equipment, and 17% in other industries.

Although women occupy a position of prime importance in the life of the country, their living standards are deplorable. The working women of Italy have always been severely exploited, never having known anything but ridiculously low, unequal wages as much as 30 to 40% below men's wages for the same work. Until 1950 there was no effective maternity welfare whatever.

The Italian women workers are leading the fight against this state of affairs with growing strength

under the leadership and with the support of the trade union organisations in the C.G.I.L. Meanwhile, in spite of important successes already won, the situation of women workers remains serious; wages are insufficient, work has been speeded up, and there are very few hygienic or safety measures. The Italian Government, skilful at finding the necessary millions for war preparations, is incapable of setting aside any funds to relieve the living conditions of working women.

The Plight of Italian Workers

ACCORDING to the National Office of Statistics the cost of living rose again by 12% in June 1951 compared with May, the increase occurring especially in food, rent, lighting and heating. The minimum income required to keep an average family (two adults and three children) at that time amounted to 62,872 lire per month, according to government statistics. No Italian male worker, let alone female worker, receives a wage that is even remotely near that, as the following examples will show :

—in the metal and engineering industry the average wage for women is 26,000 to 27,000 lire per month;

—in the clothing and food industry where there is a veritable stagnation, the monthly wage is only 16,000 lire, and is even as low as 15,000 lire in some provinces;

—in the chemical industry women's wages per month vary between 25,000 and 28,000 lire but only reach 16,000 to 17,000 lire in artificial textile fabrics and in tanneries.

Domestic workers receive from 6,000 to 10,000 lire monthly for a 10 to 12 hour working day.

Even worse is the situation of women who take in work at home (making of cane chairs, basket making, hat making embroidery, lingerie, etc.). Not only are the wages woefully inadequate, but this category of labour is deprived of all labour protection and of all forms of social security. The glove-makers of

Before being delivered to the State Tobacco Corporation, the tobacco leaves are treated by private employers under contract to the State, who impose inhuman working conditions on their workers. Mothers are forced to take their children into damp and unlighted work places.

Women who do their work in their own homes instead of in their employers' shops gather in the streets for company. Here women are weaving fibres and reeds.

Tuscany get 100 lire for eight hours of work; the embroidery workers of Incisa Valdano can earn about 250 lire, while a straw hat fetches 60 lire.

The wages of the seasonal agricultural labourers of southern Italy are among the lowest in the whole of Italy. These women leave their villages for two or three months at a time taking their children with them. They drudge for 12 and 14 hours a day harvesting citrus and other fruits, olives, berries, chestnuts and tobacco, sleep on the ground on a little straw with their children, and are paid 5,000 to 7,000 lire a month.

There are about 600,000 share-cropping families in Italy whose situation is so precarious that the women most of the time have to hire themselves out as "land workers." For a working day of 12 to 13 hours they are paid 300 to 500 lire. Moreover, like the home workers, they have no right to any form of social security.

The payment of starvation wages, however, is not the only form of female labour exploitation. In the textile industry production time has been systematically reduced without any corresponding diminution of production itself by the introduction of a brutal and savage speed-up. In certain factories the number of spindles tended by each worker has been increased from 412 to 618.

In the Cuneo factory (Piedmont) some 200 workers have been sacked during the last year, but production has remained the same as before. The wages saved in this way by the 200 workers go towards swelling the employers' profits. In the manufacture of cotton goods in the Suza Valley the workers tend as many as 800 spindles.

In Venetia in 1946 the preparation of a ton of jute took 700 hours; now they do not allow the workers more than 400 hours.

Exploitation of labour, and especially of female labour, is particularly intense in the chemical industry. The large Pirelli Rubber Works in Milan, employs 4,100 women, about 35% of the whole personnel. In the manufacture of bicycle inner tubes, production for the same number of workers has increased from 1,000 to 8,000 units, and in certain other departments of the same factory the exploitation has reached a level of intensity unknown even under fascism!

In the factories of Snia Viscosa (artificial textiles) the working week has been reduced from 48 hours to 40 hours and then to 32 hours for the same amount of work, and that, in spite of reductions of personnel.

In three Turin chemical factories during 1950, the speed-up has brought about more than a thousand dismissals while retaining the same level of production.

The same picture exists in the metal industry where the speed-up surpasses to an excessive degree the improvement in technical processes. Thus, in the R.I.V. ball bearing plants the output has been forced up from 800 to 4,000 units, an absolutely murderous speed-up, and they demand from the women who relieve the men on night shift the same output for wages 25% or 30% lower.

Italian Women in the Fight

TERRIBLE though the position of the women workers may be, the employers think that it is not bad enough. Mr. Costa, president of the employers' organisation, the Industrial Union, recently declared that "the women's wages are too high." The women, however, gave him their answer.

During a conference organised by the C.G.I.L. against the intensification of work, one of the women expressed the views of all when she said: "When we go into the factory the world ends for us. Eight hours of hard labour in an unhealthy atmosphere, which is slowly killing us day by day. When we come out we may possibly believe that the sun has warmed the lives of others, but as for us, we have not even seen it. More work is waiting for us at home, where we have to fulfil our duties as mothers, wives or daughters. Our starvation wages are becoming daily more inadequate. Our lives are one series of sacrifices. And now Mr. Costa wants to slash our pay! Let this gentleman come into our homes and sit at our tables. Let him come and look our children in the face. Let him visit the thousands of our workmates who are eaten up with tuberculosis. Let him talk with the women workers when they come out of the factories after eight hours of hard

and exhausting work, and then he will understand why we are all determined to fight to maintain and increase our wages."

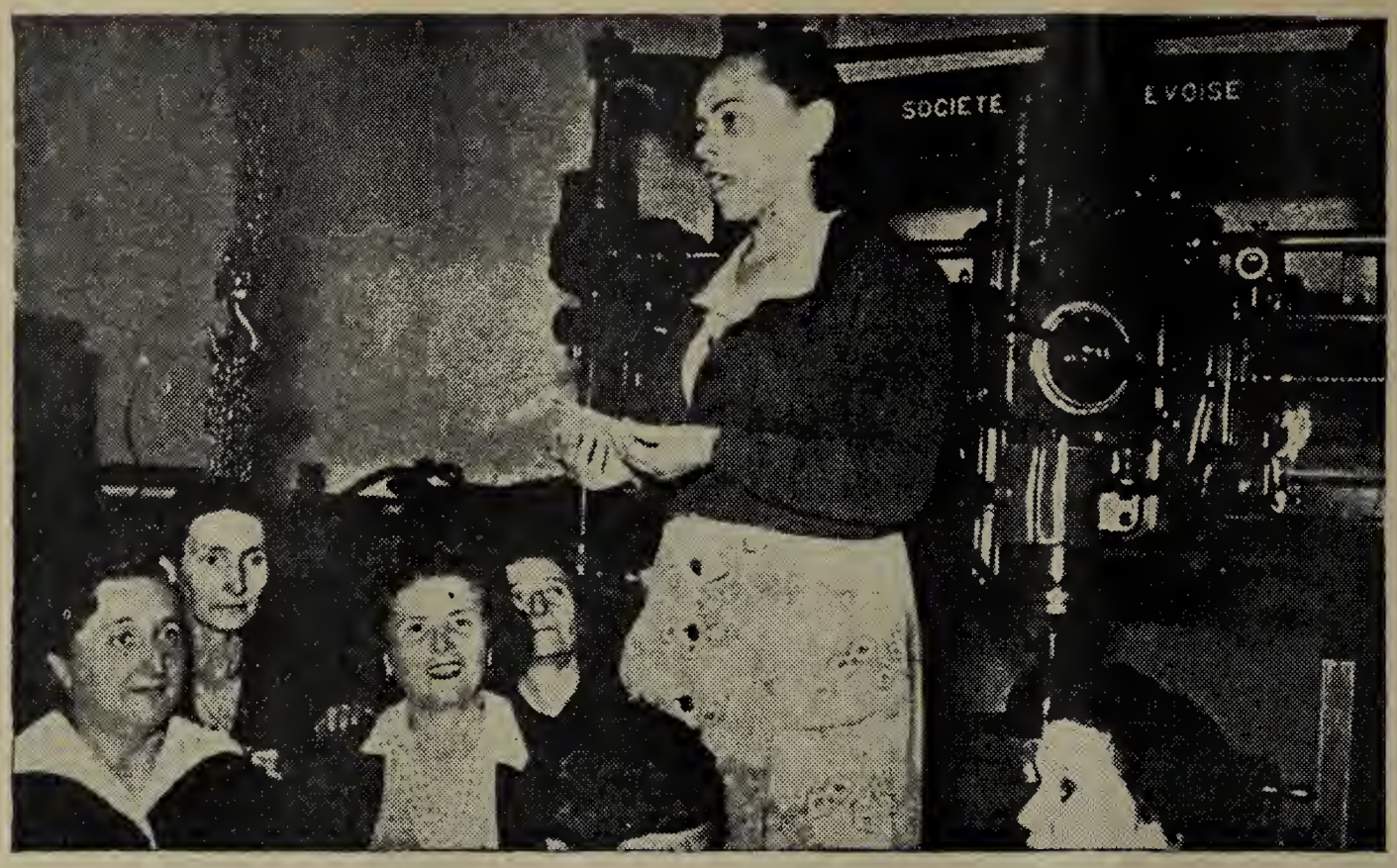
The part taken by the working women of all grades in the fight of the Italian workers against the intensification of work and for wage increases, against dismissals and the closing of factories and for the Employment and Development Plan of the C.G.I.L. is without parallel.

In the textile industry the fight has been going on for twenty months. Twenty months during which the women have used all trade union methods of struggle : token strikes, general strikes, petitions, the sending of resolutions to the Ministry of Labour, etc., carrying on a struggle which was a model of the fight against exploitation. Thanks to this determined fight, they have won a new collective contract which considerably improves their working conditions. The wages paid in the textile industry, however, are still inadequate, because the cost of living continually increases, so the movement has been taken up again with the aim of forcing a wage increase of at least 100 lire a day.

The women workers of the metal and engineering industries of Liguria, Tuscany, Emilia, Lombardy, Piedmont and Campania have fought side by side with the men against the closing down of many factories, including : Ansaldo (automobiles), Breda (aircraft), Reggiane, Savigliano and Oto-Melara (engineering construction), and Nebiolo (precision instruments). They know that the closing of these factories would mean the sacking of more than 20,000 men and women, hunger for 20,000 families. That is why the women joined with the men to occupy the factories for months on end, keeping production going without drawing wages.

It is the women who, following the directives of the C.G.I.L., are the chief organisers of solidarity among the population, and the most active in the raising of funds and the collection of food, clothing and medical supplies for the workers and their families. They take part in the numerous delegations which call on the prefects, police chiefs, priests and bishops, the local authorities and the Industrial Union, to present resolutions expressing the determination of the women to safeguard their work by

A women's demonstration in Savona against the closing of the Ilva metallurgical plants. The panels bear such inscriptions as : "Let the starvation government go," "We are hungry."



In the great Reggiane metallurgical plant, closed by order of the De Gasperi government, but occupied by the workers, production has continued. The women are in the forefront in the struggle to continue production.

keeping the industries going. These delegations have been elected at meetings held in the towns and villages, on the job and in the homes. The women workers have thus mobilised not only the wives, mothers and sisters of the workers, but all sections of the population.

The women have also won a victory in the fight for the readjustment of wages in the metal industry, after a three months' struggle which ended in an agreement increasing the wages of all the workers, including the office and clerical staff. The employers wanted to give the women an increase of only half that proposed for the men, but thanks to the support which the women gave to the trade union organisations the employers were forced to give way on this point also.

A number of struggles have taken place in which only women were involved. For instance, at the Leumann cotton mill in Piedmont, the women went on strike for improved health conditions in the workshops and for sanitary measures necessary for the safeguarding of their health. After forty-five days the management gave in. A first-aid post, showers and dust-eliminator apparatus were installed in the workshops.

A special importance attaches to the struggle waged in the town and province of Turin by the women employees of the two Snia establishments, part of the Snia Viscosa Chemical Trust, which subjected its women workers to a particularly savage regime of exploitation. These factories wanted to increase the number of spindles tended by each woman. The fight went on for fifty days and took the form of token strikes (a stoppage of ten minutes every hour). The management tried to break the strike movement by suspending the trade union committee, and changed the shift system from three shifts to two. But whatever the management attempted, it did not succeed in breaking the splendid fighting spirit of the women, and it was forced to keep to the existing method of work.

The women employed in the Stia textile concern in Naples occupied the factory for 43 days, and forced the reinstatement of their dismissed workmates. The women workers of the Val de Chiana limekilns occupied the factory for three months and won a wage increase. At the Luni cotton mill in Liguria, which had been shut down, the employees, girls of 15 to 26 years of age, picketed outside the mill for 40 days and secured its reopening.

We could quote dozens of heroic episodes which illustrate the fight of the Italian working women: young nursing mothers occupying factories with their babies in their arms, girls going back into the occupied factories within a few hours of their weddings and remaining there until their workmates had won victory, elderly women sleeping on the floor throughout six or seven weeks. When the workers occupied the Palomba factory in order to prevent dismissals, the woman leader of the trade union committee so as not to leave her post, brought her sick daughter to the factory, and went every evening to the factory gate where her husband was anxiously waiting for news. Every evening she told him: "We are standing firm; the child is being looked after by all the women, and the work goes on."

The Struggle of the Women on the Land

THE women are also taking part with their men in the occupation of uncultivated land. In Central Italy they made countless forays in search of uncultivated land capable of being farmed, sharing with the men all the tiring work and taking the place of men arrested by the police, standing firm, with their children beside them, and defying the brutal attacks of the police.

At Melissa, a young woman of 25 years of age was killed while trying to cultivate some unused land on the estate of the great landed proprietor, Berlingeri. This land had lain waste for years, and was only a tiny fraction of Berlingeri's estates.

The women are the embodiment of will and determination in the great popular movement for the occupation and cultivation of waste land, a movement which aims to provide the country, and especially the poor peasants, with the bread which Italy is capable of producing.

The women agricultural workers, determined and sure of the rightness of their cause, were in the forefront of the recent struggle of share-croppers for a just distribution of the harvest, for respect for the croppers' contracts, for the introduction of new and fairer contracts, and for the recognition of Joint Farm Committees. They have shown themselves able to link to the general aims of the struggle their own specific issues which are of interest to the whole of the women, such as improved housing conditions, the installation of lighting and running water, etc., and they have won surprising victories.

At Buoncevento, in Siena, a crowd of women, accompanied by their children, went to the homes of the landowners and won the recognition of the Joint Farm Committees and payment for the transport of the wheat from the threshing floors to the landowners' barns.

In the Livorno region, groups of women went to find the landowners in their pleasure resorts, in the gambling saloons, on the tennis courts and on the beaches, demanding respect for their contracts and publicly exposing the abuses committed by the landowners.

At Grosseto the women stayed for three days and three nights beside the threshing machines which the landowners were trying to take away from them. They also wrote inscriptions on the walls denouncing the disgraceful attitude of the landowners and the robberies which they have committed against the share-croppers.

The police of Scelba, Minister of the Interior, maltreating mothers in Rome who were protesting against the closing of a holiday camp.

G. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.), is acclaimed in a meeting of women home workers.

Women demonstrating against dismissals and the closing of plants in their city, Genoa.

The women are also in the vanguard of the struggle against the police, who have been called into action by the landowners against the men and women agricultural workers. In the province of Tuscany alone, ten women have been arrested, six imprisoned and forty wounded.

"The women are with us," said a leader of the C.G.I.L. "They are not afraid, even of the police. With them at our side we shall win important battles."

A Great Victory of the Italian Women

THANKS to the united efforts of the organisations of the C.G.I.L., the workers' representatives in Parliament, the support of the mass of the people, and above all to the determined struggle of all the working women, the Italian women have gained a considerable victory : the Maternity Welfare Act.

The fight lasted two years. The women carried on a ceaseless campaign to popularise this basic demand among the mass of the people, in the places of work and in the localities, in order to force the Government to enact it into law. In the course of thousands of meetings held throughout the country, the draft of the law drawn up by the C.G.I.L. was explained and approved. Many doctors, gynaecologists and scientists added their approval to that of the women. The mass organisations of the people took part in the campaign side by side with the trade union organisations of the C.G.I.L The scope of popular demonstrations grew continuously. The Minister of Labour, the President of the Republic and the members of the government majority in Parliament were overwhelmed with letters and telegrams. The fight continued relentlessly until the law was passed.

In Leghorn, which suffered cruelly in the war, a group of young girls collect signatures for the Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers.

This law lays down a compulsory rest of six weeks both before and after childbirth, with payment of 80 per cent. of wages. To these two basic rights was added a third, without which the part-payment of wages and the compulsory holiday would be of little value : the guarantee for the mothers of continuity of employment during the entire period of pregnancy and nursing.

The law as passed does not meet with all the demands of the women. It does not provide for the repayment of the costs of the confinement and of the layette, it makes no provision for housewives and, above all, it does not apply to women agricultural workers, nor to women who work at home. For this reason, the fight is going on and will be continued until the passing of a new draft law which has been put forward by the C.G.I.L., until a complete victory *is* achieved for all categories of women workers.

The Fight for Peace

EVERY one of the actions in which the women have taken part has always been closely linked with the struggle for peace.

Basing themselves on the will for peace of the working women, the Women's Commission of the C.G.I.L. has organised a widespread collection of one lira each as a token subscription from each Italian working woman. The money raised by this collection was used for the presentation of peace banners to the women of America, China, France, Britain and the Soviet Union. This provided an opportunity for approaching the women in all the towns and country districts, and initiated discussions on the question of peace, and also gave a great impulse to the campaign which is being carried on simultaneously for a Peace Pact among the five Great Powers.

The token lira has been given with great enthusiasm by the Italian women, even by those who belong to the breakaway trade union organisation, the C.I.S.L. The five banners have been sent off to their

In a textile mill workers give their token contribution of one lira for the struggle for peace.

respective destinations together with messages, letters and resolutions, evidence of the wide mobilisation of the Italian women in the cause of peace. In making this donation of one lira, every woman, regardless of her political or religious opinion, gave her signature to the cause of peace.

The slogan was, and is, the unity of all women under the leadership of the C.G.I.L. in the fight for peace and better living conditions.

Many Christian Democratic women are organised in the C.G.I.L., which is the organisation of almost all the working women. One of these women said : "We are for unity. We are convinced that it is the only way to defend the interests of all women, and of peace. We tell our men that they have made a great mistake in breaking trade union unity."

The Italian women will have to take part in many more struggles, and they will do so in unity. They will fight against dismissals, for better health provisions at work, for equal pay, for the application of democratic laws, for the passing of the law for the protection of workers in the home, put forward by the C.G.I.L., against exploitation, and in the fight for a peace policy.

Under the guidance of the C.G.I.L. and backed by the mighty solidarity of all the men and women workers of Italy, they are certain of victory in all their coming battles.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

CHINA

Words and Deeds

At present I am working on an animal breeding farm in Inner Mongolia. Of what I have learned here, I will only say the following: that I was amazed to hear Acheson —a responsible representative of the U.S. Government—say that the Soviet Union was 'annexing whole territories" of North-east China and Inner Mongolia to herself. I have lived here for two years. So far I have only seen one thing Russian, that is ten stallions given to our farm for breeding purposes, along with the apparatus for artificial insemination. What are we doing with these stallions? We are breeding the farmers' horses and the Mongolian ponies, improving the horses of Mongolia. The farmers come from miles around to get their horses bred. The stallions were given to China under the agreement signed last year—an agreement of friendship and mutual assistance between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese are free to use them where and as they see fit. The Soviet Union does not interfere. If this is what is meant by being annexed by the Soviet Union then they would just as soon! They are not afraid of words, they only believe in what they see. And what do they see as far as America is concerned? Again, it is not empty words of friendship which impress them. It is bombing 'planes, guns and tanks given to the Kuomintang. In our farm there are two old craters from American-made bombs. No amount of speeches from American diplomats can erase these holes and the people do not easily forget.

From a letter to the Federation of American Scientists from Joan Hinton, a former member and an atomic scientist now in China. **"People's China,"** 16th Sept., 1951.

U.S.A.

The Taft-Hartley Act and the Copper Strike

The one-sided aspect of the Taft-Hartley Act and its enforcement by the Administration has again been clearly demonstrated in the recent copper strikes.

The union in this case, the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, presented certain demands to the employers in the copper industry. After several collective bargaining conferences and the intervention of the U.S. Conciliation and Mediation Service, the conciliation service suggested a proposed settlement to both parties.

The union accepted this settlement, but the employers rejected it. Thereafter, following a short two-day strike, the union settled with the principal copper company on a basis less favourable to the union than that suggested by the conciliation service. But even this was rejected by the other copper companies and, as a consequence, the strike continued against those companies.

The obvious course open to the Administration at this juncture, if it wished continued copper production, was to throw its weight in support of the proposed settlement made by its own conciliation service and accepted in large part by the principal copper company.

Instead, it immediately went into court to get an injunction against the union which had agreed to accept the proposals of the Federal Government, and took no action against the employers who had rejected the proposals.

Thus the Government, instead of effecting a settlement of the dispute, forced the workers to go back to work under present wages and working conditions under threat of heavy penalties for contempt. The ostensible justification for this action was the necessity for continued copper production.

In the absence of the Taft-Hartley Act and the knowledge of the copper operators that they could always count on the Government to intervene on their behalf, the companies would have been compelled to bargain collectively and come to some reasonable settlement with the union. And if in the present situation the Government had made it clear that it would not bail the employers out, they would have been compelled to follow the lead of the principal copper company and settle on a reasonable basis.

But the position of the Taft-Hartley Act, and the administration in enforcing it, is that regardless of the merits of a dispute, regardless of the justice of the union's case, and no matter how arrogant and unreasonable the employer may be, action must be taken against the union and never against the employer.

Although the facts clearly indicate that it is the employers who are holding up copper production, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Administration invoke penalties against the union.

Jack Abbott in **"Federated Press,"** 21st Sept., 1951.

CEYLON

The Colombo Plan is a Hoax

If the Colombo Plan is ever put into effect, then it will mean a further strengthening of the colonial system and not its destruction. Centuries of limitless exploitation have made us so poor that we have become worthless as the market of the imperialist countries. This has created great difficulty in the smooth working of the colonial system. For the colonial system works on the basis of a regular outflow of raw materials and profits and inflow of manufactured goods and capital into the colonial countries from the imperialist countries. Our inability to purchase the increasing volume of goods produced by the imperialists, thanks to the limit in poverty that we have reached, has made it difficult for the imperialists to realise their profits. The only way the flow of profits can be maintained, therefore, is to put some money into our pockets either as loan or as a gift. Colombo Plan is nothing but a scheme to make the loan. Its objective is to restore the purchasing power of the colonies without which the imperialists cannot function. The imperialists have realised, rather a little too late, that the hen that was laying golden eggs for them is almost on the point of dying. Hence the effort to revive it, and transfuse some blood into it, so that the golden eggs may be obtained again.

Thus the Colombo Plan has no intention of transforming our economy into an independent economy. On the contrary, it binds us more to the imperialist chariot and makes us more thoroughly colonial.

The distribution of the proposed expenditures on various lines alone is enough to expose the real nature of the plan. For example, agriculture gets 59 per cent. and industry only 6 per cent. of the expenditure. Absence of industry and excess of agriculture and transportation are the essential features of a dependent colonial economy.

7th September, 1951.

"People's Voice" (Ceylon),

WEST GERMANY

Profitable Murder

Those of our citizens who advocated lower wages for women than for men are in congenial company. The Nazis are all on their side in decreeing that women are inferior beings.

A recent law passed by the West German Government, which is controlled by ex-Nazis and is an American puppet affair, decrees for General von Rundstedt, who was one of Hitler's top generals and therefore one of Hitler's top murderers, a pension of 2,100 marks a month.

The same law provides for other pensions, on a descending scale, for lesser officers of the Wehrmacht, down to 400 marks for majors and 350 marks for captains.

Against these figures, German war widows get 50 marks a month, irrespective of the size of the family they have to maintain.

It is more profitable to have been a murderer than a mother.

"Health Standard" (Sydney), August, 1951.

AUSTRALIA

Catching the Award Dodger

No doubt there are many scoundrels in Australia to-day among the employing class who would pay less than the award if Union organisation would allow it.

One has been caught up with in Melbourne.

He believed it would be more profitable to employ new* Australians than old Australians . . . (he) thought they would not be conversant with the award and would be easier to fleece.

As things turned out however, it was a strange opinion.

A New Australian rang up the union office and said:

"I am working in a 99 per cent. non-union shop". . . . He stated the time he was working and the wage he was receiving which indicated gross underpayment.

An organiser visited the job. The boss, who was very hostile, argued and said he did not want to have a Union in his shop.

It was a bit late however, because by this time all people eligible for the Ironworkers' Union had joined and some eligible for the Boilermakers indicated they were prepared to join immediately an official came on the job.

It transpired that this award-dodger had worked one New Australian from 7.30 a.m. on Thursday morning until 7.30 on Friday morning.

He paid him ordinary rates for the first eight hours and for the rest of the shift, time and a half.

He was informed that he would have to pay the full award rate and was also informed that he was paying less than the award for people who worked four nights in the one week.

So annoyed was the employer that he rushed up to one new Australian and said: "I have been watching you and you are sacked." He then hesitated and said, "But I will pay you a week's wages in lieu of notice."

No doubt there flashed through his mind that there was such a thing in Victoria as a Trade Union.

He then went up into the shop and aggressively approached a man who was a member of the Boilermakers' Union, and said: "You are the bloke who rang up the Union and potted me."

Another New Australian, whose conduct could be followed by many old Australians, walked across and said, "I am the chap who rang up the Union office because you have been robbing us. We have now joined the Union and this is a Union shop. We have got some brains—that is why we joined the Union."

The boss glared at him and walked away. It is anticipated that it will be a long time now before Mr. X repeats his award-dodging experience because this shop is now 100 per cent. a union shop.

"Labour News," 12.9.51.

* New Australians are immigrant workers, mainly from Western Europe.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Help For Newly-Marrieds

A young Czechoslovak couple planning to marry to-day face very different prospects than did their parents in the pre-war Republic. The economic obstacles to marriage, to furnishing a home, to having children, have been removed.

Under the National Insurance Act, every married couple receives a grant of 5,000 crowns. They may also apply for a non-interest-bearing loan of 36,000 crowns, payable over ten years, with 6,000 crowns subtracted from the debt for every child born. Cost of pregnancy, hospitalisation, and after-care are met by the National Insurance, as are all the family's medical expenses.

In 1935, the Czechoslovak government spent only 80 million crowns for family support. This year it will pay out 7,300 million crowns in family allowances alone, nearly twice the amount spent in 1948.

These are obvious benefits for a young couple starting out together to-day. Less obvious, but just as important, is the legal protection given by the new family law passed in December, 1949, which protects the family as the basis of society and removes from marriage many of the obstacles to happiness which capitalism and bourgeois morality placed there.

The family law makes it legally impossible for considerations of property and material security, which in the past were often decisive factors in marriage, to influence the decision of two young people to marry. Property acquired by the wife or husband before marriage remains the sole property of the individual, while property acquired by either after marriage is regarded as joint property in which they have equal share. . . .

In marriage to-day there can be no question of "financial risk" or "sacrifice of independence" on either side. Husband and wife are really equal partners and they have a sound foundation on which to build their life together.

"Prague News Letter," 6.9.51.

U.S.S.R.

Are There Disputes in the U.S.S.R. Between Workers and Management?

Under the Soviet system a worker and factory manager do not belong to different classes. They are both workers in the socialist economy.

The manner of settling labor disputes is defined by law. They are settled either by the grievance committees or by the People's Courts.

The grievance committees are special conciliatory bodies functioning at all industrial enterprises, offices and institutions and work under trade union committees. They are composed of an equal number of representatives of the management and the trade union committee.

A worker, engineer or technician with a grievance, whether it concerns the wage rate paid him, dismissal from his job, transfer to another job, or anything else, appeals to the grievance committee. The grievance must be considered and a decision handed down within three days.

The trade union and management representatives enjoy equal rights in the examination of a grievance by the committee. No decision is valid unless it is agreed to by both sides.

A grievance committee's decision may be revoked only by a procurator or a higher trade union body, but only if the decision arrived at is in violation of the law or is clearly at variance with the facts of the case.

If a worker or other employee considers the decision unjust he has the right to initiate a suit in a People's Court. In all such cases the complainants are exempt from the payment of court fees.

"U.S.S.R. Information Bulletin," published by the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C., 21.9.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

October 5

KOREA.—The capture of another Japanese prisoner of war is announced. Clothed in a U.S. uniform, provided with false papers and instructed not to speak Japanese, he has admitted that he was one of a group of 1,000 Japanese recruited into the U.S.-Syngman Rhee forces last September. This, he said, is the third such group to be recruited.

October 6

AUSTRIA. — The National Peace Council meets in Salzburg to discuss war preparations by the western powers in Austria. It issues a manifesto against the use of Austria as a war base, and in favour of peace, unity and the independence of Austria.

October 7

FRANCE.—In elections held in half of the cantons of France, the Communist Party leads with 23.8 per cent. of the votes.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Second Anniversary of the formation of the German Democratic Republic is celebrated. Messages and greetings are received from all progressive forces and leaders.

October 8

ALGERIA.—The C.G.T., joined by the Christian trade unions and Force Ouvrière, had demanded a minimum of 118 francs per hour. Under their united pressure, the Governor-General decrees of 15 per cent. increase in the basic minimum wage, raising, it to 77 francs per hour. The struggle for the 118 francs minimum wage continues.

MEXICO.—Twelve hundred workers in eleven textile plants in the Federal District go on strike for higher wages.

FRANCE.—The "Journal Officiel" publishes an arbitrary and undemocratic decree of the Minister of the Interior banning "the circulation, sale and distribution throughout French territory of the pamphlet "Discrimination Raciale" published by the W.F.T.U. review, "Le Mouvement Syndical Mondial."

HUNGARY.—The second Peace Loan for the development of the national economy, begun on September 29, closes with subscriptions of 125 per cent. and about three million subscribers.

UNITED STATES. — The Supreme Court refuses to reconsider its decision of June 4 which upheld the thought-control conviction of eleven leaders of the U.S. Communist Party.

EGYPT.—The Government calls on Parliament to cancel the 1936 20-year agreement permitting Great Britain to garrison troops in the Suez Canal Zone and the agreement of 1899 providing for joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Council of Ministers announces measures for raising the workers' standard of living by placing several items of food and rayon textiles on free sale, and by reducing prices by from 50 to 70 per cent. on made-up goods sold in State shops and from 10 to 35 per cent. on textiles. The remaining rationed goods are also reduced in price, such as cotton textiles, children's shoes, tea and sugar and other items.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Proposals are made by the British Transport Commission before the Transport Tribunal to raise 17 million pounds by increasing fares by 20 per cent. throughout the whole of Britain. Trade unions and other organisations are submitting more than 200 objections to this proposal.

October 9

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, on behalf of nearly 3 million workers belonging to 38 trade unions, demands: (1) an increase of 20 shillings for a 44-hour week, for all manual workers in the industry; (2) the maintenance of merit ratings, craft and district differentials; and (3) that the wage increase be effective from the date of the claim.

CHINA.—More than 5,000,000 peasant households in Northeast China are now organised in mutual aid teams. Crop output averages 30 per cent. higher than that of individual peasants. This year's general index of purchasing power for cities in this region is 53.5 per cent. above that of 1950 and nearly two and one half times that of 1949. In the rural areas the purchasing power is 67.9 per cent. above 1950 and 223 per cent. above 1949.

INDIA.—A Left bloc is formed in West Bengal and other provinces for the forthcoming elections in January. It is composed of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Communists, Revolutionary Socialists, Republican Socialists and other parties.

ITALY.—Workers of the Reggio Emilia machine factory win a great victory and will resume work after administrative reorganisation. All workers dismissed are to be re-employed. Workers in this plant have struggled for a year to prevent its closing-down; they operated the plant themselves during this time without wages and finally forced the Government to give 1,000 million lira for the plant's operation.

UNITED STATES.—An Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is formed by more than 150 prominent leaders from 39 states to mobilise public opinion in the defence of the civil rights of the American people. The Committee is to defend the victims of the Smith thought-control act and to fight the illegal arrest of U.S. Communist leaders, and others whose rights have been denied.

October 10

GREAT BRITAIN.—On behalf of 700,000 miners, the National Union of Mineworkers presents their claim to the National Coal Board to raise the national minimum rate by one pound for surface workers, by one pound three shillings for day wage underground workers and by three shillings per shift for piece workers.

October 11

UNITED NATIONS.—Mr. S. K. Tsarapkin, Soviet representative to the United Nations requests that the United Nations General Assembly take action on the letter of Betty Ambatielos for the liberation of her husband, Antonio Ambatielos, leader of the Greek Seamen's Union, and his fellow trade unionists held in prison in Greece in danger of being sentenced to death for their trade union activities.

U.S.S.R.—A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic arrives in Moscow.

AUSTRALIA.—Miners in South Australia and New South Wales strike in protest at the enormous military allocations in the new budget.

JAPAN.—Forty-five thousand Japanese mineworkers go on a 24-hour strike for higher wages, which are granted within a few hours.

FRANCE.—French workers report success in wage demands as a consequence of united action of the trade unions. The tramwaymen of Le Havre and workers in the Ericson Telephone plant have won increases of 16—21.5 per cent. Railwaymen in Paris and La Rochelle form united trade union committees with representatives from the C.G.T., the Christian trade unions, Force Ouvrière and other unions.

UNITED STATES.—A unity meeting is held in New York bringing together eight progressive unions which were expelled from the C.I.O. in 1950. The unions represent 500,000 members and include the United Electrical Workers, Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers, International Longshoremen-Warehousemen, Fur and Leather Workers, Distributing, Processing and Office Workers, Marine Cooks and Stewards, United Public Workers and American Communications Workers. One issue, on which to rally the support of workers of A.F.L., C.I.O. and independent and unorganised workers, is selected—the launching of a campaign to break the wage freeze.

October 12

ALGERIA.—Dockers in Oran refuse to unload war material from the ship "Berkham" and refuse to load war material on a ship destined for Indo-China.

MOROCCO.—Two thousand workers at the American base Nouasser strike in protest against bad working conditions.

AUSTRIA.—A strike vote is taken in the "Red-White-Red" (American radio station) and "Wiener Kurier" (American-controlled newspaper). The workers come under American regulations which prevent them from taking complaints to an Austrian tribunal. Workers are required to pay the whole of their social insurance, receive no dismissal pay, no holiday or Christmas bonuses (usually one or two month's pay in Austrian firms), and are allowed only 14 days' sick leave per year. The strike forces the American employers to give satisfaction to the workers.

GUATEMALA.—The opening meeting of the Trade Union Unity Congress organised by the Guatemala Workers' Confederation, the Guatemala Trade Union Federation and independent trade unions, is held to set up a unified Trade Union Centre. The Congress named Brothers L. Saillant and G. Di Vittorio as honorary chairmen as well as Mr. Arben, President of Guatemala and General Cardenas, former president of Mexico. The W.F.T.U. is represented by V. Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.) and vice-president of the W.F.T.U. The Congress constitutes a great victory for the complete unity of workers in the cities and countryside of Guatemala.

FRANCE.—The movement for higher wages continues. Government employees, secondary school teachers and teachers at the University of Paris are asking for increases. Examiners at the University of Paris have been on a partial strike by refusing to administer examinations.

BELGIUM.—Workers in the mining, metal and electrical industries are on strike against the government's economic policy. They demand that 2,000 million francs profits be used for wage increases and pensions.

October 13

ITALY.—A National Conference of Working Youth under the auspices of the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour) is held in Parma. More than 1,000 delegates elected in thousands of local meetings throughout the country participate. The delegates represented all trades and all religious and political opinions.

October 14

FRANCE.—On the second round of cantonal elections the Communist Party obtains 27.5 per cent. of the votes, more than any other party.

U.S.S.R.—The All-Union Peace Committee announces that by October 10, 96,729,946 Soviet citizens had signed the Appeal for a Peace Pact. The collection of signatures continues.

CYPRUS.—Nine hundred delegates, representing trade unions, shopkeepers and farmers demand that the British authorities relieve the poor and tax the rich, and restrict the importation of goods which can be produced locally in Cyprus. The cost of living has risen 25 per cent. in two years and 5,000 unemployed receive no benefits of any kind.

ITALY.—The Italian Peace Committee announces that 14,353,842 persons have so far signed the Appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The first peace congress of Western German Women is held in Velbert with 816 women of various political and religious views participating. The Congress unanimously adopts a manifesto to all Germans and to the Federal government and parliament requesting that no action against peace or towards splitting the German people be taken. It also protests against the remilitarisation of Germany and calls for negotiations for further understanding among the German people.

October 15

UNITED STATES.—More than 1,000 longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.), go on a wildcat strike in New York tying up 15 piers and 14 ships. They are striking against a contract recently negotiated by Joseph P. Ryan, dictatorial and undemocratic president of their union; they are dissatisfied with the wage, guaranteed hours of work and vacation provisions of the contract. Ryan has indicated that he will try to break the strike by using gangs of thugs led by racketeers which infest his union.

CHINA.—Government policy on the training of school teachers is announced. A million new primary teachers will be trained by 1957 so that 80 per cent. of the country's children may attend school. Already there are more than 37 million children in primary schools, 55 per cent. more than the best pre-war level.

EGYPT.—The Egyptian Parliament unanimously rejects the proposal of the western powers to enter into a Middle East Military Pact.

IRAQ.—The two Nationalist Parties reject entry into a Middle East Military Pact on the grounds that the nation's security would be endangered because British troops would be stationed there.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — The Secretariat of the International Union of Journalists wires the imprisoned Greek fighter for freedom, Manolis Glezos, member of parliament and chief editor of the Communist Party central organ, assuring him of the solidarity of all peace-loving journalists and informing him that the Union has asked the Greek Minister of Justice for his liberation. Glezos has been on a hunger strike since October 8.

October 16

PAKISTAN. — Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, is assassinated by a member of the Khaksar organisation, an extremist Moslem movement.

FRANCE.—Paris bank clerks stop work in response to an appeal by the trade union sections of the C.G.T., Christian unions and Force Ouvrière against the insufficient increase in wages recently secured.

EGYPT.—Strong popular demonstrations against British occupation take place in the larger cities of Egypt. In Ismailia, a city in the Suez Canal Zone occupied by British troops, Egyptian workers form a common front for resistance and demonstrate in the streets of the city with the support of the inhabitants. British troops fire on the demonstrators, killing ten Egyptians and wounding several others.

CHILE.—Workers in the important Huachipato steel works in the province of Concepcion go on strike for higher wages. The government decrees a state of emergency.

CUBA.—An armed gang attempts to assassinate Anibal Escalante, editor of the workers' newspaper *Hoy* and member of the Cuban House of Representatives. Twenty machine gun bullets pierce his car as he is driving through a Havana suburb, but he and his chauffeur escape uninjured. Recently an attack was made by a gang which wrecked the *Hoy* plant. The paper is being produced in another plant.

U.S.S.R.—A delegation of French railwaymen arrives in Moscow on the invitation of the Central Committee of Transport Workers Trade Unions. This delegation will take part in the celebration and demonstrations of the 34th anniversary of the great October Revolution.

October 17

UNITED STATES.—The New York dockers' strike is growing with more than 2,000 workers on strike. The U.S. Army's Port of Embarkation, a key loading point for shipments to Korea, is tied up on account of the strike. "King Joe" Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, has been unable to break the strike of members of his union who are protesting against the provisions of a recently concluded agreement with the ship-owners. The attempt to break the strike made by the well-known gangster and racketeer, Anthony Anastasia, reported to be in the employ of Ryan, failed when strikers temporarily re-occupied the piers to prevent Anastasia's gang of thugs from loading the ships.

FRANCE.—Twelve hundred metalworkers in Brest victoriously return to work after striking for two weeks in a united action struggle by workers of the C.G.T., Christian unions and unorganised workers. Although the employer had refused to discuss the demands at the outset, he was finally forced to agree to wage increases of 20 per cent.

— The official price bulletin announces price increases for sugar, oil, milk and milk products.

EGYPT.—Despite a government ban more than 10,000 workers and a large number of students demonstrate in Cairo against the British occupation and the American and French governments' support of the British. There are new demonstrations of workers and peasants in Ismailia as well as demonstrations in Port Said.

October 18

UNITED STATES. — The dockers' strike continues to spread and now involves more than 4,000 workers and 33 idle ships. The strikers, whose recent contract provided for a 10 cent an hour increase, want an additional 25 cents an hour. The gangster-ridden International Longshoremen's Association is preparing to launch a drive to raid the militant and progressive International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the Pacific Coast under the leadership of Harry Bridges.

ITALY. — The Executive Committee of the C.G.I.L. meets in Rome with the participation of all secretaries of local trades councils and of the federal trade union secretaries. A resolution is adopted calling for a 15 per cent. wage increase and for struggle in support of obeying collective agreements and social legislation, for the increase in public works and land improvements, against unemployment and discrimination against women and young workers.

— A delegation of food workers submit to the presidents of the House and Senate an agenda adopted by the Italian Federation of Food Workers, asking, in the name of 100,000 members, that the government abide by the Italian people's will for peace by applying a policy for international peace, by intervening to end the Korean war and for outlawing the atomic bomb and repudiating the present rearmament policy.

October 19

PAKISTAN.—Twenty thousand trade unionists and peasants hold a meeting near Lahore to demand the distribution of land, a solution of the housing crisis, the right to education and a health service for the peasants. They also demand the repeal of the Public Safety Acts and the release of all those detained under these acts.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. J. B. Figgins of the National Union of Railwaymen, informs the Staffs National Tribunal that they could not afford *not* to pay the wage increase requested. The Tribunal is arbitrating the claims of the three railway unions for an increase of 10 per cent. for 500,000 railway workers.

IRAN.—A mass meeting organised by the United Council of Teheran Trade Unions is held in Teheran and attended by 10,000 workers, students, intellectuals and representatives of other sections of society. The meeting, called to defend trade union rights, unanimously resolves to demand freedom of trade union action and official recognition by the government, the removal of police agents and the army from factories, the abolition of all laws directed against the working class, work for the unemployed, and a five power peace pact, among other demands.

October 20

EGYPT.—The Preparatory Committee for the establishment of a General Confederation of Egyptian Trade Unions meets to discuss the situation in Egypt. The Committee, representing so far 104 trade unions with 65,000 members, approves the abrogation of the 1936 treaty with Great Britain on the Suez Canal. Secretaries of the Committee Akhmed Takha and Said Mustapha ask the government to repeal all reactionary laws which prevent the people from playing a decisive rôle in the liberation of Egypt.

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FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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Jim HOLLYMAN

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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MESSAGE FROM THE W.F.T.U.

to the

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

on the

34th Anniversary of the OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution, the World Federation of Trade Unions sends its warmest and most enthusiastic fraternal greetings, through the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, to all workers and peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who are commemorating the greatest event in the history of our time.

The magnificent victories of the land of Socialism, the growing power of its social regime, the surging development of its standard of living, its great cultural achievements, the gigantic projects for the transformation of nature and of human existence which it is carrying out, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and the unceasing struggle of the U.S.S.R. for the banning of atomic weapons and for guaranteeing strict international control to prevent their manufacture, the U.S.S.R.'s respect for the national sovereignty of all countries and for the peoples' right to decide their own future, the policy of peace and friendship followed unswervingly by the Soviet State under the guidance of its clear-sighted pilot, Comrade Stalin, give rise to the profound admiration and the hopes of the workers and peoples of the whole world.

On this anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution, the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of the millions of workers it represents in all lands, reaffirms its determination for peace in carrying on the struggle against the imperialist warmongers, and its determination to defend the great Socialist State against lying slander and against any aggression.

Long live the workers' unity and their international solidarity!

Long live the great cause of peace and friendship between all the peoples of the world!

Long live the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions!

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its peace policy and its great and historic achievements!

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

REACTION VERSUS THE PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN

by

MARY WOLFARD

LIKE so many people who know that their policy is indefensible, the Pakistan Government is trying to stop the ears of the Pakistan people lest a whisper of the truth be heard.[1] Its unprincipled efforts to smother the facts of how it is using the bulk of national revenues for armaments rather than for the good of the people, are as ineffectual as one man trying to drink the Indus dry.

Fear has driven the Government to great lengths in protection of what it untruthfully calls its 'Islamic Socialism' which does not even carry out the principles of Islam, and has nothing whatever to do with socialism. Fear has led to the arrest and indefinite detention of many trade unionists, peasant leaders, peace workers, students and democrats of all sorts. They are not tried—for they have committed no crime—but they undergo 'preventive' detention.

Until February this year such detainees could *legally* be held no longer than eighteen months, so, to bring the law into line with practice, the *Public Safety Acts* were amended to permit indefinite detention.

Attack on the Trade Unions

THE breadth of the opposition movements and the amplitude of governmental fear can be surmised from a few representative examples.

Mirza Mohamed Ibrahim, President of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation (W.F.T.U.) which has a membership of about 70,000 and was formed after partition in 1947, has been arrested several times during the last four years and is at present in Attock Jail. He was kept for some time in the Lahore Fort, a medieval building where prisoners are kept in dark dungeons, incommunicado, "looked after" by the secret service men. Small wonder that his health is broken, but this is no protection against being harassed by the police. Mohamed Afzal and Mohamed Jalil, Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively of the P.T.U.F., are in jail.

The Secretary and Joint Secretary of the North West Railway Workers' Trade Union, M. Aslam and Eric Cyprian, have each served an eighteen month term. The latter has again been arrested and is now in the Lahore Fort. Another Mr. Aslam of the Lahore Branch of the same union is also in prison for an indefinite period.

The leaders of the Okara Textile Workers' Union, Abdul Salam and K. E. Afzal were imprisoned; Abdul Salam, a member of the P.T.U.F. Working Committee, is still in jail, while Dr. Bagh Ali has been detained under the same law. Other trade unionists arrested and detained without trial are Shamin Ashraf Malik, Assistant Secretary, Punjab T.U.F., Lal Khan, and Ghulam Mohamed. The President of the Punjab Kisan Committee and a number of other Kisan leaders have been detained, as well as a number of workers of the progressive Azad Pakistan Party.

How different is the situation of the officers of the Government-sponsored All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour who are given every facility for carrying on their disruptive work among a "membership" which exists mainly on paper only.

Prison conditions are deplorable. The food is bad and inadequate. Political prisoners are isolated from one another and frequently kept in solitary confinement. They are sometimes beaten and tortured. They are not allowed the books, newspapers and facilities to which political prisoners are legally entitled. In 1949 a hunger-striking political prisoner was permitted to die in Dacca Jail. Six were killed and thirty injured by police bullets in Rajshahi prison.

[1] See *World Trade Union Movement* No. 12/1950 for article on the Conditions of the Working Class in Pakistan by Mohamed Afzal.

Throughout Pakistan the work of the trade unions is becoming increasingly difficult. People are arrested for enrolling members, holding workers' meetings and distributing leaflets. The P.T.U.F. is not allowed to publish pamphlets or handbills and copies of its publication *Trade Union Movement in Pakistan* have been seized and confiscated. Such is the freedom of free Pakistan.

Peasants are Dangerous Too

ABOUT 75 millions of the total population of 80 million people live on the land. Of these, 80 per cent own no land and the majority of the rest own uneconomic small plots. Production is very low as the ever-present fear of eviction and a large proportion (about 75 per cent) of the crops taken by the landlord and the Government are a constant discouragement to effort and the search for improved methods. A system of land-tenure[2] was introduced by the British to replace a type of common ownership or ownership by the actual tiller of the soil, which existed hitherto, and was intended to keep the majority in subjection to the favoured few as well to hinder industrialisation. Now the peasants are told that the "abolition of landlordism means the transgression of the laws of God." However as the daily earnings per head in the countryside do not exceed 2 Annas (about 2¼d or just over 2 U.S. cents) the peasants are fighting this system despite threats.

Thus one of the main popular movements in Pakistan is the peasants' movement which is seeking rent reductions, an increased share of the crops they produce, an end to evictions and landlordism. These demands, which are minimal when the utter poverty of the Pakistani peasant is borne in mind, are nevertheless met by ruthless Government repression. Armed police and in East Bengal the Amsars (Government Militia) deal with any peasants daring to protest against the meagreness of the reward for their labour from dawn to darkness the year round. They are fired on, their homes looted and burnt and the women assaulted. This rule of terror has led to the flight of thousands of peasants both to the towns already swarming with refugees from India and to the no-man's-land of the tribal areas.

F. D. Mansur, a leader of the Punjab Kisan (peasant) Party was kept in Lahore Fort for a year and only released after a bad attack of pneumonia (such are the conditions in the dungeons) but was rearrested early this year and is still in prison. M. Hussein, leader of the Sind Hari (peasant) Party was also detained during the mass arrests this year. In the North West Frontier Province about two thousand five hundred peasants were imprisoned during the period 1948 to 1950. Eleven peasants were killed

[2] Assignment by the State of an area, its rent and revenue to an individual with, in practice, complete powers of administration.

Cotton-laden camels in Pakistan. This primitive method of transport is still the major way of getting crops to market.

by police firing in this area in the same period. Peasants are arrested for protesting against evictions; they are arrested for reading legal pamphlets like *Long Live the Chinese Revolution,* (so terrified are the landlords that the Pakistani peasants may compare their own conditions unfavourably with those of their Chinese neighbours).

Fascist-like Technique

THE Communist Party is also attacked. Their Offices in Lahore, Karachi, Dacca, Chittagong, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and in almost all other towns of any size, are frequently raided by the police and their documents seized and personnel arrested.

Leftwing bookshops are either closed down or harassed by the police. The Communist Party weeklies *Naya Zamana* and *Saz-e-Nau* were banned by the Government, which however lost the case on appeal to the High Court. But the Government then threatened to cancel the licence of any persons printing the papers. They no longer appear.

So far has fascist-like technique permeated Pakistan Government circles that Government officers are instructed to report over-heard conversations of a 'subversive' nature. A Government order prescribes summary discharge for any Government officer thought by the head of his department to be participating in "subversive" activities.

So far has the intolerance of criticism gone that, although the facts are not disputed, the Secretary of the Student's Federation was arrested and imprisoned for protesting at the millions of rupees spent by the Government of Pakistan on entertaining the Shah of Iran while people were dying of hunger on the streets of Pakistan.

Parliamentary procedure—so often proclaimed as the touch-stone of democracy by the 'western' world—is so far disdained that the North West Frontier Province Government arrested and imprisoned opposition members of the Legislative Assembly when it discovered a majority opposed to it and realised it was in danger of falling. They were charged with "plotting" to commit murder. When the Ministry had saved its life, the charge was withdrawn as "a mistake."

The "Conspiracy" Case

THE most spectacular display of the fear of truth and contempt for justice is the present Pakistan Conspiracy Case Trial. In a jail in Sind, at least fifteen people are being tried for their lives by a court which does not even pretend to unbiased judgment. According to most sources eleven military leaders including the former Chief of the General Staff, Major General Akbar Khan and his wife have been arrested, as well as Mohamed Hussain Ata, a well-known communist. Syed Sajjad Zaheer, a noted writer and Secretary of the Pakistan Communist Party, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a popular poet, then editor of the *Pakistan Times* and member of the World Peace Council.

The late Liaquat Ali Khan announced last March 9th—the eve of the first full franchise elections for the Punjab Legislative Assembly, be it noted—that "a conspiracy hatched by the enemies of Pakistan

has just been unearthed . . . it is possible for me to disclose publicly the details . . . (which) would have struck at the very foundations of our national existence . . . " The arrests followed. Then came the *Rawalpindi Case (Special Tribunal) Act,* 1951, under which the accused are being tried.

This Act has quite obviously been framed with the sole object of securing the conviction of the accused, cost what it may. All normal canons of justice are laid aside. The rights of the accused to choose their own defence council have been restricted. Their legal advisers are not allowed to take notes or to take papers from the Court for study. The accused are being tried without a Jury and are not allowed bail; they are deprived of the benefit of committal proceedings before magistrates which means that they had no knowledge of the charge to be answered until they were actually brought before the special tribunal, thus making it difficult for them to arrange their defence or to secure witnesses who might testify to their innocence. As the power of the Court to grant adjournments (even were it willing) is restricted, it is now almost impossible for the accused to locate witnesses and bring them to Sind.

Hearsay evidence is accepted as full evidence even to any alleged statement made by a person dead at the time of the trial or " whose attendance cannot be procured without an amount of delay or expense which is unreasonable "—an excellent loophole for those wishing to avoid cross-examination. Furthermore evidence is not recorded verbatim, but merely summarised. This permits a witness to alter or retract a statement should any evidence be challenged or should it appear that the Defence is about to establish his unreliability.

The accused may be convicted of any crime on the statute book even though he has not been charged with it. There is no right of habeas corpus and no right of appeal.

The fact that this trial is being held *in camera* makes comment on the proceedings difficult in Pakistan as the divulging of any detail whatsoever results in a charge under the Official Secrets Act. However certain reports have been smuggled into India and published in the press.

British Imperialist Fingers in the Pie

TWO of the alleged military conspirators, Lieutenant-Colonel M. Siddiq Raza and Major Khwaja Mohamed Eusoph Sethi, the only two from General Headquarters, became witnesses for the prosecution. The prosecution case depends mainly on their evidence. According to them, General Akbar Khan told them that he planned to arrest Liaquat Ali Khan and other high military and civil officials in 1949. This plan was subsequently postponed. These witnesses charge that the " conspirators " wanted to establish a " provisional military government to be followed by democratic reforms." Siddiq Raza is reported to have testified that " These people wanted to throw all the British officers out of the Pakistan Army; they wanted Pakistan to quit the Anglo-American bloc; they wanted ' an independent foreign policy '; they wanted ' progress '; they wanted to establish a ' People's government.' " Sethi, who was trained by the British in intelligence work during World War II, and whose father was a British

☆

Workers taking a midday meal in the wheat fields of Pakistan. Machines are few, fertilisers scarce. As a result crop yields are far lower than in many other countries, and the peasants and agricultural workers are correspondingly poorer.

☆

"Men cannot be driven to freedom by force," said Mr. Herbert Morrison. However, the British Government's real worry—in Asia— is whether their march towards freedom can be prevented by force. (Cartoon from "The Pakistan Times, 24th July, 1951.)

spy in Central Asia during the Russian Revolution, supported this story.

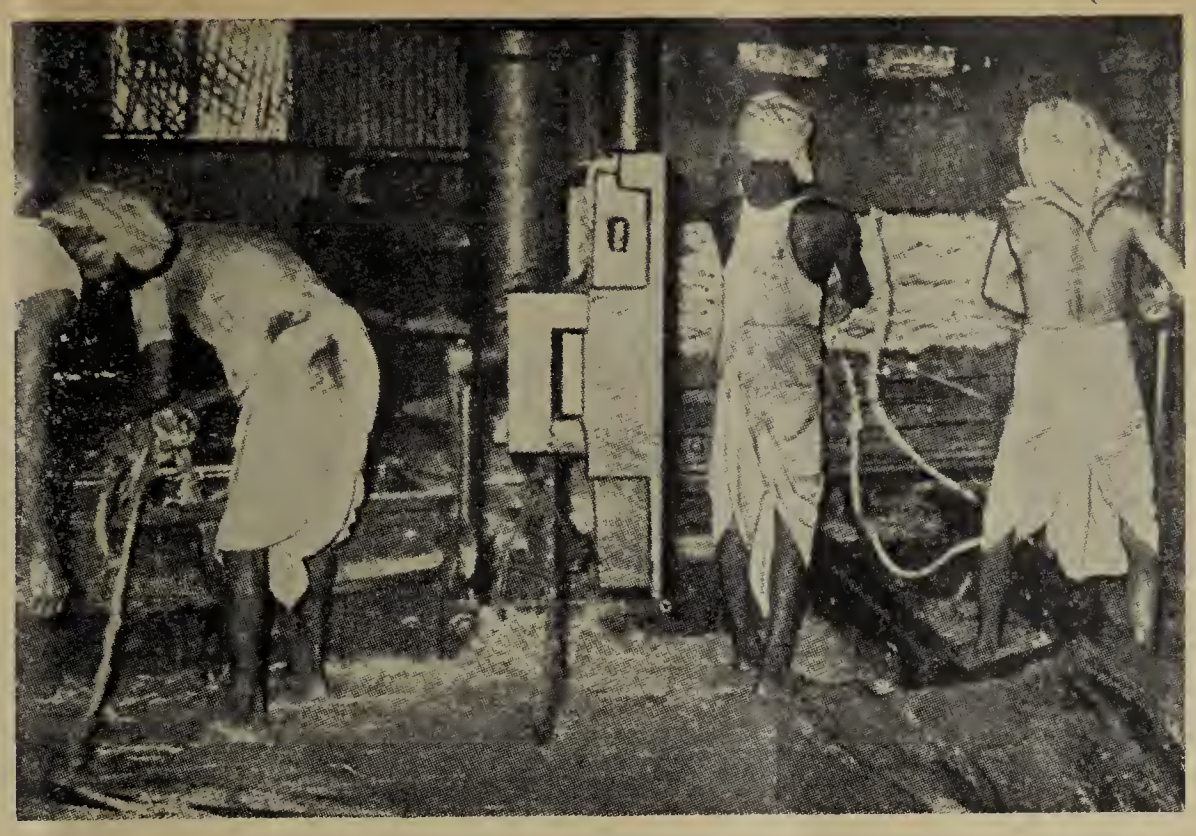
General Akbar, it is reported, went to Liaquat Ali Khan when the Government announced its intention of sending troops to support the American aggression in Korea, saying that the Pakistan troops would not stand for this and that there would be trouble. He personally would see to this.

Under questioning, Lieutenant Colonel Gul Nawaz Khan admitted that British officers in the Pakistan Army, under the direction of General Gracey, were preparing the Pakistan Army for war against the Soviet Union.

He testified to the building up of defences in Baluchistan along the Khojak Pass and said that for strategic reasons—the proximity of the U.S.S.R. and China—a special concentration of British officers was made in the division of the Pakistan Army stationed in Baluchistan. Another prosecution witness testified that British Major General Loftus Tottenham had made plans in February 1949 for the transport of a Pakistan division to the Iranian oilfields "in case of need."

The chief accused, General Akbar Khan, opposed these plans for the Pakistan Army as well as the reported suggestion of the Pakistan Foreign Minister Sir Zafrullah Khan, that Pakistan should conclude a secret agreement with the United States, leasing them four strategic air bases in Quetta, Risalpur, Chitral and Gilgit for ten years in return for U.S. support of Pakistan vis a vis India and Afghanistan. General Akbar is also alleged to have tried to induce Faiz Ahmed Faiz, editor of *The Pakistan Times,* to start a press campaign against the Zafrullah Khan proposals.

The arrests of the Secretary of the Communist Party, Zaheer, and Ata reflect Government fear of the substantial opposition to its openly pro-imperialist foreign policy and the domestic consequences of this policy. It may also represent an attempt to discredit the Communist Party by implicating it in an alleged military plot. A sidelight on American influence over the Pakistan Government is given in a decree issued by this Government which extends privileges accorded to diplomats for unhindered travel in Punjab to U.S. troops on tour of duty in Pakistan.



Pressing raw jute for packing into bales in East Pakistan, where more than four-fifths of the world's jute supply is grown.

Economic Conditions in Pakistan

HERE are some of the consequences of the Government's foreign policy.

First there is unemployment, aggravated by the arrival of 7 million resourceless refugees from India. There is no compulsory registration of unemployed persons and therefore the total number is unknown. But the following figures are significant :[3]

Year	*No. Registered*	*No. Placed*
1949	118,004	46,093
1950	103,606	24,204
Total	221,610	70,297

These figures apply to the Punjab alone and show that of those able to register for work, less than one-third found jobs.

Coupled with this rise in unemployment is a rise in prices.

In the following table, the *per capita* income of Pakistan for 1948 is compared with that of other capitalist and semi-colonial countries :[4]

Pakistan	225 Rs.
U.S.A.	4,543
Canada	2,826
Denmark	2,647
U.K.	2,356
Australia	2,160
Ceylon	300
Philippines ...	228
India	213

[3] *The Pakistan Times*, 18.2.1951.
[4] *Commerce*, Annual Review Number, 1948.

One of the reasons for *per capita* income of the United Kingdom being more than ten times that of Pakistan is that "free" Pakistan is by no means free of British investments. In 1950 Great Britain exported more than Rupees 20 crores from the Punjab alone (about £15 million) as interest, profits, etc. This is about 10s. per head for every man, woman and child and more than the total revenue of the Provincial Government.

Of these Rupees 20 crores, about five came from railway investments and three from canals. The Wah Cement Works in 1950 made a profit of Rupees 15 million and Attock Oil Company, Rupees 30 million.[5]

Pakistan's economy has further been upset by being forced—by the tense Indo-Pakistan situation—to export raw jute mainly to the U.S. and Great Britain, instead of to India for processing. In exchange for this jute she used to receive low-priced goods from India but now receives high priced manufactured goods largely from western countries which the mass of the people are too poor to buy. Furthermore, the U.S. decision to ban the export of goods to China may affect Pakistan cotton exports. About three million acres are under cotton, producing an annual crop of some 1.3 million bales. One-fifth of this crop was purchased by China in 1949-50.

Now Pakistan's economy is being reinforced by a loan from the World Bank (granted in May this year, following the waves of arrests) to be spent, not on the much needed industrialisation of the country, but on the strategically important communications and transport systems.

[5] A Rupee equals about 2s. sterling or 28 cents U.S. A crore is 10 million.

Reaping the Whirlwind

A GOVERNMENT which allocates something like 75 per cent. of total expenditure to re-armament while hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees beg in the streets cannot expect support from a fiercely anti-imperialist population. Provincial governments which spend far more on police to beat up the protesting people than they spend on improving living conditions cannot expect anything but hostility.

The people are organising. Strikes, despite repression, are frequent. The Lahore railwaymen have several times struck demanding the release of their leader Mirza Mohamed Ibrahim. There have been numerous strikes for better wages by the workers at the Bata Shoe Factory in Lahore and at the Dalmia Cement Works in Karachi. In the West Punjab the peasants have set up a Provincial Peasant Committee and in the summer of 1950, thousands of peasants fought landlord evictions and repossessed their land.

In the North-West Frontier the militant peasants were able to force the government to restrain the landlords' seizure of crops. Four thousand peasants joined the peasants' committee in 1950 in the Hazara area. In May 1949 a hundred thousand peasants demonstrated in Sind in one day against the Tenancy Bill. Twelve thousand joined the peasants' organisation there.

A mass meeting of 20,000 peasants and other workers and trade union representatives took place near Lahore in October 1951. A unanimous resolution was passed asking for the immediate distribution of the land, for a solution of the housing crisis, for the right to education and for a health service for the peasants. They also demanded the repeal of the *Public Safety Acts* and the release of all those held in prison without trial or charge. A further resolution demanded a break with the British Empire.

The peace movement is another embarrassment to the Government. The first Pakistan National Peace Conference was held in April 1950 and the movement has grown steadily since, thanks in no small measure to the work of Faiz Ahmed Faiz—one of the alleged conspirators.

International Support

THE events in Pakistan are not taking place unnoticed by the world's democratic movements. For example a joint statement has been issued by various bodies in China including the All-China Federation of Labour and the Chinese People's Committee for Peace in which it is pointed out that the activities of the Pakistan defenders of peace are in conformity with the interests of the people of Pakistan and of the world. Hosts of Indian trade union leaders representing such industries as shipping, film, railway, metals, etc., have protested to the Prime Minister of Pakistan against the Government's repression of democratic liberties. The Women's International Democratic Federation has telegraphed its protest to the Prime Minister as have the youth of the Middle East countries. Leading writers, among them Martin Anderson Nexo, Pablo Neruda, Anna Seghers, Yen Tsino, Nazim Hikmet, Frank Hardy and many others, have also protested. Many Australian trade unionists, including building workers, clerks and restaurant workers, have cabled the Pakistan Prime Minister.

The international working class has saved the lives of the Telengana Twelve, the Scottsboro' boys and in unity with the democratic movement of Pakistan it can save the lives of those being tried in Rawalpindi and being held in the many prisons of Pakistan. The W.F.T.U. has protested to the Secretary-General, United Nations, as well as to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

CHALLENGING THE COPPER BARONS

By ROD HOLMGREN

Editor of "The Union," journal of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (U.S.A. and Canada)

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has scored many "firsts" since it was established under the name Western Federation of Miners in 1893. Now the militant union of copper, lead and zinc workers has made fresh labour history in a new series of outstanding victories.

Mine-Mill, one of the 11 unions expelled from C.I.O. during 1950, has given a dramatic demonstration of what can be achieved through unity, militancy, discipline and a refusal to be panicked or stampeded by red-baiting attacks either from the employers, the government or sellout labour "leaders" from other unions.

Back in the early 1900's, this union campaigned for—and won—the first 8-hour day law in the United States, a law passed in the State of Utah. The union in whose cause labour martyr Joe Hill was working when he was framed on a murder charge and hanged in Salt Lake City in 1914, was the first to establish the principle of "portal to portal" pay, under which the miner's workday begins as soon as he enters the mine property and ends only when he leaves the property.

But this long record of militancy was forgotten or ignored by the C.I.O. Executive Board in January 1950, when it expelled Mine-Mill from C.I.O. on charges it had "violated" C.I.O. policy. Even before the expulsion was ordered, the C.I.O. Steelworkers and C.I.O. Autoworkers unions had opened a vicious campaign of raids against Mine-Mill locals all over the United States and Canada.

At the C.I.O. Convention last November, C.I.O. President Philip Murray, who is also President of the C.I.O. Steelworkers Union, boasted that his steel union "has had outstanding success in reorganising membership among workers formerly covered by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, particularly in the western areas."

C.I.O. Vice-President Alan Haywood also bragged that "Our steelworkers are rapidly taking over Mine-Mill. Utah is in the bag, and that situation down in the South-West will soon be cleared up."

A look at the record shows Murray and Haywood were whistling in the dark. In the 11 months since then there have been many election contests between Mine-Mill and the raiding unions. Mine-Hill won them all. (See chart on page 15).

Profits Soar while Workers' Living Standards Fall

The 1951 wave of raids began just as Mine-Mill was preparing to open its bargaining drive, in which goals of 30 cents an hour wage increases and a $100 monthly pension plan had been set. The raids succeeded in delaying the final showdown in the metal union's negotiations with the companies. But when the showdown came, Mine-Mill had decisively shaken off the raiders and was in the strongest position in its 58-year history.

Actually, Mine-Mill began bargaining with the major corporations in the industry as early as March. But the companies, hopeful that the raids would either crush Mine-Mill or drastically cut its fighting strength, strung out the bargaining talks

A group of pickets at the American Smelting and Refining Company plant in Denver, Colorado. This huge mill was forced to sign a contract with Mine-Mill, and as the date of the expiration of the Taft-Hartley injunction approaches there is but one large hold-out company—the Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

week after week through the spring and summer.

Early in August, the first nation-wide strike vote in the history of the non-ferrous metals industry was taken among its members by Mine-Mill. More than 85 per cent. of the workers voted in favour of strike action to enforce their demands. They had good reasons for this decision.

U.S. metal workers had seen prices rise well over 12 per cent. since January 1950, even by the fraudulently low figures of the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics "Consumers Price index." By May 1951 a copper miner had to work a full two and one-fifth hours longer in order to buy the same basket of food he bought in June 1946. Price increases—and super profits in American industry—stole the two hours and a fifth. And, as Mine-Mill President John Clark said, "Our members want it back."

The industry has operated on a 48-hour (six day) week basis almost continuously since the end of World War II. Only with the time-and-a-half for the extra 8 hours a week over the normal 40-hour week, were copper miners able to maintain a minimum decency living standard.

There was no doubt the companies could easily grant a big wage increase without raising metal prices. The 12 major companies in the industry made an average profit in 1950 of $3,348 for each and every employee. For Kennecott Copper Co., the profit was $5,875 per employee; for Phelps-Dodge Corporation, it was $5,786. Yet a wage increase of 30 cents an hour throughout the industry would cost only $600 per worker annually.

Moreover, as the metal workers prepared to strike, corporation profits continued to rise. For the first half of 1951, Anaconda Copper Mining Company profits were about 80 per cent above the

Navajo Indian families live in these wooden shacks put up during World War II, separated from the rest of the community. The mining companies in the area—Silver City, New Mexico—are trying to get rid of these Indian workers they were forced to employ during the man-power shortage.

first 6 months of 1950; Phelps-Dodge profits were 93 per cent higher. And 1950 had been the greatest profit year in history for the metal companies. In the last three months of 1950, non ferrous metal profits were rolling in at an annual rate of 36.4 cents (before taxes) on every dollar of investment, and 17.2 cents after taxes.

Although Mine-Mill has conducted a vigorous campaign against speed-up since the end of World War II, productivity has gone up fabulously. The U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics disclosed in August that productivity in copper mining went up 14 per cent from 1949 to 1950. That must be compared with the normal rate of 3 per cent a year for U.S. industry as a whole. In the smelting and refining sections of the industry, output per man hour went up 10 per cent in 1949-50, according to the B.L.S., 12.2 per cent according to the Mine-Mill research department.

Thus, metal workers had a long list of unanswerable arguments in favour of a substantial wage increase—a good deal more than would be permitted under the "10 per cent wage freeze" formula of the Wage Stabilisation Board, that is, that wages may not rise more than 10 per above the level of January 1950.

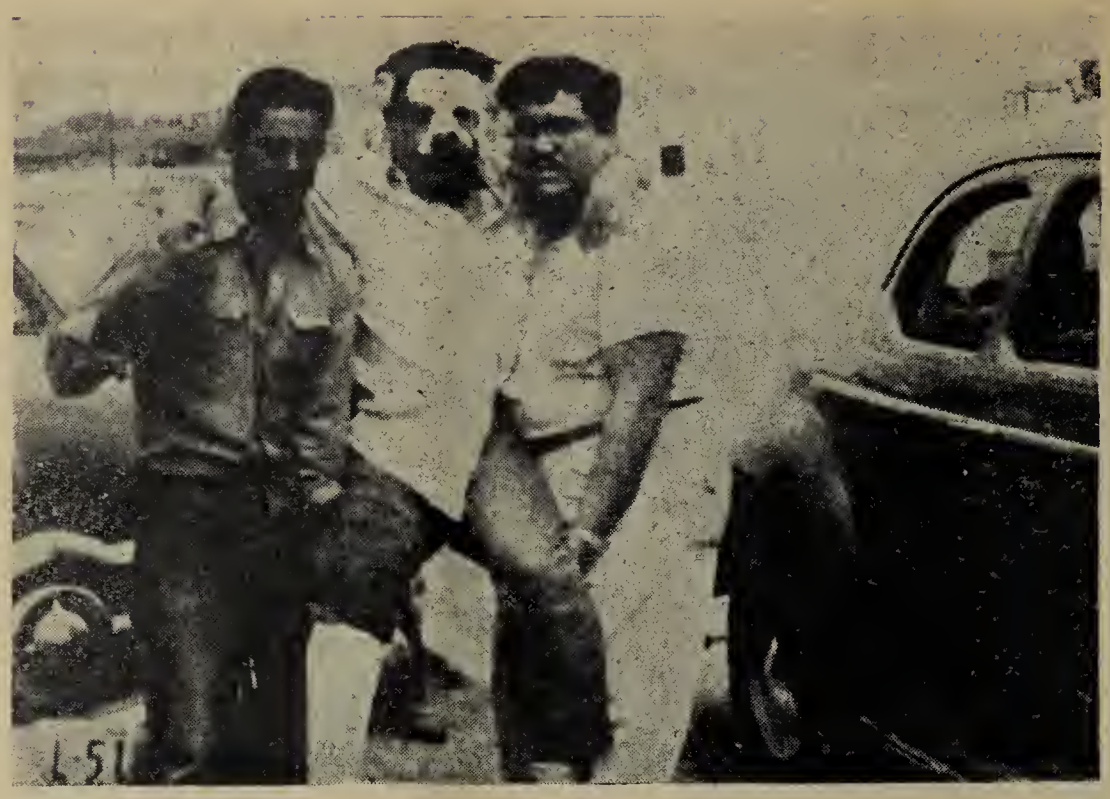
Coast-to-Coast Strike Challenges Wage-Freeze Edict

The union and its members knew that in striking for its demands they would not only be "taking on" the metal corporations but would at the same time be challenging the whole "wage freeze" programme and its fraudulent slogan of "equality of sacrifice." They knew they would be attacked violently by the press and radio. They even foresaw the possibility of an attempt being made to operate the mines with federal troops. Yet, in the face of all this, the vast majority of the workers voted to strike.

Negotiations aimed at obtaining a settlement continued until almost the last hour before the strike deadline at midnight, August 27th.

The last ditch negotiations were conducted in Washington with Kennecott Copper Company, the largest corporation—and the bellwether—of the industry. Company and union spokesmen had been called into the nation's capital by Cyrus Ching, Director of the U.S. Mediation and Conciliation Service. Less than 24 hours before the strike deadline, Ching formally suggested a plan for settlement. The union promptly accepted Ching's proposal.

When strikebreakers at the Empire Zinc Company in Bayard, New Mexico, were told to "go through that picket line," Mrs. Consuelo Martinez, wife of a Mine-Mill striker, was run down by a scab-driven car and hospitalized with a broken leg. She is the mother of five children and, together with the wives of strikers, was helping to man the picket line.



During the Empire Zinc Company strike, this striker, Henry Polanco, had his leg broken when his car was deliberately forced off the road by company scabs. He and his wife were both taken to hospital.

The Company took most of the days and half the night to reach its decision. By early in the evening, Charles B. Wilson, "Director of Defence Mobilisation" and former president of General Electric Corporation, had entered the picture. Wilson demanded that Charles Cox, president of Kennecott, reject the Ching proposal as too high. Late at night, Cox made this announcement—rejection. Two days later, General Electric Corporation made a wage offer to the unions representing its employees—3 cents an hour. The G.E. "offer" to its workers gave the tipoff on why Wilson was so anxious to keep the metal industry settlement low.

The strike began on schedule on August 27th. Some 58,000 out of Mine-Mill's total came out as planned. The only Mine-Mill members who did not strike were those in Canada whose 1951 contracts with major corporations like International Nickel Co., had already been signed for gains as high as 27 cents an hour, and workers in the U.S. potash, diecast, fertilizer, foundry and related industries whose contracts had not yet expired.

It was the first nationwide strike ever conducted in the nonferrous metals industry. It affected almost 100 per cent of the copper industry and major sections of the lead and zinc industries. And it was absolutely solid from coast to coast.. The strike was so effective that the companies made no effort to obtain production of any kind.

Truman Backs Copper Corporations

In the last hours before the strike deadline, and immediately after Kennecott had rejected the Ching proposal, the union's officers sent a demand to President Truman that he take steps to force the companies to accept the Ching plan, which it pointed out was "the government's own settlement proposal."

Truman responded by referring the entire dispute to the Wage Stabilisation Board, which promptly called a hearing in Washington for Wednesday, August 29th, the third day of the strike. Mine-Mill officials appeared at the hearing only long enough to announce that they would *not* call off the strike and thereby permit the Board to set the wage pattern for the industry. The union leaders pointed out that in addition to the employer representatives on the Board, there sat such enemies of Mine-Mill as Emil Rieve, president of the C.I.O. Textile Workers union.

Since the Board refused to take up any dispute where a strike is in progress, the case was then referred back to the President, who appointed a Taft-Hartley Board of Inquiry, preparatory to issuance of an injunction.

Meanwhile, Mine-Mill had resumed across-the-table negotiations with Kennecott officials. Five days after the strike began, the union was able to announce that a settlement totalling 19½ cents an hour had been reached with Kennecott. And the union again demanded that the government take steps to obtain acceptance of the same settlement from the other corporations of the industry.

By this time Truman was out in San Francisco where he gave his blessing to the war-provoking "treaty" with Japan. From San Francisco, the President issued the final order for a Taft-Hartley injunction to force the metal workers back to their jobs. The injunction was issued by a Denver judge on September 5th.

Mine-Mill's international executive board, by then in pre-convention sessions at Nogales, Arizona, protested vigorously against the injunction, declaring that

"Our strike is against the employers; it is the employers who are on strike against the Government." And the Mine-Mill Board added:

"This injunction should have been served on the Anaconda Copper Company, on American Smelting and Refining Co., on Phelps-Dodge Corporation, and on the Coeur d'Alene operators, not on us. It is these companies which have arrogantly and stubbornly refused to accept the Government's settlement proposal, not us. It is these companies which have refused pointblank to bargain on the basis of the Kennecott settlement.

"Taft-Hartley injunctions settle nothing. They merely serve to help convince our members that the Truman administration is determined to keep wages of metal workers down while profits of the metal corporations rise to new fantastic heights."

Labour Unity Breaks Employers' Front

Within a short time after the men returned to work under the "slave labour" Taft-Hartley order, it became clear that they intended to make sure the companies would regret the order. Slogans cropped up at properties all over the country: "Why work up a sweat, this is a cooling-off period,"[1] "Let Truman get out the copper," were some samples. Since the injunction did not interfere with the grievance machinery, the companies quickly became plagued with grievances on which the workers demanded fast settlement.

Five days after the injunction was issued Mine-Mill opened its annual convention in Nogales. The entire first day of the convention was taken up with analysis of the strike. The delegates, flushed with success over their 10-day nationwide strike, unanimously adopted a resolution pledging a resumption of the strike if the companies failed to settle by the time the injunction expired November 24th.

By the end of September, an agreement totalling 20½ cents an hour had been reached with Phelps-Dodge. Early in October, the giant American Smelting and Refining Company had made the first chain-wide settlement in history with Mine-Mill, for a "package" worth 171 cents an hour plus a pension plan which brings its value up to an estimated 23 cents an hour.

This meant that three of the "Big Four" giants of the industry — Kennecott, Phelp-Dodge and A.S. & R.—had signed new contracts with Mine-Mill. That left only Anaconda among the major chains, plus the large "independent" companies in the Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and in the Miami, Arizona area. Workers in those operations will walk out on strike on November 25th if no settlement has been reached by then.

The performance of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is in sharp contrast with the record of the CIG Steelworkers and CIO Autoworkers. These two unions, bossed by Philip Murray and Walter Reuther, still have some small plants which were taken from Mine-Mill in the orgy of raiding that began in 1946. Both C.I.G. Steel and C.I.O. Auto allowed their disputes with the metal companies to go to the Wage Stabilisation Board. Both called off strikes when the cases were taken up by the Board. And both accepted wage settlements far below the amount won by Mine-Mill. In one case C.I.O. Steel settled for only 8 cents an hour.

The victories of the metal workers in Mine-Mill were based on several important facts:

The members of the union are not fooled by the "war emergency propaganda." They have fought for a genuine peace programme and they believe their fight for higher wages and better conditions is part of their cam-

[1]The period of an injunction against work stoppages under the Taft-Hartley Act is commonly called a "cooling-off period."

☆

Mine-Mill strikers forming their picket line at the American Smelting and Refining Company in Pearty Amboy, New Jersey, August, 1951.

☆

paign for peace.

The members of the union are united. While Mine-Mill is known as a "progressive" union, its membership embraces workers of all political beliefs. Yet there is a genuine unity that reaches from top to bottom. When preparations for a nationwide strike were being made, there was no squabbling or disagreement among the union's leaders.

The members of the union are militant, in keeping with the long and proud tradition established by their grandfathers in the Western Federation of Miners more than a half-century ago.

The entire labour movement of the United States was deeply impressed by the struggle of the metal workers. Their victorious fight is already having the effect of forcing rightist leaders in the C.I.O. to take a more militant stand against the wage freeze. One example is that Emil Rieve, who helped formulate the wage freeze, is now making statements to the effect that it is "unfair."

Mine-Mill pickets at the American Smelting and Refining Company plant in Hayden, Arizona, take time out to pose for pictures.

MINE-MILL
VICTORY ROLL CALL

In recent months Mine-Mill has won these important victories in National Labor Relations Board elections against raiding unions such as the United Steel Workers (C.I.O.), United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.), Canadian Congress of Labor affiliates (C.C.L.), various A.F.L. unions and independent unions.

PLANT AND LOCATION	WINNER	LOSER
Alabama Cement and Tile, Alabama	Mine-Mill	AFL
Alabama Metal Products, Alabama	Mine-Mill	Ind.
American Brass Company, Buffalo, N.Y.	Mine-Mill	UAW-CIO
American Brass Company, Torrington	Mine-Mill	UAW-CIO
AMPOT, Trona, California	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel, AFL
American Smelting & Refining, Perth Amboy, New Jersey	Mine-Mill	AFL
American Smelting & Refining, Hayden, Arizona	Mine-Mill	AFL
American Smelting & Refining, Hayden, Arizona (electricians)	Mine-Mill	AFL
American Smelting & Refining, Tacoma, Washington	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
American Smelting & Refining, East Helena, Montana	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Great Falls, Montana	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Anaconda, Montana	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Apex Smelting, Chicago, Illinois	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Consolidated Mining & Smelting, Trail, B.C.	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Eagle-Picher, Tucson, Arizona	Mine-Mill	AFL
Empire Zinc, Gilman, Colorado	Mine-Mill	AFL
International Nickel, Port Colborne, Canada	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
I.S. & R., Miami, Arizona	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Kennecott Copper Co., Utah (electricians)	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Kennecott Copper Co., Magna Arthur	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Miami Copper, Miami, Arizona	Mine-Mill	CIO Steel
Standard Dairy, Sudbury, Canada	Mine-Mill	CCL-CIO
Standard Iron, Alberta, Canada	Mine-Mill	AFL
Tennessee Products, Tennessee	Mine-Mill	AFL
U.S. Lime, Sonora, California	Mine-Mill	AFL

Something New on The Western Front

By The Rev. FRANK HARTLEY, B.A., B.D.

Methodist Minister; President, Democratic Rights Council; Member of the World Peace Council

I ARRIVED in Europe in advance of the steady stream of members and invited guests of the World Peace Council who converged on Vienna for the opening of the Second World Peace Council meeting on November 1st, 1951.

The Council members come from countries representing the hundreds of millions of people who signed the Stockholm Appeal for the abolition of the atom bomb. They represent the hundreds of millions who have already signed and the many millions who will yet sign the Berlin Appeal of the World Council for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers.

In the comparative quiet that precedes the excitement and enthusiasm, the hard work and the deep thinking of the Council Meeting, I have been able to sum up the position of the peace movement in Austria. My few days' stay in Rome enabled me to make an objective judgment of the work of the peace movement in Italy.

My observations have led me to the conclusion that the position in these two countries is in many aspects similar to the position in Australia. I infer that the situation runs to a similar pattern throughout the so called "Western World".

The official government attitude in those countries is bitterly hostile to the World Peace movement. The government officials and all who love their own "security" above the welfare of mankind are, with varying degrees of intensity, following the lead of the governments. They are miserable people, however, because *they know they are opposing the fundamental desire of the human race at this period of history.* They are quite certain that they cannot stifle the cry of the human heart any more than they can stop the incoming tide.

Against the government attitude, which is the bitter fruit of the Marshall plan and the Atlantic and Pacific Pacts, *there stands the irresistible will of the people who demand peace.* The people are learning, through bitter experience, that the cry of peace on the lips of those who spend the wealth of the world on a huge armaments race, is a hypocritical cry. They speak peace, but they aim for the slaughter of the human race, for there is no victory in modern war.

So the real cry for peace grows stronger daily as the people learn the truth. The sob of the heart insists—"Match your words with deeds"—"We demand a pact of peace"—"We demand a dis-

armament race"—"We demand that the wealth of the world be used for homes, for schools, for kindergartens and for education."

"We demand that the product of human labour be used for the uplift of the human race, not for its destruction."

A First Victory in Australia Against War Policy

AS an Australian I feel so proud to be representing my country at the World Peace Council.

We have had our struggles and we will have many battles in the future, but we go on confident of victory.

Just before I left Australia the Australian people won on the 22nd of September, a great and glorious victory over the government war policy.

The Australian government asked the Australian people to give it power to ban the Communist Party and to declare the peace organisation an illegal body.

To these powers, which would enable the government to carry on an unrestricted drive for war, a majority of the Australian people said a mighty No.

The peace workers in Australia have been through a severe period of persecution, but a new era has dawned. A desperate, power drunk government will try other repressive measures—but the people have spoken.

For the first time a government has been forced to put its war plans to a vote of the people.

What the Australian Working Man Feels

BEFORE coming to the World Peace Council meeting I was fortunate enough to acquire first-hand experience of the average Australian miner's feelings about this burning question of peace versus war preparations.

I believe I was the first minister of religion ever to address our Australian coal miners in open meetings at pit heads, on this very problem of peace. And I can say that the workers' response was overwhelming in its clear and forceful determination.

Just three weeks before I left Australia I made a tour of the South Coast coalfields around Woolongong, where I had been invited to address the coal miners on the Peace Pact demanded by the Berlin Appeal.

The Miners' Union Executive there is by no means what might be called a "left" body. It is a very broad trade union group representing all shades of opinion. Yet all these men had agreed on the proposal that every member of the local Union should contribute 3d. a fortnight to the campaign of the Australian Peace Council.

When I had explained to these miners the importance and significance of a Peace Pact among the Five Big Powers, and asked them to sign the petition, every worker present except one hastened to sign it. And when the proposal from the Executive for a fortnightly contribution of 3d. was put to the vote, there was one dissentient voice. The man explained his disagreement in these words:

"Threepence is really a paltry sum when we consider the work yet to be done, and what peace means to all of us, to our homes and kin. I propose that the contribution be doubled, and raised to sixpence a fortnight, for as long as it may be needed to carry on the peace work in Australia."

His counter proposal was loudly cheered and unanimously adopted.

From then on, every meeting I addressed at the pit heads throughout the coal fields yielded identical results. The petition was signed by every miner, and the decision to contribute to the Peace Council funds with 6d. a fortnight was carried unanimously everywhere.

Our peace drive had the same successful results among the waterside workers and in the steel works, where the men, almost unanimously, signed the petition for a Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers and pledged to contribute regularly with funds to the work of our Peace Council.

It is significant that all this took place on the eve of the Referendum. The people's victory then achieved against the plans for war has given a new impulse to the peace campaign, which has been developing even more strongly ever since.

The People's Unity Will Stop the War Planners

THE peace lovers of the "Western World" will look back on the Australian vote on September 22nd, 1951, as the day when the tide was turned in our part of the world. The angry waves

of the war makers will still lap the shores of peace, but ever the strength of the waves will decrease—ever they will recede. The peoples of the world stand with hands united on that shore. The waves of war hysteria once swirled around their bodies and all but engulfed them. Their feet stood firm. Their hands united strengthened each other—the waves may still lap their feet and their legs, but the waves have lost their power to sweep the peoples into the ocean of war. Gradually the waves will recede—back—back along the beach—till they be lost in the nothingness beyond. The people will prevail—and the joy of youth, the thrill of lovers, the laughter of children—the cause of peace will triumph over the makers of war and death.

Trade Union Unity Grows in France

By LEON MAUVAIS

Member of the Administrative Committee of the C.G.T.

Secretary of the National Trade Union Federation of Lighting and Power Station Workers.

LAST September, the French working class achieved a victory of great importance. It won wage increases *which amounted in general to* 15 *per cent* (few of these increases were less than 12 per cent., and some amounted to 20 per cent. or even more in certain enterprises).

This is one of the highest percentages for a *general* wage increase won by the French workers since the last world war.[1] Last March the increase was generally round about 11 per cent.

To find a higher general wage increase, one must go back to July 29, 1946. The increase of 25 per cent. granted by decree on this date resulted from the work of the economic conference at the Palais-Royal. This conference was obliged to take into account, not only the consequences of the starvation policy imposed during the war by the Nazis and their Vichy agents, but also the existing economic situation and the remarkable achievements of the working class in stepping-up production.

In July and August, the government leaders and the employers were determined to maintain the wage-freeze, the government going so far as to refuse to convene the National Committee for Collective Agreements. The C.G.T. was insisting that this Committee meet in order to establish a new inter-occupational guaranteed minimum wage. The gentlemen of the government contended, however, that since the wage-increase last March, no change had taken place in the situation which could justify looking into the wage issue again : this, when the cost of living had been steadily rising and when inflation was continuing . . . The money in circulation, which amounted to 770 billion francs in 1947, is now more than 1,750 billion.

But the French workers, strengthened by their victory in March 1951,[2] did not slacken the drive for their demands and for unity, despite the fact that it was the holiday season. The government was forced to convene the National Committee for Collective Agreements on August 31, and there, to the great distress of the government leaders and the big employers, the representatives of the different trade union centres *took up a joint stand.* Together they demanded that no wage be lower than 23,600 francs a month, basing their demand on the cost of living on August 15. The agreement reached on this joint demand was already the *expression* of the developing movement for united action. It aroused great enthusiasm and contributed to the further *development* of this movement.

Government leaders and employers, who had been forced to resign themselves to the prospect of a wage increase, but wanted to limit it to 6 per cent., were forced to *increase the inter-occupational guaranteed minimum wage by* 15 *per cent.* Thus, as in March 1951, the way was opened for a *general* wage increase.

In this way the exploiters of the French people saw their plans go up in smoke. Pleven, at the time Premier, had vainly attempted to justify limiting the wage increase to 6 per cent. by claiming that the price increases which had already occurred and those still to come—he called them ironically "tail-end increases"—taken altogether would not exceed 6 per cent.

WHAT particularly strikes the onlooker is the fact that *this general and important wage increase has been won without any big and obvious working-class actions taking place.* This may seem inexplicable to our readers in other countries—and even to some Frenchmen who have not paid heed to the facts and to the changes which are taking place in France.

Since 1947 the French working class has been courageously fighting the policy of poverty and war resulting from the government's acceptance of the Marshall Plan, deceitfully represented as being the remedy of all ills, as being a plan of "assistance."

We should recall that important political changes took place in France in 1947. They were marked,

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[1] In 1936, after powerful and historic strikes, the French working class won some extremely important demands: the 40-hour week and paid holidays, in particular, and a general wage increase of 12 percent. We should note, moreover, that in some enterprises which up till then had paid scandalously low wages, through application of the Matignon Agreements, the wages were ***doubled*** and in some cases even ***trebled.***

[2] See No. 8 (April 20, 1951) of this review: "United Action Wins Big Victory in France" by Henri Raynaud, Secretary of the French C.G.T.

in particular, by the eviction of the Communist Ministers from a government headed by the Socialist Ramadier. The latter had dared to use, as an argument for getting the Communists out of the government, the French Communist Party's expressed determination to defend the workers' wages.

In was in 1947 that the leading splitters, Jouhaux, Bothereau, Bouzanquet and Company, taking as their pretext the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the C.G.T. to the Marshall Plan, once more engineered a split and formed another trade union centre (Force Ouvriere).

Since then the French working class has been struggling against the ever-growing weight of war expenditure (estimated at 1,500 billion francs for 1952) imposed in order to carry on the "dirty war" in Viet-Nam and to prepare—under orders from the American millionaires—the war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The workers are struggling to defend their wages and their buying power—decreased by 50 per cent. since 1947—and their gains in the field of social demands.

Throughout France, united trade union branches are being formed in the plants. Here workers in the Societe Francaise de l'Aluminium in Marseilles—C.G.T., Force Ouvrière and independents have formed such a united trade union.

In the Bernard Moteurs plant (diesel motors) in Rueil, in the Paris region, the united trade union is formed by workers of the C.G.T., the Christian union and independents. Unorganised workers have also joined.

Big strikes, in particular those organised by the glorious miners, have marked the last four years.

The working class has learned from its struggles; and as Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the C.G.T. declared at the last meeting of the National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. (September 27 and 28, 1951): *"It has understood that its weakness resulted from its lack of unity. It has formed the conclusion that it must build a united front to confront its enemies."*

From this point of view, the magnificent strike of the Parisian transport workers last March and those of the railway workers, the gas and electricity workers which followed, have been significant. Government and employers had been surprised and frightened by the speed, the breadth and the development of the strikes and united action. That was why they were forced, after a few days, to raise the inter-occupational guaranteed minimum wage and to consent to general increases in wages, salaries, old age and retirement pensions,

Pointing out the experience gained in these strikes, the 28th Congress of the C.G.T. (from May 27 to 31, 1951) could state in its Manifesto to all workers: "Thus the fact that united action is the essential weapon for achieving victory has been confirmed by actual experience. This first great success gained by unity among the rank and file clearly shows the path to be followed for attaining new and more important victories.

"This magnificent example has increased the workers' confidence in their own strength, in the power and efficacy of united action.

"It fully confirms the imperative need and the great possibilities that exist for achieving unity and for organising it on an ever-greater scale."

Benoit Frachon had already explained to the militants and the mass of the workers, at the May Day 1951 unity meeting, the reasons for the changes taking place and their importance:

". . . The problem of unity has become the concern of the millions of workers who solve it in day-to-day practice. It is not in anyone's power successfully to oppose this powerful current sweeping masses of people towards each other—masses of men and women convinced that this is the only way to end a situation which has become intolerable."

Those who could not see this at the time have

This meeting of public employees demands the full application of the Statute on Public Employment.

Students in Paris come to take their examinations for the baccalaureate, but the examiners are on strike.

since been forced to recognise that *"the problem of unity was becoming the concern of millions of workers."* In fact, what did not yet seem possible to the workers last March was becoming so in September. Their determination for unity was so strong that it led to the actual formation of trade union branches in which members of the different trade union centres were united. The first of these was formed at the Mariage metallurgical enterprise in St. Quentin, following a victorious strike.

Benoit Frachon was able to tell the last meeting of the National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. : "The essential characteristic of the present situation is in fact the impetuous, irresistible development of support for united action.

"The working class has had enough. It is determined to put an end to the intolerable situation in which it is placed."

The Teachers' Strike Demonstrates the Changes Taking Place in France

IF this analysis of the situation by the General Secretary of the C.G.T. needed any further confirmation, it was furnished by the magnificent strike of the French university personnel, leading to a movement of the civil servants as a whole.

Launched on the 11th of last September, this strike took place in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and complete unanimity, from the doorman right up to the most eminent professors of the Faculties. Its importance was enhanced by the fact that it was defending, not only wages, salaries and retirement pensions, but also the Civil Servants' Charter, a Charter permanently violated by the government.

We should remember that this Charter, drawn up by Maurice Thorez who was then Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, was made law by the National Assembly on October 19, 1946.

By struggling against a government which refuses to keep its word, the teaching personnel are struggling for respect for promises, respect for intellectual values, respect for labour. "They are defending the honour of the nation," Jacqueline Marchand, Secretary of the National Education Trade Union Federation (C.G.T.) was able to write—much to the anger of the reactionaries and fascists, of the warmongers and their agents of all types.

"It is a lesson of courage and honesty, administered to those who are strangers to justice and legality," wrote Leon Rouzaud, General Secretary of the General Union of Civil Servants' Federations. "It

Postal workers meeting to plan a united campaign to win their demands.

In 1936, after having repulsed a Fascist attack, unity was forged in the course of great strikes and the way was paved for the Popular Front in Summer, 1936. Above: A group of strikers in the Renault automobile plant. Below: Workers in a workshop made idle by the strike in the Panhard automobile plant.

is one of the rare occasions when a body of civil servants provides the example of an action which goes beyond its own private interests, and proclaims with so much determination the solidarity of all the Public Services employees.

"In addition, the struggle of the university personnel has become the struggle of all the civil servants, from the lowest to the highest category, from the office receptionist to the departmental head or the most eminent jurist."

By its aims, its breadth and its scope this teachers' strike—which initiated and developed a movement of united action among all the civil servants—takes on very great significance.

It reveals that these groups, too, have had enough of an intolerable situation, and of the government leaders' policy of broken promises and betrayal.

It reveals to what extent the spirit of struggle and of unity has reached these groups of wage-earners. some of whom can be said to hold extremely moderate views.

It reveals that the civil servants are becoming aware, not only of the need to express their discontent, but also of *the possibility of doing so,* supported by all workers in industry and commerce.

It therefore *confirms* that the working class as a whole is determined on unity and on action to win its demands, and it *contributes to developing this determination and to developing the confidence of all the workers in their own strength, reinforced by unity.*

Forced to Grant Wage Increases, the Government Manoeuvres

IF some militants did not recognise immediately the important changes taking place, and in particular the fact that the idea "Let's put an end to division" was developing, the government leaders and employers had their eyes open. Although they had been startled by the breadth and the nature of the strikes in March 1951, they had paid close attention to the first *achievements of rank and file unity,* which are already widespread.

Last September, government leaders and employers took into account all these facts and above all *the development of the workers' determination for their demands and for unity which, in* 1935 *and* 1936, *led to trade union unity and the winning of important demands.*

Faced with the broad drive towards unity, already taking concrete form through the organisation of united trade union branches co-ordination Committees, or other organisational expressions of unity, the government and employers made it their first concern to check—or preferably to destroy—this unity movement in order to prevent a repetition of the events they or their predecessors had witnessed before the war.

They fear working-class unity which was, is and will be the necessary ingredient for cementing national unity in the struggle for peace, for freedom, for national independence.

They know that the development of this unity would be a bitter blow to their policy of poverty and war. Absolutely determined to pursue this policy, and forced to admit that the workers' drive for their demands and for unity made it necessary to alter their original plans, they immediately looked for ways of taking back from the workers all that they had been forced to concede, and more besides.

Therefore the vigilance and action of the working-class had to be strengthened, not only to defend and guarantee the increases obtained—which means, in particular, the need to step-up the campaign for the sliding scale—*but also to oppose the application of new reactionary and fascist measures, and to defend trade union and democratic freedoms.*

The manoeuvring of the government leaders and employers—proof of their fear of working-class unity and their own weakness—may give them an illusion of success. They will be speedily disillusioned.

The Government's Policy Can Only Lead to Strengthening the Workers' Fighting Spirit and Their Determination For Unity

THE latest events, far from weakening the workers' determination to forge their unity and thus ensure further victories, can only strengthen it.

These railwaymen in the Pantin station (near Paris) are members of the united trade union formed in this station by members of the C.G.T., Force Ouvrière and Christian trade unions, and which is being strengthened by workers belonging to no national union.

The National Confederal Committee of the French C.G.T. meeting in Paris in September, 1951, to consider the plans for winning, by means of unity, the demands of the workers

While noting with satisfaction the wage increases obtained through united action, the workers look on these increases as being inadequate. Moreover, they are becoming increasingly aware that they must and can, thanks to unity, successfully carry on the struggle for restoring their purchasing power which has been so greatly reduced since 1947, and against the war policy which is the fundamental cause of the mounting difficulties and even poverty in France.

They do not share the opinion of Rene Mayer, Finance Minister, who declared in substance, on October 13, that the wage increases granted "would cover" the previous price increases and provide a "safety margin" for those to come.

Once again they see prices rising. The rise in the price of bread, coal and steel had already had repercussions on the cost of living and will have still more. From October 15 to 22 there were increases in the prices of electricity (12 per cent.), milk (16 per cent.), butter, cheese, rice, oil (12 francs a litre), sugar (12 per cent.), and gasoline (20 per cent.). Further increases are being planned in the Post and Telegraph charges (stamps, telephone charges, telegrams, etc.), in the price of tobacco, and probably in rail and other transport rates.

In addition, the Council of Ministers decided on October 19 to cut Social Security, *which concerns all the workers,* to carry on with the breaking up of the National Railway Company (S.N.C.F.), to carry through mass dismissals of railwaymen, to raise their retirement age, to attack the advantages which had been won by the rail workers and in particular their Insurance Fund. These threats hanging over the rail workers are the concern of all the employees of the nationalised industries and the public services, for a blow against one of these groups would be followed by blows against the others. Similarly, the threat to deprive civil servants, in effect, of the right to strike *is the concern of all the workers.* The government has decided to have a draft law drawn up "restricting" the civil servants' right to strike, though this right is incorporated in the Constitution.

The French workers are becoming increasingly aware that the aim of all these measures is not only to intensify the exploitation from which they suffer, but also to allow the ruling circles to speed up their war preparations—a speed-up which has just been called for once more by Eisenhower, who transmits the orders of the American warmongers and sees to it that they are obeyed.

That is why the idea of unity is more strongly entrenched than ever in the minds of millions of men and women workers. That is why they give this idea concrete shape wherever possible by forming united trade unions or trade union branches.

Just as in 1945, Trade Union Unity Will Become Inevitable

THE government leaders and employers are trying to build as many dams as possible to turn back the tide of unity. We have seen how, after trying to resist granting the workers' just demands, they were compelled to retreat in the face of the united action of the workers. They thought to dam up the current by granting wage increases with one hand and taking them back with the other.

They tried, in addition, to make use of such *enemies of unity* as still had influence in the working class and its trade union organisations.

Everywhere, the national leaders of Force Ouvreire issued warning after warning, forbidding their members to join in united action or take part in the formation of united trade unions and trade union branches.

Jouhaux, Bothereau and Company also remember 1935-36 . . .

Benoit Frachon, on September 27, published some very significant passages from a letter written by Bothereau on October 10, 1940, to a certain Roger Bertrand, agent of the traitor Belin (secretary of the C.G.T. before the war), who was then Petain's Minister of Labour.

Defending himself and his friends against any suggestion that they helped to force trade union unity in 1935 or that they had put "any obstacle, difficulty or prevention whatsoever" in the way of the Vichy traitors' regime, Bothereau wrote :

"Remember back, and re-read the official documents of the confederations.

"Are you not aware of the existence of united trade unions at that time, of the pressure which was exerted on us from all sides, of the state of mind which was to be found in our movement?

"When unity was accepted, it was inevitable . . .

"The truth is that we had no choice at that time : we had to accept it with the guarantees we had obtained, or else get out . . ."

These memories haunt the thoughts of Bothereau and other leading splitters. But the workers, in ever-increasing numbers, are recognising the truth of an old watchword of the French trade union movement : "Union is Strength," as opposed to that of the exploiters of the people : "Divide and rule."

The C.G.T. calls on all the workers, its own members and those affiliated to or influenced by other organisations such as Force Ouvriere, the C.F.T.C. (Christian Trade Unions) or the autonomous trade unions, to make their voices heard ever more loudly, to proclaim with ever-increasing strength their determination to achieve working-class unity in order to end an intolerable situation. It has been proved, and must be proved again, that to use Bothereau's own words unity is *inevitable*.

The C.G.T. Will Carry On Untiringly Its Great Fight For Unity

LOYAL to the decisions of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. and in the spirit of the telegram it sent on July 6, 1951, to the international trade union confederations, the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.C.C.T.U., all the militants of the C.G.T., and in the first place the national leaders, are making the greatest contribution to organising the battle for unity, as in the past.

In this connection, the last meeting of the National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. was of great value. The present movement which embraces the masses of the civil servants, carrying out various united actions, is also contributing to its development.

In a letter sent to all the Trade Union Centres and to the Autonomous Federation of National Education Workers, the Bureau of the C.G.T. has just renewed the proposals it made last September 10th.

It refutes the lying statements made by the national leaders of Force Ouvriere in an attempt to justify their opposition to unity.

It shows once again that despite the differences of opinion existing on some questions between the members and leaders of the various organisations (C.F.T., C.F.T.C., F.O., C.G.C., and autonomous organisations), *joint action* can be undertaken for certain concrete demands which are *common* to all men and women workers.

The Confederal Bureau justly stresses the impatience being shown by millions of workers who know how *indispensable* unity is to them.

As Benoit Frachon, who is conducting a systematic and remarkable campaign, recently wrote :

"The workers see no excuse for all the refusals based on stupid claptrap or on explanations which explain nothing, for all the hesitations and delays in the conversations already begun and which are marking time. In fact, all that is severely condemned."

The French working class, marching resolutely towards unity, can count on the total support of the C.G.T. and its militants. By forging its unity, the working-class will not only guarantee the defence of its own interests, inseparable from those of the nation, but it will also make a new and powerful contribution to the cause of the international working-class movement, of social progress, of freedom and of peace.

ECONOMIC NOTES

WAR ECONOMY AND WHAT IT MEANS

In a report by Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization to President Truman in 1951. one reads :

"Defense expenditures of our European partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation are estimated for 1952 at a total of more than 50 per cent. over 1951 and 80 per cent. over 1950." Wilson further declares : "To meet the goals set up by the military planning group of N.A.T.O., the European treaty nations must divert substantially more of their resources to defense. Yet any immediate efforts to expand their planned defense programs threatens European living standards, which are already low, with further reduction."

In the United States the Senate has approved appropriations for the armed services for 1951-52 of 59.5 *thousand million dollars.*

If this amount were devoted to peaceful uses, one could :

		Thousand million $
CONSTRUCT:	**4 million housing units**	**20.0**
CONSTRUCT:	**500,000 elementary and secondary classroom units**	**15.0**
CONSTRUCT:	**Hospital facilities for 900,000**	**14.0**
CONSTRUCT:	**100,000 miles of hard surface two-lane highways**	**6.0**
INCREASE:	**Aid to support libraries, museums and art galleries**	**1.5**
INTRODUCE:	**A general children's health programme, including more adequate aid to crippled and dependent children**	**1.2**
PROVIDE:	**General medical care for low-income families, medical research, etc.**	**0.760**
TRAIN:	**45,000 new doctors within ten years, including the construction of new medical schools and enlarging existing facilities**	**0.737**
INCREASE:	**Social security benefits to the aged and the blind**	**0.2...**
CONSTRUCT:	**Parks and playgrounds**	**0.103**
	TOTAL	**59.5**

Source: "Economic Notes" (Published by Labour Research Association, New York), October 1951, p. 3.

To the 59.5 thousand million dollars appropriated directly for the armed services, must be added, one must not forget, nearly 5.9 thousand million dollars for the military construction program and almost 5.8 thousand million dollars for military aid within the framework of the general foreign aid program. In addition certain sums appropriated for the so-called civilian functions of government, are, in fact, camouflaged military expenditures, as is shown by the following figures from the budget proposals of January 1951 :

	Thousand Million $
— Atomic energy development	**1.3**
— Defence production activities, economic stabilisation and control	**1.4**
— Civilian defence	**0.330**
— Housing, schools, water systems, etc., for industrial workers and military personnel in expanded defence areas	**0.100**
— For the dispersal of key governmental agencies	**0.164**
— Maritime shipping	**0.354**
— In addition, other expenditures not detailed, include the port security programme of the Coast Guard, expanded security activities of the F.B.I., and increased facilities for electric power.	

Source: "Report of the Joint Committee on the January 1951 Economic Report of the President."

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

The Lights of Peace

Building workers of Moscow are accepting additional Stakhanovite tasks for Peace. Masons, fitters and plasterers—all of them are trying to attain at the present time new achievements in their work. During the year 1951 they are to complete more than 700,000 square metres of living-space. A considerable part of this programme has already been fulfilled, and thousands of workers' families in the capital have already had their house-warming celebrations.

The number of Stakhanovites undertaking new tasks for peace is increasing daily.

"We are building our towns and are thinking only of peace and prosperity for our homeland," says Stalin prize winner A. Leontiev, a leading mason. "Moscow is growing and becoming more beautiful. Everywhere you see spacious reconstructed places, green squares and blocks of new houses. We are transforming our capital into the most beautiful and the best-constructed modern city in the world. And we have the firm conviction that the cause of peace, the banner which the great Stalin is holding high, will be victorious!"

As an expression of their indignation and protest against the intrigues of the war-mongers, tens of thousands of Moscow building workers have already signed the Appeal of the World Peace Council and are confirming their signatures by their Stakhanovite work. . . .

On the Lenin Hills rises the majestic and shining Palace of Science. Adjoining the main building are the beautiful and spacious buildings of the various faculties, the largest in the world, and the houses for the students and teachers of the Moscow University. . . .

After signing the Appeal of the World Peace Council, the building gang of section No. 2 pledged to complete another 1,600 dwelling rooms for students and advanced students by the fifth of November. Section No. 3 pledged to complete 7,716 rooms by November 7th. At the head of this emulation movement is the Brigade of Plasterers led by Anatole Pisarev, which is completing not three but four rooms a day.

The builders of the University are keeping their word. The granite workers are developing a high labour productivity. The members of the Brigade of Comrade Tseetkov, increased their productivity 300 per cent. after signing the Appeal. Still better results were achieved by the Brigade of Comrade Alferov. Granite master workers Suvurov, Afanasyev and the brothers Vassilev, fulfil their shift task at 315 per cent. The Brigade Glebov has already achieved an output of 350 per cent. . . .

The brightly lit forty-ton tower crowns the skyscraper flats at Kotelniki Embankment. It was completed in the early days of the concentrated effort for peace. The Brigade of Comrade Kudriashov pledged to complete all work on the top of the 170 metre high building ahead of time, and they kept their word. The mighty crane, with the aid of which this extraordinary tower was constructed, has already been taken down. The builders are completing the outer works of the main building. The Brigade of Comrade Shunko pledged to increase the tempo of facing the building by 50 per cent. The Brigade of plasterers, led by Comrade Kretchin, pledged themselves to increase the monthly output by 50 per cent. The word of the builders has been fulfilled by their deeds. All of them considerably over-fulfilled their tasks. . . .

When the dusk envelops Moscow the shining garlands of lights of the skyscrapers flare up. They are shining between the stars and the sea of light of the great town. . . .

These are the lights of peace.

"Trud," 29.9.51.

RUMANIA

The Speedy Construction of Comfortable Workers' Homes in the Rumanian People's Republic

During the last three years since the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic, in spite of the large number of tasks, considerable efforts have been made to get the workers out of the shanties and dilapidated hovels to which they were condemned under the regime of capitalists and big landowners.

Between 1948 and 1950, the building of workers' homes has been carried on at the rate applied throughout the building industry as a whole, the expansion of which can be seen from the following figures (in 1,000 million lei at constant value); 10 in 1948, 39 in 1949 and 62 in 1950.

In 1950 alone, more than 370,000 square metres of workers' housing space was constructed with funds directly allocated by the State, over and above the building work partly financed by factories and the construction of homes by private persons.

Not only separate blocks of apartments have been built over the past few years, but also entire districts, and, near industrial centres, whole towns. This is true of the steel industry centre of Hunedoara, where a new town of modern homes for 25,000 people is going up, with shops, theatres, cinemas and other amenities. A special section of Stalinville is nearing completion for the workers employed in the big engineering factory of "Steagul Rosu," and in a short time they will be able to move into apartments which are the last word in comfort.

The People's Democratic State, in its housing policy, takes account of the amount of effort required from the various sections of workers. For example, special efforts have been made to provide miners with the best possible housing conditions. The mining centre of Petrila now has a new section composed of dozens of modern apartment houses. The same applies to Petrosani, to Lonea and to the areas near the Comanesti and Dorna coal-fields. . . .

. . . In order to stimulate the construction of homes by private persons the Government this year adopted a new measure, granting a loan of 300,000 lei to each wage-earner who wants to build a house for his family's use. . . .

All these measures are intended to broaden still further the fight to liquidate the disastrous state of working-class housing inherited by the People's Democratic regime in Rumania.

"Informations Roumanies," 23.9.51.

YUGOSLAVIA

Workers of the "Crepca" Mine Fighting Against the Tito Fascists

While the fascist Tito gang openly joins the imperialist bloc of aggression and at the same time intensifies the exploitation and persecution of the working people, the workers are reinforcing their struggle against the warmongers at Belgrade and their masters overseas.

In particular the workers of the "Crepca" mine are leading a heroic struggle. Even the Tito press is forced to admit that they oppose a massive resistance to the Tito authorities. They not only do not fulfil the Tito "plans," but also began an open struggle by boycotting to a large extent the work at the mine. The Tito authorities are forced to admit that more than one thousand workers daily fail to appear at the mine for work, and many workers are leaving it for good. Clashes between workers and the administration occur almost daily.

The heroic miners of the "Crepca" mine are not willing to obey the orders of the fascist authorities. They know that the Tito gang is becoming rich from their labour and delivering the wealth of the country to the American imperialists in exchange for tanks, guns, airplanes and war material. They know that the Titoists who are paid by their masters overseas whose orders they fulfil, want to make the peoples of Yugoslavia cannon fodder for a new war of aggression which they are feverishly preparing.

"Rudnichar," Organ of the Bulgarian Miners' Union, 17.10.51.

SPAIN

How the Workers Live

Adopting as their policy the proverb which says that "what the eyes don't see, the heart doesn't grieve for," the Madrid authorities have decided to hide from view all those corners of the capital which will not bear inspection. For this purpose they have erected a fence 2½ metres high in the middle of the road in Antonio Lopez Street, located between the Princesa and Toledo bridges, known also as the Andalusia Road, which, in this quarter runs parallel to the Manzanares River.

Behind these fences there are whole families living in an unending line of tiny huts which, in the main, are propped up against walls half destroyed in the last war.

These huts have neither light nor sanitation, and do not conform to a single essential condition which would make them habitable. In spite of that, the workers who manage to build such shanties are happy, for it would be still worse for them and their families to sleep in the open air.

The workers build these huts in straight lines forming parallel streets in imitation of modern cities. With bitter humour these unfortunate inhabitants baptise their obscure streets with evocative names such as "Generalissimo Street," "His Excellency's Square," "Jose Antonio's Dream," etc.

Another detail which is characteristic of our valiant hut dwellers, is the solidarity binding them together in their evasion of the guards ordered to forbid this type of building, for you must not be misled into thinking that one can build a shanty with impunity.

"Mundo Obrero" (Madrid), Workers' underground publication, 15.10.51.

U.S.A.

Dangerous Thought in America

"How far have publishers, authors, reviewers, booksellers or librarians in this country, or in any other which has contact with the American public, awakened to the implications of the U.S. "Smith Act"? This huge piece of legislation which, in 1948, revised part of the United States Code, sternly restates the law about "treason, sedition, and subversive activities." One of the offences is to publish subversive literature, which explains why Justice Hugo Black, who dissented last year when the U.S. Supreme Court held the Smith Act to be constitutional, called it "a virulent form of prior censorship." The "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" has organised a petition to have the constitutional issue retried.

At this moment, seventeen persons, including Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg of International Publishers, New York, stand indicted for "conspiring to publish and circulate . . . books, articles, magazines, and newspapers advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism." Each of them faces maximum penalties of a 10,000 dollar fine plus ten years' imprisonment. Let us notice that Mr. Trachtenberg's politics are irrelevant to the issue. Naturally the first prosecution is taken against a politically vulnerable publisher. His firm publishes the Communist works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, as well as those of Diderot and other non-Communist authors. Hundreds of ultra-respectable journalists review books that may be more or less accurately described as Marxist-Leninist; sometimes the reviewers even express approval. Would the courts consider such reviews as "advocacy"? And why should prosecutions stop at Marx-Leninism? The New Testament and Paine's Rights of Man have both been held to be subversive before now. Is the United States' public really prepared to accept a situation in which whole categories of books are to be banned, in which every publisher —including many non-Communist ones—who has published books that may be brought into this category must search his stock and destroy them as criminal literature? Are students in the United States to be denied acquaintance with revolutionary theory? What remains of the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution?

"New Statesman and Nation" (London), 13.10.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Hogs in the "Free World"

Copper serves as a sort of weather-cock to the trend of armament. There are some instructive features in the share-out of this metal to "countries of the free world" announced by the International Materials Conference.

This body is seated in Washington and it need hardly be said that America is the real dictator as to who shall have copper and how much. And the story is told by how much. The "countries of the free world" included in the share-out number 36. The amount of copper shared, for use in the last quarter of this year, is 677,160 metric tons. America takes practically half of it—333,770 metric tons, in fact.

Second, but a long way behind, is Britain, whose share is 91,690 tons. And who comes third? Why, Germany of course—Western Germany, that pillar of the "free world." Its industries, so well adapted to armaments, receive 47,100 tons. That has accounted for two-thirds of the available supply, and 33 other "free world" countries still await their shares. Only about 200,000 tons of copper remain to go around the whole lot of them. And there need be no illusions. The amount of the share is decided according to the country's ability to produce armaments.

The International Materials Conference says: "First priority was given to defence needs, followed by stockpiling requirements. Essential civilian consumption was given last call." So, if there were some peacefully minded little country that said it would like some copper to make kettles, and the Americans said: "No, we want it for stockpiling," there would be no argument. It is such a delightfully "free world."

From A Worker's Notebook, **"Daily Worker"** (London), 2.10.51.

PARAGUAY

A New Attempt to Cheat the Working Class Meets Defeat

Another of the many "Workers' Congresses" whose expenscs are paid with dollars and whose final resolutions thank the imperialist eompanies, and support the American millionaires' war policy, has just taken place in Paraguay's capital.

The "Congress" was organised by the O.R.O. (Republican Workers' Organisation) which controls the trade unions and is in the direct serviee of the Ameriean Embassy.

In a manifesto published on the oecasion of this "Workers' Congress" the Workers' Council of Paraguay (C.O.P.) affiliated to the C.T.A.L. and to the W.F.T.U. exposed the real aims whieh the enemies of the working class and thc country hope to attain by this faree

The Manifesto of the C.O.P. points out that as a result of the complete exposure of the O.R.O., the American "specialists" have advised the liquidation of this organisation and its replacement by another which would have the advantage of appearing to be a trade uniqn centre through whieh the imperialists would be able to eontrol the working class movement in Paraguay. It also shows that the ereation of sueh a centre is part of the reeent agreements on Point Four of the Truman Plan whieh the dietatorial government of Federieo Chavez began to put into operation at the beginning of this year.

Jauregui Hurtado and Lopez Aliaga, two well-known Yankee agents sent espeeially by the Inter-American Labour Confederation, arrived in Paraguay to prepare this congress and to assist in its work.

In addition, the imperialist eompanies granted a generous subsidy to pay the expenses of the "Congress." The Minister of Justiee and Labour has alluded to this "disinterested" help by the foreign companies to the workers of Paraguay and expressed his government's gratitude for sueh a gesture.

Meanwhile the attitude of the workers is eompletely different. They have everywhere indignantly rejected the subseription lists whieh the O.R.O. had attempted to send around among the working masses to get them to pay the congress expenses.

After a great deal of anti-Communist talk and the usual slander against the true workers' organisations, the "Congress" coneluded its work without a single word on the subject of the prineipal demand of the working elass: an immediate 50 per cent. inerease in wages. On the eontrary, a law on dismissals, deereed by the dictatorial Chavez government, was endorsed. This law gives employers the right to dismiss workers on numerous pretexts, among whieh is that of partieipation in strikes deelared illegal by the government.

It also decided to set up a Paraguay Workers' Federation (C.P.T.) with the aim of pursuing under a new disguise, the same anti-working class, anti-national, and terrorist policy of the O.R.O.

The setting up of the C.P.T., however, has met with complete failure. The Paraguay workers have seen through the manœuvre of imperialism and its agents. Far from allowing themselves to be intimidated and deluded they are to-day demanding more strongly than ever an immediate 50 per cent. inerease in their wages and are protesting against their poverty and the high eost of living.

"Prensa Continental"
(Havana), 28.9.51.

U.S.A.

Migratory Labour in the United States

Agricultural workers are the most exploited and oppressed sections of the American working class. Even the intentionally embellished figures of American statistics are unable to hide this faet.

"At present wages of agrieultural labour are only a bit more than a third of the wages of an industrial worker," states the report published in 1951 by a speeial Commission of the President of the United States on Problems of Migratory Labour. As the "New York Times" wrote some time ago, the average wages of an agrieultural worker is about 500 dollars a year, less than a sixth of the official subsistence minimum.

Partieularly low are the wages of women oeeupied in agrieulture; on the average their wages are equal to less than half that of a male agricultural worker. It goes without saying that the wages for the widespread child-labour in Ameriean agrieulture are still less.

Here are some eloquent figures from the report of the above Commission in the U.S.A. There are 4,250,000 agricultural workers of which only 600,000, that is, 14 per eent., have worked during the whole year. About 400,000 work between 150—250 days a year. 2,250,000 work less than 150 days a year and about 1,000,000 do only casual work, whieh means that three and a quarter million people, more than two-thirds of all agricultural labour in the U.S.A., are working no more than half of the year.

In Ameriean agrieulturc there are about a million people who have no permanent homes but arc always wandering about from one part of the country to another in seareh of work. These migratory labourers cover great distances, frequently on foot.

Even the scanty labour legislation which exists in the United States does not apply to agrieultural labour. The working hours are not settled by any law.

When at the end of the agrieultural season pay beeomes due, it often appears that the worker receives nothing sinee the deduetions for transportation, food and various "serviees" eat up the whole of his wages. Many times thc labourer is even indebted to thc farmer.

Some time ago the "New York Times" reported that "near Bridgehampton two children died in a fire whieh broke out in the former chieken run where fourteen agricultural labourers were housed." The conditions in whieh these people were living are typieal for many rural distriets of Long Island, where former ehicken runs, dilapidated, half-destroyed huts and barns are the living quarters for migratory labour. There exists no gas or eleetric light, no piped water, or sewerage disposal.

The majority of agrieultural labour in the U.S.A. are Negroes and people from Puerto Rieo, Mexieo and other Latin American countries. These are subjeet to espeeially ruthless exploitation in addition to the economie and political oppression they suffer from racial discrimination. During world war two the United States imported by speeial agreement about 220,000 Mexiean labourers for work on Ameriean farms and plantations. Sinee then, tens of thousands of native labourers have been imported from Jamaica, the Bahama Islands, from British Honduras and from the Barbados Islands.

The importation of agrieultural labour to the U.S.A. has beeome a big business on whieh the American dealers in human lives make gigantie profits. Aeeording to the "New York Times" the suppliers of labour for American planters get one dollar for each day's work performed by the workers reeruited by them. Even aecording to offieial figures, in 1950, 565,000 labourers were imported from Mexico to the United States.

This is the ignominious practice of the modern American slave dealers. It shows again the real value of the lying assertions of all kinds of offieial and unofficial propagandists about the so-ealled American way of life and freedom of work in the United States.

E. Philipov, in **"Pravda,"** 17.10.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

October 20

GREECE.—After considering the shameful accusation, the court acquits Mme. Asimina Ambatielos, 73-year-old mother of the new Greek deputy, A. Ambatielos, Secretary of the Greek Maritime Federation, who has been sentenced to death, and Mme. Maria Mouratidou. Mme. Ambatielos is President and Mme. Mouratidou Secretary of the Organisation of Families of Prisoners and Exiles. Their acquittal was won despite the demand of the public prosecutor for the death penalty for Mme. Mouratidou.

October 21

FRANCE.—A National Conference for the Protection of Children is held in Paris. A Charter is adopted and the delegation decide to popularise the Appeal and programme of the International Conference for the Protection of Children to be held in 1952.

CHINA.—The Minister of Labour issues new regulations to ensure the safety of dockworkers and others handling dangerous freight. Wage rates are to be 15% to 20% higher than for handling ordinary cargo, and workers handling dangerous chemicals will work a six to eight hour day with a rest period after each two hours of work. Full compensation will be given to injured workers and death benefits are payable to the dependents of workers killed. These measures affect 800,000 workers.

SPAIN.—Workers charge that the police and Government are conducting a reign of terror against men who participated in a strike last spring in Vittorio, in Northern Spain. The strike was caused by a police order requiring two workers to be dismissed for failing to report for work. Since then workers have been arrested and held incommunicado without trial. Five workers are still in prison, their actual whereabouts unknown.

October 22

URUGUAY.—A general strike is called in the capital city of Montevideo, with 70,000 workers on strike in transport, the textile industry, in the port, in cold storage plants and other industries. They are striking in solidarity with workers in the State fuel and alcohol administration.

FRANCE.—After a victorious four-day strike conducted in complete unity, asbestos miners of Canari, Corsica, form a unified trade union branch of C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. members (Christian trade unions). They win in addition, a minimum hourly wage of 110 francs 70 centimes, plus a monthly bonus of 4,000 francs, application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work."

— At Bordeaux, on the united action appeal of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christian trade unions), Force Ouvrière and other trade unions, 6,000 metalworkers stop work to demand the renewal of negotiations for higher wages in the joint employer-employee wage committee.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Hamburg and Bremen dockers go on strike for higher wages, despite the fact that their Right Wing trade union leaders declare the strike to be unauthorised.

ITALY.—Sixty thousand workers, 90 per cent. of all workers in the Fiat plants in Turin, go on strike for a half-day in protest against the reduction in working hours by eight hours per week announced by the management. The strike is called by the Metalworkers' Union.

October 23

WESTERN GERMANY.—The strike of Bremen and Hamburg dockers for higher wages increases and now numbers 8,000 strikers, including many permanent dockers who at first had refused to join the strike because of the opposition of their Right Wing leaders. Attempts to recruit strike breakers fail because of the solidarity of the unemployed and a section of the police. Having lost confidence in their official trade union leaders, the workers have elected a strike committee to conduct the strike and press their wage demands. The workers of all political views are completely united.

SYRIA.—Demonstrations of support for Egypt take place in many Syrian towns. Students demonstrate their solidarity with the Egyptian people in a demonstration in Beirut. Shouting "Down with Anglo-American Imperialism," they oppose the formation of a "Middle East Command"

October 24

UNITED STATES.—The New York longshoremen's strike against the contract negotiated by Joseph Ryan, Right Wing and gangster-supported president of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.) has immobolised more than one hundred ships as the strike spreads over 30 miles of docks.

FRANCE. — Metalworkers of the Etablissements Chausson (automobile accessories) at Meudon, return to work after a 15-day strike, obtaining important demands such as reduction in the speed-up, elimination of night work, adequate heat in the plant, and other demands

SYRIA.—It is announced that Syria has rejected a military pact with the Western Powers and will support Egypt.

October 25

SUDAN.—Despite a ban imposed by the British authorities, three large demonstrations take place in Khartoum, where thousands of workers and students demand the immediate evacuation of British troops. The British occupation forces open fire on the demonstrators and wound several of them.

UNITED STATES.—Faced by the police, New York longshoremen return to work on army piers, but on other piers and in other ports the strike continues to grow, with nearly 30,000 men on strike. The longshoremen in Boston join the strike.

— The Bureau of Labour Statistics announces that the cost of living index in the United States was at an all-time high on September 15 reaching 186.6 (1935-1939=100), 9.5% above the pre-Korea level.

INDIA.—General elections, to be spread over three months, begin in India for both the Central and State legislatures. In the elections for the Constituent Assembly political detainees were included on the list of voters, but are not on the list of those eligible to vote, although it had been announced that they were to be permitted to do so. As many of India's progressive leaders are in jail they are unable to stand as candidates.

October 26

IRAQ.—Mass demonstrations take place in Basra against British occupation. The demonstrators also demand support for the Egyptian struggle against British imperialism. British occupation forces fire on the demonstrators, seriously wounding several.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Conservative Party wins the general election, which was held on October 25, with a small majority of 18 seats in the House of Commons, despite the fact that the Labour Party polled 48.9 per cent. of the votes and the Conservative Party 48.02 per cent. With five seats not yet determined the Conservatives and their supporters have 319 seats in the House of Commons, Labour 293 seats, Liberal Party 5 seats, other parties 3 seats. Winston Churchill becomes the new Prime Minister.

ALGERIA.—An agreement is signed between employers of dock labour and the dockers' union (C.G.T.) in Algiers, providing for a 20 per cent. increase in wages for the highest paid, and 25 per cent. increase for the lower paid workers; the increases are also applicable to all bonuses and indemnities. The wages of foremen and permanent port workers are increased by 15 per cent. and the monthly indemnity for especially dirty work is increased to 2,000 francs.

UNITED STATES.—The New York Board of Trade urges President Truman to declare a national emergency and to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to break the 12-day longshore strike which has spread to Boston and Philadelphia and threatens to spread to Baltimore and half a dozen other ports. A 500-man picket line forms around City Hall to protest that police had broken the strike on the Brooklyn army piers.

October 27

UNITED STATES.—More than 1,000 Negro and white trade union delegates from all parts of the United States meet in Cincinnati for a two-day conference to set up a National Negro Labour Council. The delegates expressed their readiness to fight for peace, for civil liberties, and for the abolition of discrimination against Negroes. William Hood, Secretary of a Michigan local branch of the United Automobile Workers' Union (C.I.O.) was elected Chairman of the Council and Coleman Young, Secretary of the Progressive Party in Michigan, was elected Executive Secretary of the Council.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The dockers' strike in Bremen is broken, but in Hamburg the strike continues to grow with more than 6,000 workers on strike. The Hamburg Senate closes the entire harbour area "to bar Communist strike agitators," in a typical move to brand any strike as "Communist agitation." The Senate also suggests bringing troops from Bonn to break the strike and the unity of the Socialist, Communist and unorganised workers. Thirty-six hundred part-time dockers are threatened with dismissal by harbour authorities if they do not return to work. Workers in the Hamburg shipyards as well as other groups of the people declare their solidarity with the strikers and are collecting money for their support.

October 28

ITALY.—The situation in Egypt and the announcement of the meeting of the Atlantic Council in Rome gives a new spurt to the peace campaign. In Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Ravenna and Leghorn delegations of workers gather before the Egyptian Embassy and Consular offices to express their solidarity with the Egyptian people. At the same time the campaign for signatures for the Berlin Appeal gains new strength with members of the clergy, intellectuals, Social Democrats and members of other governmental parties signing the Appeal.

October 29

ITALY.—Italian deputies and senators of divergent political views conclude a "parliamentary agreement for the defence of peace." Within the sponsoring committee there meet for the first time representatives of the Social Democrats, Liberals, Christian Democrats and independents. A manifesto addressed to the people has immediately led other deputies and senators of all political opinions to join this movement.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. — The German Democratic Republic Planning Commission announces that the consumption of goods has increased 22.5% during the past year. Meat has increased 32.4%, fats 59.3%, cheese 45.3%. Total industrial production has increased 21.3% and production in the nationalised plants have increased by 22.9% in the past year.

AUSTRIA.—American authorities refuse to permit Soviet musicians and representatives of the Soviet-Austrian friendship delegation to go into the American zone to give concerts in Linz and Gmunden.

— The World Peace Council announces that 562,083,383 signatures have thus far been collected for the Five Power Peace Pact.

IRAN.—Iranian police raid the offices of the Tudeh Party in Teheran and imprison thirty party officials.

INDONESIA.—Fifteen thousand persons have been imprisoned during a recent "security drive," it is announced in the Indonesian Parliament.

ECUADOR. — Seventy thousand members of the Confederation of Ecuadorean Workers strike for 24 hours to protest against the refusal of the government to adopt their programme which includes general wage increases, price controls, revision of income tax laws, and additional social security legislation.

UNITED STATES.—Police help to break the longshoremen's picket line at the Queen Elizabeth pier in New York. The Citizens' Anti-Crime Committee, headed by former ambassador to Argentina, Spruille Braden, calls upon Governor Dewey of New York to investigate the strike and to examine the justice of the strikers' claims, calling attention to the fact that President's Ryan's supporters in the International Longshoremen's Association are dominated by gangsters, naming these gangsters, and pointing out that the rank and file longshoremen are subjected by these racketeers to wage kickbacks, loan sharks, organised theft and murder, and blaming these conditions basically on the archaic hiring methods on the docks which lead to favouritism and rackets.

U.S.S.R.—A Mexican trade union delegation arrives in Moscow on the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

October 30

GREAT BRITAIN.—One thousand persons in Coventry, one of the worst-bombed cities in the last war, send messages containing their pledge to fight for world peace. The one addressed to the people of the United States appeals to those suffering from the anguish

of war deaths to join in the fight for peace. Messages are also sent to the people of Berlin, Stalingrad, Rotterdam, Dunkirk, and to Italian, Japanese and Australasian cities requesting them to join a world chain of peace.

FRANCE.—On the united action appeal of the C.G.T., Christian trade union, Force Ouvriere, and autonomous unions, public service financial employees in the Paris Region stop work at 5 p.m. to demand the enforcement of the law on public employment.

— A day for presenting demands by cemcnt workers, masons and unskilled labourers is marked by many work stoppages and meetings.

IRAN.—Students demonstrate beforc the Majlis (lower house of Parliament) in Teheran against Anglo-American imperialism. The meeting had been banned and thousands of armed police and soldiers were on guard.

ITALY.—Ten thousand coal miners in Carbonia (Sardinia) strike for 24 hours at the call of miners' trade unions affiliated to the three national centres. The miners are demanding an increase of 200 lira per day on account pending the revaluation of piece wages.

October 31

URUGUAY. — The dockers' strike, which has lasted for several days, is supported by a section of the port administrative employees.

DENMARK. — Delegates from 23 countries meet in Copenhagen as a Preparatory Committee for a World Economic Conference to be held from April 3 to 10, 1952 in Moscow. The Conference in Moscow will consider the possibilities for improved living standards through peaceful co-operation among the various countries and economic systems and through the development of economic relations among all countries.

FRANCE.—At the Tignes Dam construction site in Savoy, in the elections for delegates of the personnel, the C.G.T., Force Ouvriere and foremen submit a common list of candidatcs which is elected. A list of demands among which is the minimum monthly basic wage of 23,600 francs and the sliding scale is also adopted.

U.S.S.R.—A Norwegian trade union delegation arrives in Moscow on the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The General Council of the Trades Union Congress defines its attitude to the new Conservative Government as one of "friendly working."

November 1

GREAT BRITAIN.—J. B. Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, writing in the union's journal "The Railway Review," says that British labour must appreciate the full significance of the present period and the urgency of taking vigorous action by making a radical change in policy. The action of Churchill in assuming the dual role of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, the same positions he occupied during the war, should be well noted and understood by everybody.

AUSTRIA.—The World Peace Council opens a 6-day session in Vienna under the chairmanship of its president, Professor Joliot-Curie. Present at this important session are many world-famous writers, poets, scientists, progressive leaders and leaders of the peace movement, including Arnold Zweig from Germany, Jorge Amado of Brazil, Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, Chinese author Kuo Mo Jo, Abbe Jean Boulier of France, W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant, Professor Bernal and D. N. Pritt of Great Britain, Italian left-wing Socialist leader Pietro Nenni, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet, and Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexander Fadayev of the U.S.S.R.

MOROCCO.—At Casablanca, on the pretext of being insulted by children, police fire on a crowd gathered on the occasion of elections to the consultative committees of agriculture, commerce and industry. Six persons are killed and more than forty are wounded. In addition a huge police raid in the city results in more than 500 arrests.

November 2

UNITED STATES.—New York dockers refuse to unload 60 tons of nickel from the Norwegian-American liner Stavangerfjord, despite an urgent appeal by the government that the nickel is vital for U.S. "defence." The ship leaves the harbour with the 60 tons of nickel and all its other cargo still in the holds.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. — It is announced in the People's Chamber that the government will sponsor a law for establishing the principles for carrying out free elections to an All-German National Assembly.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Winston Churchill appoints the tenth peer as a member of his Cabinet, which includes Anthony Eden as Foreign Secretary, and the major representatives of Big Business in key positions.

November 3

GREAT BRITAIN.—At Swansea, South Wales, delegates representing 2,000 miners protest against the declaration made by the General Council of the T.U.C. to work amicably with the new Conservative Government.

November 4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic, invites West German President Heuss to meet in Berlin to discuss the unification of Germany, free elections, and ways for speeding a peace treaty with the Allies.

November 5

UNITED STATES.—The annual convention of the C.I.O. (Congress of Industrial Organisations) opens in New York.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

DEC. 5, 1951 ★ No. 23

Working men and women!
Do not forget the bitter lessons of the second world war.
Build and consolidate international working class unity.
Division within the ranks of the working class helped to bring fascism to power and the launching of war. This must not happen again.
The strength of the working class lies in its unity.

Appeal from the General Council of the W.F.T.U. to the Workers of the World
Berlin, November 21, 1951.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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SUPPLEMENT: *Resolutions and other official documents of the Meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Berlin, November* 15-21, 1951.

APPEAL

from the W.F.T.U. General Council

to the Workers of the World

Working men and women of all lands:

We are addressing you at a time when every one of us bears a heavy responsibility for the fate of mankind. The threat of world war is increasing and war preparations are imposing heavy sacrifices, privations and innumerable hardships on the peoples of the capitalist and colonial countries.

In these countries, as a result of war economy, food and consumer goods are becoming scarce; real wages are continually falling, and inflation is rampant; taxes, the whole weight of which is being borne by the workers, are rising; social expenditure is being cut down and trade union rights and freedoms savagely violated.

At the same time, the profits of the big companies are higher than ever. These profits would be sufficient to feed and clothe hundreds of millions of people.

The continuation of such a policy of war preparations will plunge the workers into the most frightful poverty, and will lead to war unless we unite to oppose and put an end to it.

Trade unionists of all opinions!

Nothing divides us in the struggle for our immediate claims such as full employment, increased wages and a real sliding scale, improved social legislation, a satisfactory system of social security and the introduction of such systems where they do not already exist, the abolition of speed-up, the elimination of discrimination against workers for reasons of race, colour, nationality, sex or age, the improvement of conditions of health, culture and leisure, the right to education, the repeal of anti-working class laws, the defence of trade union rights, democratic freedom and peace.

The struggle for these common demands can only be carried on successfully in unity!

Those who divide the working class are betraying your interests.

Unity is your most effective weapon for overcoming the poverty imposed on you and for the defence of your right to life.

The refusal of the leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to accept the proposal of the World Federation of Trade Unions for common action in order to guarantee most effectively the defence of the social and economic interests of the workers, is aimed at weakening the working class and delivering it into the hands of the imperialist warmongers.

The W.F.T.U. does not ask you to renounce your political opinions or your religious convictions, but it calls upon you, as well as upon all trade union organisations, to intensify the fight for higher living standards and for peace, desired by all of us. In this struggle, we all can and must, without distinction, unite our forces in fraternity.

Workers, to guarantee the success of your demands, to ensure the security of your homes, and to avoid a terrible catastrophe—struggle for peace!

It is the American multi-millionaires who are intensifying the armaments race and imposing it on their satellite countries. It is they who want war, for war allows them to plunder the workers and to enslave the peoples of the world.

The imperialist aggressors are endeavouring, by

means of lies and calumnies, to drag the peoples into a new war.

But the peoples do not want war. Hundreds of millions of men and women of all countries are uniting in a mighty peace front.

The World Federation of Trade Unions enthusiastically welcomes the struggle of the peoples for peace. Together with hundreds of millions of ordinary people of all countries, the W.F.T.U. will continue to wage a relentless struggle against attacks on the standard of living and rights of the workers and for the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

The aggressive forces are trying to camouflage their designs under the hypocritical pretext of "self-defence." But the facts reveal the true character of their criminal policy.

By sabotaging the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, the American interventionists and their satellites continue their pitiless devastation of Korean soil and the extermination of its peaceful population. The colonialists are making war against the people of Viet Nam and Malaya, who are fighting for the right to live in freedom and for national independence.

The imperialists are trying to seize the raw materials and wealth of the economically underdeveloped countries. They want to maintain the system of colonial slavery and to transform the colonial countries into military strongholds for a new world war.

Violating international agreements, the ruling circles of the United States are reviving Japanese militarism, which caused so much suffering to the peoples of Asia.

American military bases for the launching of aggression against peaceful peoples are being constructed in different parts of the world, around the frontiers of the People's Democracies, the Soviet Union and China, thousands of miles away from the United States.

A base for war and aggression is being feverishly built up in Europe. The Atlantic bloc is guilty of a monstrous crime in remilitarising Western Germany and in reconstituting the Hitler Wehrmacht, so detested by the whole of mankind.

Working men and women!

Do not forget the bitter lessons of the second world war.

Build and consolidate international working class unity.

Division within the ranks of the working class helped to bring fascism to power and the launching of war. This must not happen again.

The strength of the working class lies in its unity.

Unity is being achieved on an ever-wider scale. Whenever the workers, regardless of their political and religious beliefs, take common action to win their demands, then they are victorious.

To improve your living standards and to guarantee happiness for your families, demand higher wages, the reduction of prices, taxes and military expenditure. Oppose the armaments race!

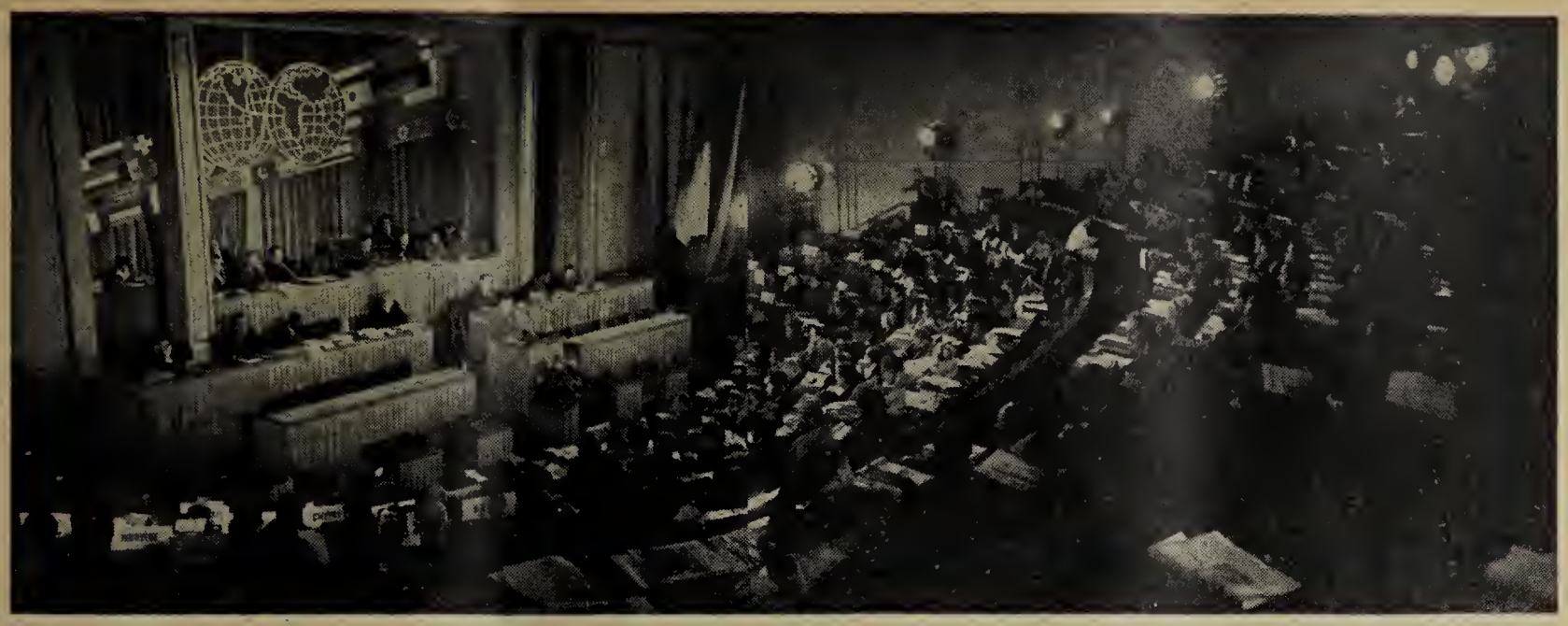
Demand the re-establishment and development of trade relations between the countries of the world, without discrimination.

Obtain the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers. Demand the withdrawal of invading forces from the territory and territorial waters of other lands, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples. By fighting for peace, you are defending your inalienable right to bread and work!

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon you to fight in a united front for your daily interests, for peace, for freedom and democracy, and for national independence!

Long live the indestructible unity of all workers!

BERLIN *November 21st*, 1951.



At the W.F.T.U. General Council Meeting

FORWARD FOR UNITY

TOWARDS FREEDOM

PROSPERITY AND PEACE

By *PEGGY HIGGS*

"TO win the battle for united action means ensuring for all working people a better life, liberty and peace." This stirring declaration of confidence in the strength of the working class was made by representatives of more than 80 million workers, the General Council of the W.F.T.U., when they met in Berlin from November 15 to 21.

The General Council took decisions of vital importance for the future of millions of human beings. They dealt with concrete methods of achieving unity of the workers in the fight to raise their living standards and against the economic and social consequences of war preparations; the strengthening of the struggle for peace; the defence of social security; and a number of other specific questions.

Among the recommendations for achieving united action, trade union organisations were called upon to convene regional industrial conferences to examine the problems of raising living standards; to organise united action committees in factories, provisional committees and trade union co-ordination committees, in order to promote alliances and strengthened co-operation between unions of different viewpoints.

They were advised to fight systematically against manifestation of sectarianism, to give more effective support to the workers' actions, to develop wider demonstrations of international solidarity, and to strengthen aid to the trade union movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In his important report on working class unity, Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the French C.G.T., declared: "We must say to all militants of the W.F.T.U. and to all its supporters throughout the world who are in other organisations, that trade union unity and unity of action are won by a ceaseless and persistent fight in the factories, in the towns, and in the trade unions."

Bui Qui of Viet Nam shakes hands with W.F.T.U. President G. Di Vittorio after presenting him with the banner of his people's glorious struggle for national liberation. In the background, from left to right: Vice-Presidents V. Lombardo Toledano and Alan Le Léap, General Secretary Louis Saillant, and at the far right, Chu Hsueh-fan, All-China Federation of Labour. In the left foreground, H. Warnke, President of the F.D.G.B.; on the right, W.F.T.U. Secretary Sergei Rostovsky, and L Grassi.

New Countries Represented

THIS meeting was living proof of the steadily growing strength of the W.F.T.U., and the fact that it now has roots striking deep into the working masses in countries where a year or two ago the workers had not even heard of the World Federation.

There were 149 delegates and observers from 61 countries present. More countries were directly represented than at any previous session of an executive body of the W.F.T.U. Among those represented for the first time were Japan, Rhodesia, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and British Guiana. The Abadan oil refinery workers of Iran had sent a representative. Observers came from countries where the National Centres are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U.: Finland, Belgium, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

Their viewpoint was expressed by Santiago Alegria, representing the 350,000 strong National Federation of Civil Servants of Chile, which is not affiliated to the World Federation. He declared: "I came because we are convinced that only joint action by all the workers can bring about economic liberation. I came to learn the experiences of the workers of the world in the fight against hunger and repression, and to see what is happening in the countries which have achieved liberation."

Militant trade union leaders of all colours and creeds, of different political tendencies, had gathered in Berlin to tighten the bonds of international working class solidarity, to pool their rich and varied experience, to learn from each other's achievements and mistakes, and to hammer out together new methods of struggle for winning peace, freedom and prosperity.

There was a strong delegation from northern Africa, delegates and observers from 13 Latin-American countries and from the West Indies.

Men whose fighting spirit has been steeled by persecution, jail, and even by torture, met with others who had fought and won the same battle for the workers' rights and who now have great responsibility in shaping the destiny of their peoples: the trade union leaders of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and the Chinese Democratic Republic.

Many delegates from capitalist and colonial countries surmounted great obstacles to reach Berlin. For the first time since the Constituent Conference of the World Federation, a Japanese delegate was able to break through the iron curtain established by MacArthur to isolate the Japanese workers from their brothers in other lands. But S. A. Dange, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and General Secretary of the All-India T.U.C., was refused a passport by the Indian Government.

The Arab T.U.C. of Israel sent a delegate, and two representatives of the Mapam—minority group in the Histadruth national centre—brought fraternal greetings despite threats of disciplinary action and outbursts from right-wing groups in Israel.

The presidents and general secretaries of the Trade Unions Internationals also took part in the meeting.

The Flags Flew Over Berlin

THE workers of Germany demonstrated their pride in the fact that Berlin had been chosen for the meeting. Flags lined the streets leading to the People's Parliament Building of the German Democratic Republic, where the General Council met. They flew above the ruins, and above the new homes rising from the rubble for the people of the new democratic and peaceful Germany.

Over 2,000 messages of greeting were received by the General Council from enterprises of the German Republic, and from the workers of western Germany. At a mass meeting, 8,000 Berlin workers cheered the leaders of the world labour movement.

Delegates saw the stirring meeting of groups of workers from the German Democratic Republic and western Germany, who embraced and pledged to work together for a united Germany at peace with the whole world. The ovation they received was only surpassed by the tremendous welcome given the representatives of Korea and Viet Nam, in the vanguard of their people's struggles for national independence.

Trade Union Democracy in Practice

DISCUSSIONS illustrated the high level of trade union democracy maintained by the W.F.T.U. Many concrete suggestions and some criticisms pointed out the sectors in which the World Federation's work needed strengthening : for example, when Jacques N'Gom (Cameroons) pointed out the need for achieving effective liaison between affiliated unions in Africa; and when John Rojas (Trinidad) asked for closer contact with the W.F.T.U.

Delegates were able to contrast this constructive and honest way of working with the tactics of I.C.F.T.U. leaders, following a speech broadcast on the West-German American network by Ernst Scharnowski, chairman of the West Berlin Trades Council.

While making the usual slanderous statements against the W.F.T.U., he professed willingness to hold discussions with its representatives. Herbert Warnke, President of the Free German Trade Union Federation, speaking on behalf of the General Council, replied by broadcasting a concrete proposal for joint discussion with West German trade union leaders and representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions present in Berlin. He said the discussions should take place in the presence of equal numbers of workers from Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic, with two representatives of each side speaking, and suggested a date and place for a preliminary meeting to discuss the form these talks should take.

"This will give the West German and I.C.F.T.U. leaders a chance to show if they want a meeting on the basis of equality and guaranteed full freedom of speech," Warnke declared.

The "free" trade union leaders neither replied nor turned up at the meeting place, where the W.F.T.U.'s representatives vainly awaited them.

"A Higher Level of Struggle"

LOUIS SAILLANT, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., representing the General Report of Activity, told the General Council : "These last 28 months of international trade union activity have contributed to raising considerably the level of struggle, but have also increased the responsibilities of the W.F.T.U. The present political situation is becoming more and more exacting, and each day that passes demands more work and attention from all our organisations."

Dealing with the peoples' movements for independence, he declared : "Today, as yesterday, the W.F.T.U. reaffirms its unconditional solidarity with all those peoples who, in Asia, the Near and Middle East, in Africa and in Latin America, are resolved to win full independence, complete sovereignty, and the legitimate right to build their future themselves

Shown here are only a few of the 8,000 workers who attended a mass meeting in honour of the General Council, and gave a tremendous ovation to members of the Executive Committee.

in line with their needs, their beliefs, their traditions and their hopes."

The American imperialists were seizing raw materials from under-developed areas and had set up barriers blocking East-West trade, in order to attain their objectives of war preparation. The world trade union movement must do even more in the service of peace than it had been doing.

"Together with all our trade union organisations, we must develop a current of opinion in favour of normal commercial relations. We must give our unconditional support to all efforts undertaken in this direction. We must start from the principle that any new trade agreement between the socialist countries and one or more of the countries of the capitalist world represents a blow against those who prefer armament competition between states, competition involving military strength, to competition based on peaceful and creative work."

Discussing organisational questions, Louis Saillant said it was particularly necessary to draw up a plan of work to assist in rallying and organising millions upon millions of agricultural workers into existing trade unions or new ones which must be created. More must be done to eliminate sectarian or opportunist tendencies, to make a systematic drive for trade union recruitment in the capitalist and colonial countries, to apply a unity policy built on the defence of the workers' interests and the rallying together of all working class forces.

Workers in the strongly bureaucratic organisations of countries like the U.S.A., Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and western Germany, must demand the democratic functioning of their trade unions. More attention must be paid to education, the training of trade union cadres, the role of the workers' press, and information.

Young pioneers of the German Democratic Republic come to the General Council meeting to greet delegates and express their confidence that the international working-class movement will save them from another war. This little girl, symbol of the new peace-loving Germany, makes friends with W.F.T.U. Vice-President Lazaro Peña of Cuba.

Constant Fight Against Sectarianism

IN his report on working class unity, Benoit Frachon pointed out that the right-wing leaders, by splitting the ranks of the W.F.T.U. and of the trade unions in different countries, had assumed a major responsibility for the difficulties assailing the workers of the capitalist countries. The breakaway International and its leaders in their own countries supported the monster war budgets—the reason for the wage freeze—while profits soar, the increasing attacks on social laws, the shortage of homes, schools and hospitals.

But important struggles embracing ever larger sections of the working class had arisen from the defence of wages and other demands.

"To win the workers we must wage a constant fight against sectarianism," Benoit Frachon declared.

In order to eliminate sectarianism it was essential to see the workers as they really are and use language they understand, to help them to expose by their own experience the lies of those leading them astray, and to work incessantly for bringing together the different trade union centres. In criticising the leaders betraying the working class, invective must be replaced by explanation of each act of treachery and its consequences for the workers.

United action could be achieved around a single modest demand. In this case, it was important to win the demand, and in conducting the struggle to use loyally the new forces represented by unity. In this way the workers' awareness of their strength and desire to consolidate their unity would be increased.

Summing up the discussion on his report, Benoit Frachon dealt particularly with Latin America, saying that the delegates from this part of the world had rightly stressed the need for developing and strengthening the trade union movement in the Latin American countries where imperialist agents had divided the working class.

In all countries struggling for national liberation, even when fighting in a common alliance with the national bourgeoisie, the workers must not forget that the bourgeoisie can change sides and join with the capitalist exploiters. The national bourgeoisie can play an important part in the struggle for independence, but the essential part is played by the working class, he declared, quoting the examples of Iran and Egypt.

V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., meets Cheddi Jagan, Vice-President of the T.U.C. of British Guiana.

'Efforts for United Front Must Continue'

HERE are some further points from speeches.

V. V. KUZNETSOV, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.:

"The Soviet delegation considers that the executive bodies of our Federation should continue their persistent efforts to create a united front with all international organisations, including the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in the fight for improving the standard of living of the working people, for peace and democracy.

"The W.F.T.U. and the trade unions affiliated to it must broaden their contact with rank and file members and local trade union organisations of other outlooks as well as with the workers who do not belong to trade unions, and must support their struggle for their essential demands."

He called for trade union organisations to take an active part in preparations for the International Conference on Social Security being prepared by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., and said the W.F.T.U. and affiliated trade unions should do everything in their power to help the sponsoring committee prepare the World Economic Conference to be held next April.

"In summing up the work done in the past two and a half years since the Milan Congress, we would like to note that our Federation has done a great deal to muster the forces of the working class. There can be no doubt that the World Federation of Trade Unions will continue to fight all the more energetically for the interests of the working people, to work for the unity of the working class everywhere and to create an insurmountable barrier across the path of the imperialists who are attacking the vital interests of the workers and the right of the peoples to live in peace and security."

F. SANTI, a militant in the Italian Socialist Party for over 30 years and member of its central leadership, described how in the Italian C.G.I.L., grouping over 5 million workers—Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Catholics and Independents, unity at all

Side by side at the microphone: Ahmed Sulieman, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and Hassan Abd el Rahman, chairman of the Transport Workers' Congress of Egypt. They gave delegates first-hand information about the workers' rôle in the struggle against imperialism.

levels made it a formidable tool in the hands of the Italian workers for the defence of their interests.

"This was made possible by constant vigilance against any form of sectarianism, by complete respect for the opinions of our members, complete freedom of discussion, and absolute discipline in action," he declared.

Giving as an example the united movement of over 1 million civil servants in Italy in September, he said that after the breakaway organisations had refused joint action, the C.G.I.L. civil servants launched a warning strike in three big districts of Italy, and received the total support of the workers of the break-away organisations. The membership of these organisations then forced their leaders to agree to a 24-hour general strike.

While looking on united action as a fundamental factor for success, when unity could not be achieved we must not for this reason renounce action with our own forces and according to our spirit of initiative, Santi declared.

A British worker told delegates : "Only by going to the men on the job can the iron curtain and constitutional barrier which has been erected by the right-wing leadership of the T.U.C. General Council against militant forms of action be torn down."

If the question of the W.F.T.U. were taken to the rank and file in the same way as the wage freeze and Order 1305, the British workers could be mobilised to play their part alongside their brothers in other lands.

An Egyptian taxi-driver, Hassan Abd el Rahman, President of the Transport Workers' Congress of Egypt, was able to give first-hand information on the development of unity in his people's struggle for national independence, led by the working class. The Preparatory Committee for a General Federation of Egyptian Workers already groups 115 trade unions, he declared, and leads the movement for forming a united anti-imperialist front.

"The working class struggle in Egypt and the Sudan will definitely end in the liberation of the Nile Valley from the imperialist yoke, and restore to the peoples of Egypt and the Sudan their sovereignty and natural right to live."

The Fight for Unity in Latin America

THE Latin-American delegation was strong both by its size and by the fact that it was formed on a very widely representative basis. The 18 delegates represented 13 Latin-American countries, and took an active part in the work of the General Council.

V. Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and President of the C.T.A.L., put before the Council certain problems concerning the national front of struggle against imperialism and against the consequences of war economy.

Santiago Alegria brought fraternal greetings from his organisation, the J.U.N.E.Ch. (National Council of Employees of Chile), a united front body which groups 350,000 employees of different categories and which has taken a very active part in the big struggle of the Chilean workers for their demands. Although this organisation is not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., it recognises the correctness of the unity policy applied everywhere by the World Federation in defence of the interests of all the workers.

The delegate from the Argentine, Carlos Sanchez, explained the situation existing in his country under Peron's fascist regime, and described the efforts made by the W.F.T.U.'s supporters, within the government trade unions, in order to bring about united action by all the workers for their demands.

Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary of the United Trade Union Centre which has just been formed in Guatemala, told the General Council about the recent Congress for Trade Union Unity, at which all the workers' and peasants' organisations of the country united. He thanked the W.F.T.U. for the help it had given the trade union movement in his country, in particular during the visit of its General Secretary Louis Saillant, which contributed a great deal to the achievement of workers' unity in Guatemala.

The Secretary of the Workers' Confederation of Brazil, Roberto Morena, described the important strikes which have taken place in his country among the railway and textile workers, bank employees, and agricultural workers, in defence of their economic demands. These actions are being carried out on an increasing scale under the banner of unity in each enterprise. He also gave concrete examples of the work being done in Brazil within the government unions, work based in the first place on the workers' concrete and immediate demands.

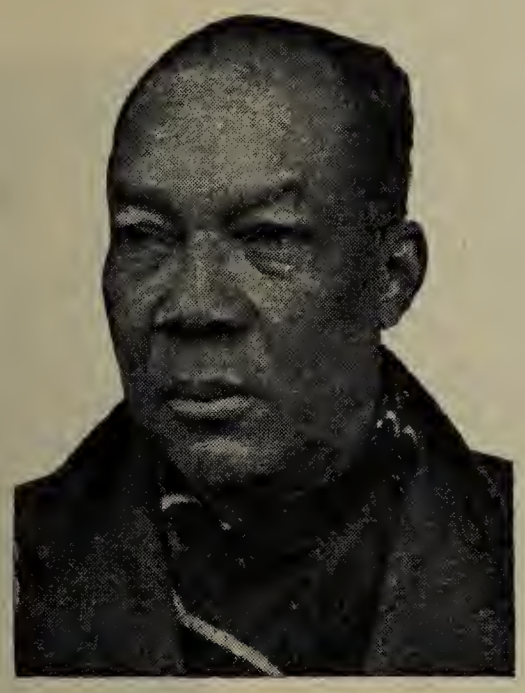
Lazaro Pena, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and of the C.T.A.L., drew a striking picture of the conditions in which Latin-American workers live and struggle. He denounced the policy of imperialism, which is helped by the submission of the ruling classes in certain countries, and their joint manoeuvres to divide the working class movement and crush with violence the workers' struggles for their demands. He analysed the efforts of the W.F.T.U.'s supporters in Latin America to achieve united action and trade union unity, and to combat the war economy and its effects on the standard of living of the working masses, by linking closely the struggle for the workers' immediate demands to the struggle for Peace and for national independence.

From Worker's Overalls to Soldier's Uniform

By FERDINAND C. SMITH

Assistant to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, former National Secretary, National Maritime Union, C.I.O., and Executive Secretary, Greater N.Y. Negro-Labor Council

AS the Truman Administration-Big Business war programme mounts and extends, the workers' resistance intensifies. Despite the pressure of Big Business and of its representatives in the U.S. Government, aided and abetted by the active collaboration of the reactionary labor bureaucrats, the workers' struggles to maintain and advance their economic standards gain in momentum.



More and more the American workers are discovering that only through united action among all sections of the labor movement can they beat off the attacks of their oppressors and prevent their own further impoverishment, as well as the smashing of their organisations.

Recent examples of this growing movement toward trade union solidarity can be seen in the strike of 58,000 members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, supported by 40,000 members of A.F.L. and Railroad Brotherhood unions. Also in the strike of the Marine Engineers of the C.I.O., supported by the West Coast Longshoremen and the Marine Cooks and Stewards unions.

This growing unity of action on the part of the rank-and-file of both the C.I.O., A.F.L., and other unions is given inspiration and leadership by the positive policies pursued by the Left progressive unions. It stands in sharp contract with the wrangling of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. reactionary leaders over political spoils, as to which organisation is getting more from the Truman Administration handouts as a payoff for slavish support of the imperialist war programme drawn up by the "bi-partisan" strategists.

It is this slavish adherence to the Government's war policy, with its consequent deterioration of the workers' living standard, which is forcing the rank-and-file workers to look elsewhere for leadership that is not forthcoming from the present bosses of the two main labor centers.

Another source of strength in the Left progressive camp is the growing unity between organised labor and the Negro people's liberation movement. This movement finds outlet through the Negro-Labor Councils which are rapidly being established in the major industrial urban areas of the country. These Councils have grown from one established in New York, namely, the Harlem Trade Union Council, in April, 1949, to some twenty odd Councils throughout the country, according to the latest report.

So while the organised workers beat back the attack on the economic front, growing masses of the American people, spearheaded by the Negro people's movement, are stirring to stem the tide on the social-political front.

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Negro artist and leader Paul Robeson greets delegates to the convention of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, of which he is an honorary member. In left foreground in dark suit is President Hugh Bryson of M.C.S.

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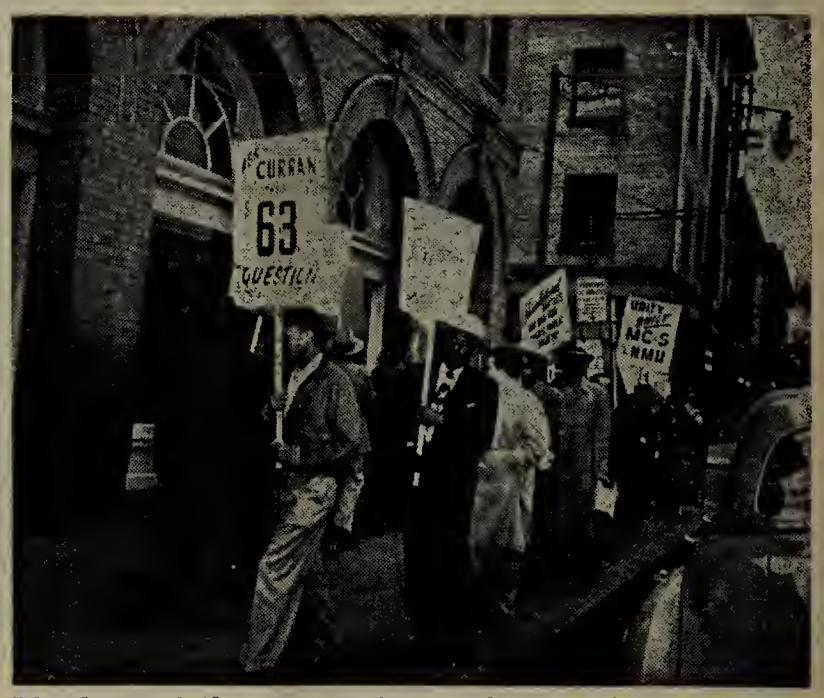

Members of the progressive National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards demonstrating against the programme of raids against their union by the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.), led by Joseph Curran, a stooge for the government's war policies. The N.M.U. raid has been unsuccessful because of M.C.S. solidarity.

The Real Purpose of the Marshall Plan

IN order to grasp fully the meaning of the present situation in the United States of America, it will be necessary to go back to the inception of the Truman Administration, following the death of F. D. Roosevelt.

At the C.I.O. Convention in Boston, Massachusetts, in November 1947, appeared George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State of the U.S.A. This was the first time in the memory of many old timers who were delegates to that Convention, that a Secretary of State ever appeared at a trade union convention. That fact alone should have been enough to warn the honest delegates that his presence there meant no good for laboring men and women.

However, when his speech was delivered, it became quite clear that this assumption was correct. What he said in substance was that American workers should forego their demands for wage increases, better working and living conditions, in order that America might render aid to those nations which had suffered devastation in the last war. Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., in his reply stated that the purpose of the Marshall Plan was to "feed the hungry, clothe the naked and house the shelterless." These were noble words, but were they well meaning? The answer to that question is now history, as we all know.

The following January, at a meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board, Philip Murray presented a program, calling for endorsement and support of the Marshall Plan. I denounced the Plan, stating that it was in no way intended—as Murray had said—to feed the hungry, etc., but that it was a plan aiming to rescue the crude Truman Doctrine which had floundered at its very inception, that it was in fact a war plan, intended to win European workers to the support of the Truman programme of "containing Communism" although dressing it up in the guise of "aid".

I further contended that if its sponsors really intended to aid the nations devastated by the war, why then did they reject the recommendations of the Soviet Union? Why did they kill U.N.R.R.A.? And why did they by-pass the United Nations?

That I, and those other progressive trade unionists who also opposed the Marshall Plan were right, is amply proved by recent statements of many of its own supporters both from the C.I.O. and A.F.L., who testified that it was a plan, not to aid, but further to impoverish the European workers while placing greater burdens on the backs of the American workers. To make the "rich richer and the poor poorer".

Workers Fight Back

THAT it was a war plan is again borne out by an American representative, Mr. Foster, Marshall Plan Administrator, who commented on March 3rd, 1951, that the Marshall Plan *"had changed its workers' overalls for a soldier's uniform"*.

What does this statement of Mr. Foster mean in everyday language? If it means anything at all, it means that the Marshall Plan had conditioned the countries of Western Europe so that the Truman Doctrine could be reimposed upon these countries on a more elaborate scale—the Atlantic Pact.

But all was not clear sailing for the men of Wall Street, who are striving to instigate a third world war. As the promised prosperity failed to materialise, and the fraud of the Marshall Plan became ever more apparent, the workers' resistance to the Government-imposed sacrifices was intensified. Everywhere in the country the workers were resorting to strike action to back their demands for wage increases, shorter working hours, for social benefits, etc. There were demonstrations for a price rollback, for rent control and for general grievances.

It was obvious that the workers had seen through the fraud which the men of Wall Street, using the Truman Administration, had imposed on them, and were fighting back! Everywhere, panic arose in the camp of the warmongers. The cry went out for restrictive legislation. Result: the Taft-Hartley Act. Then the McCarran Act. And now, utilisation of the Smith Act, all intended to crush the militant struggle of the organised workers, before the American people as a whole is aroused to a clear understanding of the war preparations termed "defence" program.

Police brutality against striking workers in the United States is so common as to be almost the expected pattern of events. Here employees of Wall Street's New York Stock Exchange are having their picket line broken by the police.

The Carnegie-Illinois Steel plant in Rankin, Pennsylvania, made idle by a strike of C.I.O. steelworkers for pensions and insurance funds in 1949.

Another group of pickets demanding adequate pensions. This strike involved 89,000 employees of the Chrysler Corporation (automobiles).

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If Peace "Breaks Out" These Boys Are Through

Attack on Maritime Unions to Smash Unity

IN this situation it became quite obvious that all militant leadership must be silenced or else eliminated. The Administration immediately moved to bring this about. The first attack in this new move was levelled at the Maritime Unions. Through the F.B.I., the Immigration Service, the Coast Guard and with the collaboration of the shipowners and of certain union officials, they moved on the N.M.U. as their first target.

The reason for this selection can be readily understood when we consider the state of war preparations and that the N.M.U. was one of the most militant unions in America up to 1948, and that the maritime industry is a most strategic industry in the Administration's war scheme.

In 1946, the maritime workers were preparing for show-downs with the shipowners and negotiating for increased wages, shorter hours, improved working and living conditions. So as to strengthen their position in bargaining with the shipowners, the maritime unions affiliated to the C.I.O. formed what was known then as the Committee for Maritime Unity. Working through this Committee the unions met the shipowners for negotiations during May and June 1946. The shipowners were adamant in their refusal to grant the workers' demands.

The unions thereupon polled their members in a strike vote to back up their demands in the event of the shipowners' continued refusal. It was then that President Truman, fresh from his smashing of the railroad workers' strike which had taken place earlier that year, served notice on the maritime unions that he would use the Navy and Coast Guard to smash the strike. Truman used as an excuse that "the national interest was imperilled."

The maritime unions appealed to the W.F.T.U., and the W.F.T.U. in turn served notice that no American ships not cleared by the C.M.U. would be handled in any port in the world where the W.F.T.U. had representation. Faced with this action of the W.F.T.U., Truman was forced to pull in his horns and at the eleventh hour, just one minute before midnight, the deadline for the strike on June 14th, the shipowners capitulated, agreeing to the seamen's demands. This victory brought the seamen the greatest gains in the history of the maritime industry.

But this big success of the maritime workers which they owed to their unity backed by international solidarity, was too much for Big Business, the ship-

The National Labour Conference for Negro Rights, Chicago, June 14, 1950. A panel discussion on unemployment and job problems of Negroes. This Conference was a forward step in forging Negro-white unity.

owners and the Truman Administration. The C.M.U. simply had to be destroyed. This could not be done from without, and the shipowners therefore concentrated on finding a weapon from within. Curran became that weapon.

Here it should be made known that at the conference which created the C.M.U., Curran had tried his best to prevent the setting up of such an organisation, but had been forced to yield and go along with the majority of the leadership because of the overwhelming pressure from the progressive leaders and the rank-and-file of his own union, the N.M.U. Therefore, when the government and the shipowners needed a tool, Curran was a handy one. He set to work to destroy the C.M.U., claiming that it was acting in defiance of C.I.O.'s policies. With the obstructions engineered and the aid given to Curran by the C.I.O. reactionary bureaucrats, the Committee for Maritime Unity was destroyed.

Persecution of Progressive Leaders Part of War Preparations

CURRAN and I were the representatives of the N.M.U. on the C.M.U. executive body. Carrying out the policy of my own union I fought Curran in his every move to destroy the C.M.U. It is at this point that the persecution of myself, one of the first victims of the Truman Administration's plan for plunging mankind into world war three, began. Curran began to lay the groundwork from then on to get rid of me as the main individual stumbling block in his road towards eventual control of the National Maritime Union. It was not until 1948 that he succeeded.

Following, in January 1948, a meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board wherein I led the fight of the left

Another panel discussion at the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights. In an outdoor arena adjoining the Packinghouse Labour Centre—headquarters of the United Packinghouse Workers (C.I.O.)—Negro and white workers discuss the special problems of Negro workers in the South.

progressive forces against adoption of the Marshall Plan by the C.I.O., I carried this fight into my own union, the National Maritime Union, where I had powerful support from the majority of the leadership, and also from the vast majority of the members. This fact was known to Curran and his few stooges in the N.M.U., and it was also known to the government. The National Council of the N.M.U. was to meet on February 16th, to act on the question of the Marshall Plan. It was a foregone conclusion that the Council would reject the C.I.O. recommendation.

Curran needed help if he was to aid his masters, and the government came to his rescue. As I left my home at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 16th for the Council meeting, I was arrested by F.B.I. and Immigration agents, charged with "being a member of an organisation that advocated the violent overthrow of the government!"

The Council could not act on the question before it, because the Constitution provided that before the Council can convene, one of the three following officers must be present: National President, National Secretary or National Treasurer. Curran and Stone, President and Treasurer respectively, the real conspirators, refused to convene the Council and I was in jail.

I was released from Ellis Island only after I and four others had engaged in a hunger strike which lasted for five and a half days.

This persecution of myself by the government continued. My second arrest was in June 1949 after I had organised and led a picket line of some 12,000 workers around the clock at the office of "King" Joe Ryan, President of the Eastern and Gulf Coast Longshoremen, who had been endeavouring to lift the Charter from one of its progressive locals, namely No. 968, the leadership and the majority of whose membership were Negroes. The success of this picket line forced "King Joe" to discontinue his pressure on this local. However, the government came once more to his rescue and I was again returned to Ellis Island.

I was released after 37 days by posting a bail which the government had raised from 3,500 to 10,000 dollars. My third arrest followed my leading of a delegation to Washington in the fight to bring about the release of Lieutenant Gilbert, the Negro officer who was sentenced to death in Korea for refusing to lead his men into their suicidal assignment. While I was in the Pentagon pleading with the Judge Advocate General for the life of Lieutenant Gilbert, F.B.I. and Immigration agents were hunting me all over New York. Upon my return to New York I surrendered to the authorities.

My fourth arrest was on August 2nd of this year when the government cancelled Civil Rights Congress bail bonds claiming that it was "tainted money." I was finally released and "given permission to deport myself" from the U.S.

The attack on the maritime unions had only marked the beginning. Soon the attack on the workers' rights moved into other unions and industries, resulting in the C.I.O. expelling ten of the most militant unions for, it was charged: "Slavishly following the Communist Party line". Imagine the effrontery of the reactionary officials of the C.I.O.—who were themselves "slavishly" carrying out the orders and the program of criminal war planners, expelling honest progressive leaders for the "crime" of defending the workers' genuine interests!

Labour Unity—"The job that must be done"

AS we have stated previously, the growing unity of action on the part of the organised workers on the one hand and labor and the Negro people on the other, has created consternation in the camp of the warmongers. Recent moves by John L. Lewis, which are in themselves highly significant, point clearly to a positive picture of the growing might of the camp of progress.

Lewis recently spoke at the tenth anniversary celebration of the Ford Local 600, U.A.W., in Detroit, Michigan. He urged the workers to intensify their struggle for labor unity and appealed to the labor movement to set up a fighting fund so as to be better able to withstand and beat back the attacks of Big Business. He further suggested that each International Union make a contribution of one million dollars to this fund, stating that the Miner's Union would for its part guarantee a contribution of ten million dollars.

This plea for unity on the part of John L. Lewis was rejected by the miserable creatures in the top leadership of the C.I.O. However, it was not lost on the rank-and-file of the C.I.O. and the other centres of labor, nor was it lost on the leadership and the rank and file of the left progressive-led unions, because this was in line with their own stated policies.

This appeal of Lewis was continued in the Labor Day message addressed to the labor movement by the Vice-President of the United Mine Workers, Thomas Kennedy, who said: ". . . Once again, as they have done so many times before, the United Mine Workers of America urge upon the leaders of the labor movement the necessity for prompt and constructive action to weld together all labor into a single, powerful force for militant leadership on behalf of the economic, social and political interests of the rank and file.

"This is the No. 1 job of American labor today. *It is the job that must be done.* It is the job that can bring order and strength out of the confusion

and weakness that is so evident in our trade union movement today . . .

"Labor unity can bring an end to the creeping paralysis of bureaucratic control over the daily lives of wage earners caused by such devices as the Taft-Hartley slave law."

Now John L. Lewis is too well-known as an opportunist and a demagogue for his words to be taken at face value. Progressive American workers cannot easily forget that he has associated his United Mine Workers' Union—alongside the reactionary leaders of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O.—in the International Confederation of so-called "Free" Trade Unions. Yet it is none the less a fact that at the same time he has been denouncing those same reactionary bureaucrats for their subservience to the Truman-Big Business war program.

And, most of all, Lewis' move in making this solemn call for labour unity should be seen in the broader perspective of an obviously mounting desire for this labour unity among the rank-and-file. Shrewd as he is, Lewis was quick to realise that American workers are deeply discontented and very much worried by the drive to war and the present state of things in the United States; and that the more clear-sighted workers—whether in the C.I.O. or the A.F.L. —are beginning to see in their own unity the only way out of their present plight.

This is the real meaning of John L. Lewis' sensational call for labour unity : he acted quickly to place himself at the head of a movement which he shrewdly estimates as a great potential force, not yet developed nor even fully articulate, but which may well become a formidable upsurge in a not distant future.

Another feature to be pointed out in this growing unity of the labor movement in the U.S. is the setting up of united Labor Action Committees by the left progressive unions in the major industrial urban centers of the country. These Committees, together with the Negro-Labor Councils previously mentioned, form a solid front of progress linking the organised labor movement with the Negro people's struggle for full equality, against brutality and oppression. To strengthen the rôle of these local Negro-Labor Councils, the historic National Negro Labor Conference, held in Chicago on June 10 and 11, 1950, set up a National Continuation Committee to bring about the creation of additional Councils throughout the country and the eventual merging of these local Councils into a national organisation to be known as the National Negro Labor Council.

This Committee called a Convention, which was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on October 27 and 28 of this year, in order to forge the organic links of such a nation-wide organisation. This Convention established a National Negro Labor Council. Tie this movement of the organised workers and the Negro peoples' movement together with the peace movement throughout the country and you have the answer to the stepped-up pressure of the war camp to hasten the preparation for war. Big business is cornered in its reckless drive towards world domination.

This accounts for the abandonment of all pretence; the people are daily seeing through the fraud that has been imposed on them by the Truman Administration carrying out the dictates of Wall Street. Having discovered this fraud, the people are fighting back. The issues are becoming clearer; and an understanding people is bound to impose its will in the end.

IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

THE WORKING-CLASS LEADS THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

by AHMED TAHA AHMED

General Secretary of the Preparatory Committee for an Egyptian Trade Union Confederation.

THE grave events at present taking place in Egypt and the Sudan mark an important step in the fight of the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples against the domination of Anglo-American imperialism. Further, following close on the Iranian people's great victory over British finance capital and the American "mediators," and set into the background of the general struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples *against* the looting of their countries by the imperialist forces, and *for* their national independence, these events constitute a new tidal wave breaking against world imperialism as a whole.

THE MID-OCTOBER EVENTS

FIRST here are the facts: on October 9th of this year, the Government placed a Bill before Parliament denouncing the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty of "Alliance" as well as the 1899 Convention on the Anglo-Egyptian condominium for "joint" power over the Sudan, agreements which established, in fact, a British stranglehold on both countries.

Four days later, the U.S.A., Britain, France and Turkey proposed that Egypt come into the Middle East "defence" plan, in other words, Egypt's integration into the "Atlantic" military system for the Near and Middle East, the details of which were then being drawn up by the American General Omar Bradley with his British, French and Turkish partners. According to this "plan," Egypt had to place at the disposal of a "Middle East Command" its ports, aerodromes, and means of communication both in the Suez Canal Zone and elsewhere, not only in wartime but even in peacetime. To replace British troops by still more numerous "Atlantic" troops, to hand Egypt over to the strait-jacket of the Anglo-American policy of aggression—that was the meaning of the proposal made to the Egyptian Government.

On October 15th the Government announced in Parliament its rejection of this proposal and during the same day, Parliament voted unanimously for the Government's Bill denouncing the Anglo-Egyptian agreements of 1899 and 1936.

These two acts are important not only because they deal a blow to Anglo-American imperialism, but even more, because they represent the will to independence already expressed in a challenging way by the Egyptian people who forced their Government's hand and who are the solid force behind it.

The denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian agreements and the rejection of the "Atlantic" proposal are certainly not due to some inexplicable somersault in the customary "behind - the - scenes" diplomacy, awakened to a sudden spirit of "governmental patriotism." Despite the tremendous popular movement which preceded October 15th and which is continuing to develop both in Egypt and the Sudan, the reactionary press of the U.S.A., Britain and other Marshallised countries made a stupid attempt to explain the event as a government impulse followed by some demonstrations of "fanaticism" and "xenophobia."

If the Government abandoned its traditional policy of negotiation and arrived at a pure and simple denunciation of the treaties—it was forced to do so. The people, who had too often seen negotiations being taken under pressure of the people, and at once being subverted by the government's fear of the people, finally imposed unequivocal action upon the government.

The Egyptian people's fight against imperialism and for national independence is part of the general struggle of all colonial and dependent peoples which is maturing within the contradictions of the impe-

In the rich Nile Valley the peasants live in mud huts.

rialist system and which is constantly improving its organisation as a result of experiences gained in the struggle. This is its inexorable power.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE

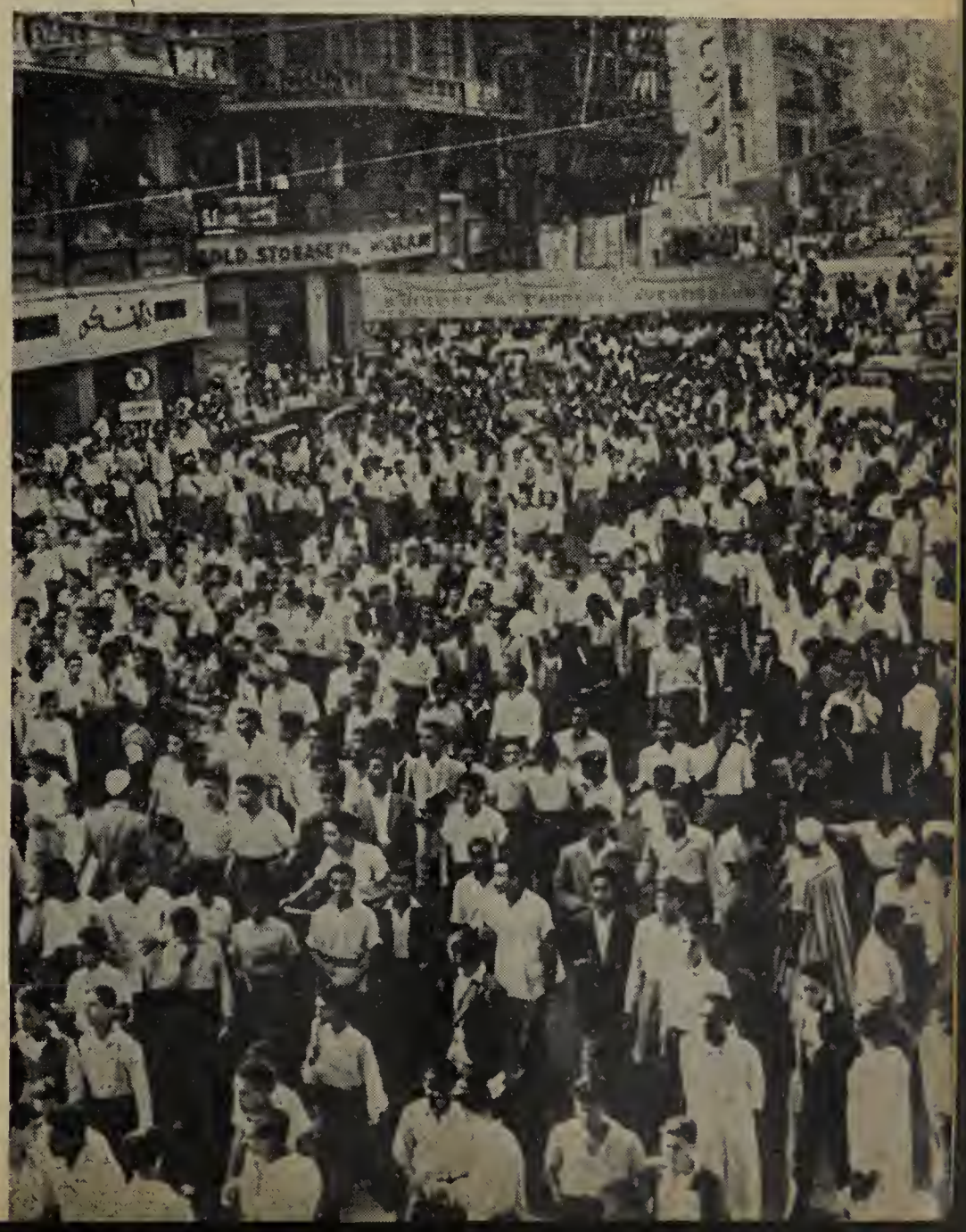
GREAT BRITAIN'S domination of Egypt and the Sudan dates from the second half of the last century. The benefits of colonisation were brought to these countries on the point of bayonets, under the protection of battleships and guns. And what benefits! Examine them yourselves.

Organised to meet the needs of a foreign country, the economy of Egypt is typical of all countries under the heel of a colonial power.* Industrial development is impeded. The agricultural wealth produced cheaply by labour subjected to a vicious exploitation, profits only a handful of big landed proprietors and British and Egyptian finance.

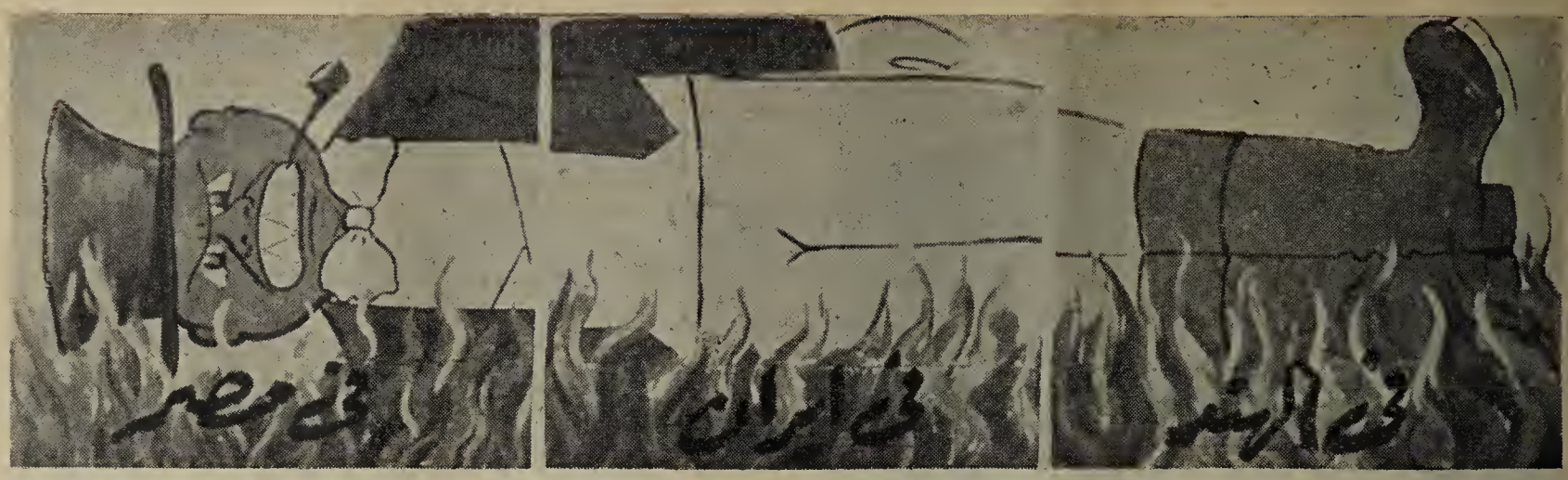
Out of some 20 million inhabitants in the country, about 14½ million live by agriculture. The fabulous fertility of the Nile valley and its delta, due to the regular flooding of the Nile, is well known as a source of immense wealth. Yet the living conditions of the Egyptian *fellahin* or peasants, are appalling. Their homes are mud huts serving as shelter for man and beast. Their possessions consist of straw mattresses, a few blankets, some poor kitchen utensils, a goat or a sheep, some fowl and perhaps a young buffalo. Three out of four persons are attacked by bilharzia, a grave disease caused by an intestinal parasite, nine out of ten by opthalmia, not to mention syphilis, tuberculosis, malaria, and a terrifying general and infant mortality. Eighty per cent. of Egyptian adults are illiterate and it is evident that the greatest number of them live in the countryside.

As in most colonial and semi-colonial countries, the concentration of land in the the hands of an insignificant minority of companies and big landowners, native or foreign, is pushed to the extreme. Twenty-five hundred great landowners own 25% of the cultivated land. One half per cent. of all the landowners own almost 37% of the land, while 95% possess altogether only 34%. British occupation favoured this process of concentration. From 1896 to 1944, the average area belonging to the small holders was halved, and hundreds of thousands of peasants became landless agricultural labourers, receiving starvation wages or migrating to the towns.

Huge mass demonstrations took place in Cairo on October 9 and 10, demanding the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaties and protesting against Egypt joining the so-called plan for Middle East "Defence."



* *See Egyptian Workers Pay Heavy Tribute to Imperialist Pharaohs,* in *World Trade Union Movement* No. 14 (5 Dec. 1950).



An Egyptian cartoon showing the British Empire broken by the national independence movements in India, Egypt and Iran.

This concentration of land by means of a colonial regime is accompanied by archaic methods of production and an exploitation of labour worthy of the age of the Pharaohs. There is absolutely no mechanisation of labour. In fact, the draught animal itself is often replaced by human labour.

Although the peasants live in such abysmal poverty, victims of malnutrition and disease, 20 per cent. of the land is still cultivated by colonists, principally to feed the British textile industry without benefiting the native population in the slightest degree, but, on the other hand, ensuring fantastic profits to speculators. Since the construction of dams (destined mainly to enable the cultivation of cotton on a large scale, and not to help the peasants) it is possible to obtain as many as three crops a year.

As for industry, apart from a little oil extraction and a few mines, it is largely a manufacturing industry. The most important branch is the textile industry which includes ginning the cotton, spinning and weaving; jute weaving (manufacture of sacks for the packing of export cotton); and rayon weaving, the raw material being imported. Besides textile manufacture, there is the manufacture of fertilisers (for the cotton plantations, it goes without saying), tobacco, food products (sugar, beer, conserves, etc.), soap, cement and others.

During the years preceding the second World War, local industry developed to a certain extent, taking still further strides during the war itself, Britain having at that time reduced the amount of goods she normally forced Egypt to buy. But at the cessation of hostilities a great many Egyptian enterprises, too weak to withstand foreign competition, had to close down, throwing innumerable workers into the street, in addition to the agricultural workers fleeing from the countryside.

All together the number of non-agricultural workers has grown considerably in the last fifteen years. Although complete statistics are still unavailable, we can estimate that there are almost 2,000,000 workers employed in large and small industry, transport, the ports, the canal zone installations, civil service, etc. They form the solid basis of the national and anti-imperialist struggle.

Strongly concentrated, as in other colonial and semi-colonial countries, industry has created the most inhuman living conditions for the workers. In 1950, the monthly wage of an industrial worker was 2½ Egyptian pounds (about 2,500 francs). Fifteen per cent. of the workers worked more than 80 hours per week, 40% more than 70 hours. The most scandalous practice is the extensive use of child labour. In 1946 one in ten of those employed was a child.

In the over-populated cities where nothing has been done to improve housing conditions, the workers are forced by their extreme poverty to combine for the purpose of renting a room that is scarcely habitable. A "room" is occupied by night and day in "shifts" comprising as many as twenty persons.

In these conditions of utmost poverty resulting from seventy years of British occupation, the Egyptian people's fight on the economic front is becoming more and more the firm foundation of the fight for national independence.

"The Mediterranean Military Pact menaces the Egyptian people." (Poster by the Artists' Peace Committee.)

The R.A.F. flies above ships which pass through the Suez Canal.

British troops bar the streets in Ismailia in the Suez Canal Zone.

EGYPT, THE SUDAN, AND ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

THE meaning of imperialism—first British imperialism alone, and now British and American imperialism together—is well understood by the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples in terms of their poverty.

The interests which British capital defends in the Nile Valley are manifold and very complex in character. They are, first of all, direct economic interests, i.e., the immense wealth they appropriate in the country itself, produced by a rich land and developed by oppressed labour.

British investments are valued at 400 million pounds, which is equivalent to almost as many thousand million francs. The City of London controls the whole banking system, including the *National Bank of Egypt*. By "freezing" Egyptian credits, in other words, by refusing quite simply to pay their debts (322 million pounds in October 1950 amounting to almost the entire British investments in Egypt), British bankers, with characteristic blackmail, prevent this country from breaking with the sterling bloc and force it to remain at once supplier and client of Great Britain, with the greatest profit to the latter.

The City of London also dominates the insurance companies (National Insurance of Egypt), the land credit bank (Egyptian-Delta Land and Investment Company), transport, oil resources (Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, subsidiary to Royal Dutch), etc.

But it is not only the "direct development" which makes Egypt of capital importance to the British. Head of the Cairo-Cape railway line, point of departure for the routes leading to the Belgian Congo, the Cameroons, French West Africa, situated therefore at the strategic crossroads of Africa and on the sea route both to the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean by way of the Suez Canal, Egypt is the king-pin in the structure of the British Empire.

In order to appropriate the wealth of Asia, Great Britain must control the Suez Canal and consequently Egypt. It is not sufficient to consider the Suez Canal only from the standpoint of the prodigious dividends accruing to the shareholders. (The Suez Canal Company levies a charge of 8 shillings per ton on merchandise and per passenger. From 1870 to 1930 the canal, whose construction cost 400 million gold francs—and the lives of 20,000 workers killed while working on it—made a profit of 3½ thousand million gold francs, the lion's share of which fell to the British Treasury.) We must also note that the largest part of the merchandise transported, is en route from the south to the north and is composed chiefly of raw materials. (According to the French Bulletin *Les Services Economiques et Financiers*, 60½ million tons passed through the canal in 1950 in this south to north direction and only 12.1 million in the opposite direction.) When one remembers, besides, that the Suez route shortens the Bombay-London voyage by 24 days in relation to the route round the south of Africa, it is not difficult to understand the importance of the canal to the machine for pumping the colonial wealth of Asia.

To all that must be added the place the canal and the African strategic land routes occupy in the war preparations of the West. It is sufficient to point out that in 1950, 47½ million tons of oil—a strategic raw material of the first order—coming from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran were sent through the canal, representing more than 70% of the south to north traffic.

But today Egypt is much more than the king-pin of the British Empire alone. Great Britain, having become merely a partner in the Western aggressive coalition, finds herself disputing with the United States, leader of the coalition, for the domination which it has previously exercised alone. The importance of Egypt, as well as that of its sister-country in the Nile Valley, Sudan, must be seen in relation to the Atlantic coalition, and not exclusively in relation to the British Empire.

The points which the United States has succeeded in scoring are far from negligible. On May 5, 1951, the Egyptian Government signed an agreement on the application to Egypt of the "Programme of aid for under-developed countries," also known as Point

Four. This agreement allows the United States to bring into Egypt experts and technicians needed for the drawing up of plans "for the exploitation of the country's resources" and obliges Egypt to co-operate with the United States "with the aim of developing the resources and the economic capacity of the country."

With regard to Point Four, American imperialism's Trojan horse, the U.S.A. has, on the one hand. established a close collaboration with the feudal land-owning minority, vicious enemy of any progressive movement, and on the other, given first place to their plans for the construction of roads and airports, as well as the equipping of the ports.

These projects with their strategic importance reveal, if that were still necessary, the real significance of the "aid programme" and its application to Egypt as an attempt to incorporate Egypt into the Atlantic bloc and to make it a springboard for aggression.

This attempt lends to the events now taking place in Egypt and the Sudan a particular importance in the general fight of the peoples against the imperialist war plans.

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE and WELL-BEING IN EGYPT

LONG and sorrowful experience acquired in the course of seventy years of foreign occupation has matured the people's movement and especially the working class movement in Egypt and the Sudan. Ceaselessly, from negotiation to negotiation, from agreement to agreement, Great Britain has duped the peoples of these countries, modifying the methods of her domination but never abolishing the domination itself. The treaty of 1936 proclaimed Egypt's independence. Fine independence indeed, which placed at Britain's service all aerodromes and lines of communication, which forbade Egypt to conclude treaties with other countries without Britain's authorisation, which placed the Egyptian army under British control, and which authorised the British occupation of the canal zone with 10,000 troops, a number which under present conditions has risen to about 150,000 officers and men in the canal zone. Not one of the promises made to the Egyptian people during the two world wars has been kept.

At the same time the exploited masses learned to feel the government hatred of the people behind the acts of successive governments and the government's fear of remaining alone, face to face with a people conscious of its rights. This meant a facade of pseudo-negotiations with the occupying power, demagogic use of fascist movements, and finally, a vicious repression of the whole authentically progressive movement.

Apart from a law passed in 1909 concerning the work of women and children in cotton ginning, no protective legislation for the Egyptian workers was passed until 1935-1936.

In 1903, after two strikes, the first trade union in Egypt was created—that of the Tobacco Workers. In 1909 there followed the formation of a tram workers' union in Cairo, as well as an attempt to set up a trade union centre extending to several large towns. The transport and tobacco workers and small craftsmen took part in this attempt.

1910 : the first nation-wide strike of railwaymen to achieve their demands assumed a political aspect due to the fact that the administration of the railways was in the hands of the British.

☆

Here is one of the large anti-British demonstrations which preceded the formation of the present Wafdist government which, under popular pressure, denounced the Anglo-Egyptian treaties.

☆

After the first World War during which the Egyptian working class considerably increased, the working class movement developed tremendously. The trade unions, dissolved during the war, were set up again although martial law was maintained and there was a great deal of bloodshed. Popular pressure continued to grow in strength and the fight against the British became so powerful that in 1922, the British Protectorate was abolished and the country granted a Constitution.

However, the workers soon became aware that the new semi-independence was hardly worth more than the former dependence. The economic and social demands for which they had fought and sacrificed so many lives were not satisfied, despite promises. A three-day general stay-in strike was drowned in blood. The young Communist Party was outlawed, the trade union centre was dissolved and the prisons were filled.

There followed a long period of struggles which grew in intensity; a period in which successive governments, acting in concert with the British, used every imaginable means to break the struggle. The Constitution was suspended, and then replaced by a reactionary one. A prince named Abass Halim and other demagogues were charged with the formation of "trade unions" in order to divide the movement. Mass arrests and tommy-guns were expected to bring the workers to reason.

But the workers grew stronger. Strikes took place throughout the country, despite the measures taken by the government and the British. A Trade Union Federation was created, which affiliated to several international organisations, and the contacts with working class organisations of other lands increased during 1930 and 1931. Then an important victory was gained in 1935-36, when the government was forced to pass laws on working conditions for women and children, on the hours of work and on work accidents.

In 1935, following important strikes, the 1923 Constitution was re-established, new elections took place, and the new Wafdist Government entered into negotiations with Great Britain, which resulted, in 1936, in the treaty of "friendship and alliance" mentioned above.

However, this apparent transformation in the form of British domination was no sooner in operation than the Egyptian Government had no other preoccupation than to divide and repress the working class movement and to rob it of the fruits of its struggle. This lesson will not be lost on the workers.

After the second World War there began a new stage in the development of the Egyptian working class movement. During the war industrial production had grown considerably, the working class had grown conscious of its strength, and new cadres, authentic representatives of the workers, began to be formed. The victory of the U.S.S.R. had revealed the might of democratic socialism. From that time the working class began to place itself as a leading force at the head of the anti-imperialist front. The textile workers, representing the most active and the most conscious section, carried on a vigorous struggle

The sign of the Preparatory Committee for the formation of a Trade Union Confederation, in this large mass demonstration, reads: "Unity of the workers, unity of the people."

against the closing down of industry and the unemployment which came after the war.

Several inter-trade union nuclei were formed, in spite of the law forbidding trade unions to combine. At the end of 1946 workers and students, united in the National Committee of Workers and Students, took part in great demonstrations which prevented the government from carrying out the deals to which it had committed itself with the British Government. At the same time, Egyptian workers and Sudanese delegates representing all parties formed indissoluble links between the progressive movements of Egypt and the Sudan. Nevertheless, the attempt by the workers to form an Egyptian Trade Union Centre in 1946 was forcibly smashed.

From 1946 to 1948 there was a further extension of the struggles. Twenty-six thousand textile workers went on strike under the threat of Sherman tanks. The workers tried to prevent the closing down of textile factories, and a great movement of solidarity was established between strikers from different enterprises. Their new attempt to form a National Textile Workers' Federation was based on that solidarity built in action.

The war against Israel which began in May 1948 was accompanied by a new outbreak of repression. Martial law was applied to imprison militant trade unionists in prisons and concentration camps. But the working class movement developed an even greater spirit of struggle and formed close contact with the students and other sections of the population. The elections of 1950 brought the Wafd to power, and the government was forced by public pressure

to release the political prisoners, to abolish martial law and to grant a cost of living bonus.

The fight is still growing, with clearer economic and social objectives. The workers do not intend to bear the burden of the economic crisis, they are opposed to speed-up, to sackings, to the replacing of old workers by labourers coming from the country who are paid at lower rates. They are opposed to the reactionary press law and to the suppression of democratic and trade union rights.

Trade unions are being organised. A Federation of Transport Workers has been formed which, together with the Textile Workers, is propagating the idea of the formation of a General Confederation. A Preparatory Committee was set up in 1951, which now represents about 115 trade unions, including textile workers, transport workers, dockers, seamen, building, post office and petrol workers and employees of the Canal Company. The influence of this Preparatory Committee is growing continually, and it has taken a considerable part in recent political events. It has called for the creation of a united anti-imperialist front which would include representatives of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and of different political and religious groups, the only guarantee of the continuation of the success of the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is noteworthy also that the campaign is developing together with a movement for economic demands. For example, in Sahel Selim (Upper Egypt), where 5 landowners held 22,000 hectares while the 24,000 inhabitants shared between them only 1,000 hectares, the agricultural workers carried on a fight through their elected committees and succeeded in winning an increase in wages from 8 piastres to 20 piastres.

AND IN THE SUDAN

THE movement of the vigorous young Sudanese proletariat is also of extreme importance in the fight against Anglo-American imperialism.

The number of workers employed in transport and in the British services increased considerably during the war. A powerful movement of workers, students and peasants grew up during 1946. A Railwaymen's Association has been formed, which is fighting for unity between the Sudanese and Egyptian workers in their common struggle against imperialism. Important demonstrations have taken place under its leadership demanding progressive labour legislation. The government, however, refuses to grant the workers the right to form trade unions. At the call of the Association, railwaymen unanimously went on strike. The government replied by arresting the General Secretary and other leading members of the Association.

The reaction of the mass of the people was such that the imperialist government was forced to give way for the first time, and the Transport Workers' Federation was constituted at the end of 1947.

This militant Federation has organised more than twenty strikes since its formation; strikes in which all the railwaymen took part, and which lasted from one to seven days. It has succeeded in winning an eight-hour day, a 50% increase in wages, a cost of living bonus and labour legislation which is quite good compared with general conditions in Africa.

Other trade unions were then set up, including taxi drivers, building, petrol and textile workers, as well as organisations of students and intellectuals and elected peasant committees, all of which carried on a struggle, sometimes armed, against the imperialist measures of the government.

In 1949, after bitter struggles, the General Confederation of Sudanese Workers was formed. Strikes continued to spread, aided by the students. The government was frightened by this wave of strikes and by the growth of the peace movement. At the beginning of 1951, a law was passed authorising the Governor-General to proclaim a state of emergency. The National Peace Committee was banned.

But far from being suppressed, the strike wave grew until it included even the local police. "Down with the government of hunger, ignorance and poverty" became the general slogan, including that of the Sudanese Youth Congress and the Sudanese Student Congress, both of which worked under conditions of illegality.

Today, in spite of the government's efforts to divide the Sudanese working class, the trade union movement remains united, full of fighting spirit and fervently attached to the common cause of the anti-imperialist struggle which links together the Sudanese and Egyptian peoples.

THE FIGHT CONTINUES

SINCE the Egyptian Government was forced by the mass of the people to denounce the 1899 and 1936 agreements, the British occupying authorities have increased their provocations. There has been a great deal of bloodshed. Egyptians living in the canal zone are not allowed to leave it. Under threat of bayonets the British are trying to force them to work and are confining them to camps.

In reply the Preparatory Committee of trade union unity has called on the Egyptian people to boycott British, American and French goods. Dockers and workers in the canal zone refuse to handle war material, wireless workers to transmit military telegrams. The people keep coming out on the streets to let the occupying power know that this time they intend to wrest complete victory. The imperialist provocations are receiving a determined reply from the people.

From now on the Egyptian and Sudanese working class will be found in the lead of the national liberation movement. By achieving a great unity of action with other classes and sections of the population who are also victims of Anglo-American imperialism, they will be able to lead the peoples of these countries to victory.

Hungarian Workers' Families— Yesterday and Today

By
MAGDA SOOS

IN the capitalist countries of the West, the aspirations of the workers are crystallised, exactly as they were in the Hungary of scarcely ten years ago, in this phrase, characterising a whole epoch, a whole social system: "To live without fear."

Yes, to live without fear. It is the wish of the French miner, who vegetates during the long months of unemployment with his starving family. It is the wish of the worker in West German heavy industry, who can only find work because the American occupying force imposes full scale manufacture of war material for the purpose of unleashing a new war. It is the wish of the dockers in the ports of the West, North Africa and others besides, who refuse to handle war goods. To live without fear. It is the wish of hundreds of millions of workers in the capitalist countries where prison lies in wait for those who dare to stand up for the defence of peace and freedom.

Until their liberation, the Hungarian working people too, had this desire to live without fear. But from liberation the very traces of everything which formerly inspired us with fear, have disappeared: unemployment, poverty, and the persecution of those who fight for progress, for the overthrow of the capitalist regime and for the conquest of power by the working class.

A completely new feeling now inspires our working people with growing exaltation; it is the feeling of a great new future opening out for us.

We are certain, not only of work and bread, but of having things of which we would not have dared to dream in the past, fine new clothes, new shoes, books, theatres, universal education, paid holidays, rest homes. Even more, however, is the certainty that in building socialism, we are marching towards a future of constantly increasing prosperity—such is the new confidence now predominant in the workers' spirit and outlook.

The personal plans that each one makes, the plans of individuals for work, study, or leisure, family plans, all merge into the gigantic plan for the building of the country. They are the little wheels within the big wheels. All that is infinitely remote from the anxiety expressed in the phrase: "To live without fear". Life has already come to mean much more for us than merely freedom from fear. Life now holds the promise of a great future both for the workers and for everyone else in this society.

In his speech of April 19th, 1949, Matyas Rakosi, General Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, speaking of our Five Year Plan which had just been launched, declared:

"To know what all that signifies in terms of figures, it will perhaps suffice to say, that in the course of the next five years we will manufacture a million bicycles, 85,000 motorcycles, 120,000 sewing machines, 500,000 wireless sets, 200,000 bathtubs. New industrial cities and new districts will spring up everywhere in the country; dozens of large new factories will

In the old Hungary most of the industrial and agricultural workers lived in wretched lodgings. Small hamlets only 20 kilometres from Budapest were without water systems or electricity.

The workers of to-day, builders of socialism, have not forgotten their childhood of poverty in Horthy's Hungary.

be erected. Our provincial agricultural centres will be transformed into industrial cities and the social composition of our population will also change, because for the execution of these plans, we shall require 300,000 new industrial workers."

The results obtained in the first year were so magnificent that it was possible to enlarge the plan, and it is not 300,000 workers which the country needs, but from 600,000 to 650,000, to be able to cope with the tasks which confront us.

This is, therefore, the future to which our working people can look forward. It is quite natural to see the individual life of workers follow the same upward curve as the general economy of the country.

Present Living Standards Compared With Old

FEW countries have started from as low a level as Hungary. The poverty and suffering which existed there before the liberation fell mainly on the working class. The masters of the Hungary of former days were not very interested in this poverty, and the statistics they published were designed to hide the truth, not to reveal it.

However, even the reactionary statistics were obliged to state that in 1928-29, a working class family spent 71.4 per cent. of its income on food, lodging, heat and light. What could one do with the 28.6 per cent. which remained? Where was the money to come from for clothes, not to mention health, cultural needs and leisure?

In 1951, a working class family only spends 55 per cent. of its income on food, lodging, heat and light. The remainder —nearly half—enables them to live a life of dignity: to live in a comfortable home, to dress decently, to attend the cinema and the theatre, and to buy

books. These two percentages are eloquent. They indicate the difference existing between the life of a Hungarian worker today and the "possibilities" open to the worker under the reactionary regime of yesterday.

But how long was the worker forced to drudge to obtain these "possibilities"? To buy a kilo of bread, for example, in 1938 he had to work 20 per cent. longer (expressed in hours) than today, for a suit 50.2 per cent., for a pair of women's shoes 51.8 per cent., for a packet of cigarettes 108.8 per cent., for a cinema ticket 298.5 per cent., for a weekly ticket on the tram 297.8 per cent., and for a book 293.5 per cent., without taking into account that at the present time he works under incomparably better conditions.

The increase in the consumption of basic commodities shows clearly the enormous rise in the ordinary worker's standard of life, as against that of 1938. Thus a worker's consumption of sugar has gone up by 45 per cent., that of bread cereals 30 per cent., of beer 161.6 per cent.

Great strides have been made in the sphere of public health and culture. The number of hospital beds is 15 per cent. greater than in 1938. The number of pupils in secondary schools surpasses by 83.3 per cent. that of the last pre-war year. The number of students in the universities and higher schools has almost tripled in relation to 1938. Of these students 46.3 per cent. are of working class origin and 19.4 per cent. of peasant origin (against, respectively, 2.7 per cent. and 0.8 per cent. in 1938-39).

The number of copies of books and pamphlets published rose from 7.8 millions in 1938, to 30.2 millions during the first half of 1950. In relation to 1937, the number of radio licences increased by 50 per cent.

When the currency could be stabilised under the people's democracy, one forint, the new monetary unit, was worth 400,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 pengos. People got rid of the old banknotes by throwing them into the street.

It is extremely important for us to establish statistics based on the life and conditions of the workers. The National Bureau of Statistics uses for this purpose the housekeeping expense books methodically gathered from some 1,500 working class families. These housekeeping expense books are a valuable guide to the present-day life of a working-class family in the Hungarian People's Democracy.

We have in front of us a whole pile of these housekeeping expense books. Let us choose one at random. It belongs to a building worker's wife. We open it. The entries are dated August 17th :

Bread	.....	1.60 forints
Butter	.....	3.—
Meat	.....	4.—
Sausage	.....	4.50
Fresh cream	.....	8.—
1 Litre of wine		12.60
1 Kilo of honey		25.—
Potatoes	.....	1.90

The family of this building worker consists of three members. Their monthly income is 1,383 forints.

Here is the housekeeping expense book of a welder's wife. There are four members in the family of whom three are working. Their total monthly income comes to 2,300 forints. Here are their expenses for a day in the month of August : Melon, grapes, vegetables, mushrooms, fish, wool, thread—30 forints; to the dressmaker for making a dress—70 forints. Total 100 forints.

A Visit to a Worker's Flat

NEITHER expense book nor letter can be as conclusive as a visit to the home of a worker's family, which reveals the living conditions of the workers in the new Hungary.

We are on our way to the new workers' flats in Beko Avenue (Peace Avenue), in Budapest. It is already 9 o'clock in the evening. We know that the people whom we are seeking do not return any earlier because both the husband and wife are at present attending an evening course. And here among the immense blocks of new workers' flats we find block A, seven stories high, with clean white walls, and large bay windows. On the third floor we ring at the door of the riveter, Bela Mate's flat. From the hall we can see Mrs. Mate, in the kitchen, arranging bunches of golden grapes on a large platter. We are taken into a room which is spacious and comfortable, and centrally heated. There is a wireless set on a low table. Wide doors open on to a balcony. In her little bed their ten-year-old child is trying to keep awake. She would dearly love to listen to what the adults are saying.

When Mrs. Mate rejoins us, she tells us about their home life before and now.

"We left the country in 1939, to come to Budapest. My husband, a skilled worker, earned 24 pengos a week, but that was not to last. He lost his job and was unemployed for five months. Finally he got a job as a labourer at 17 pengos a week. As we had nowhere to live, we had to be satisfied with a bed rented by the week in somebody else's house, for 4 pengos. The 13 pengos left were not even enough for food. My biggest worry every morning was to get my husband's breakfast before he went to work. As for myself, I never ate more than once a day. Later on, when we were able to move into a back courtyard, we considered ourselves lucky. However, it was only a hole three metres by three metres, where there was only room enough to put a folding bed and a little table. This emergency shelter cost us 25 pengos per month, out of the 68 which my husband earned. We were far from satisfying our hunger. No question of going to the cinema. The price of admission represented our household expenses for the two of us for two days. Before our child was born we moved into a basement, which was a little roomier, but so damp that we feared for our child's health. At this period my husband was again working as a skilled worker, which is what enabled us to rent the basement room."

"One day," intervened Mate, "I had to sell my wedding ring in order to be able to make a fire in the room because of the child. But that's enough . . . fortunately, it is ancient history.

"There was the liberation, then, in 1946, and a stable currency, the forint. And since then our situation has constantly improved."

"First of all, I bought a sewing machine," said Mrs. Mate, "shoes and clothes, stockings and socks, a warm winter coat for my husband, sheets, in short, everything we needed, for we had been reduced to nothing. We were also offered a wireless

On May Day workers proudly carry signs showing the results they have obtained in production.

During the course of the five year plan 220,000 workers flats will be constructed. Here are new blocks of flats in Beka Street, Budapest.

set. And especially as the child remained sickly, we left the damp basement and moved to the suburb of Solymar."

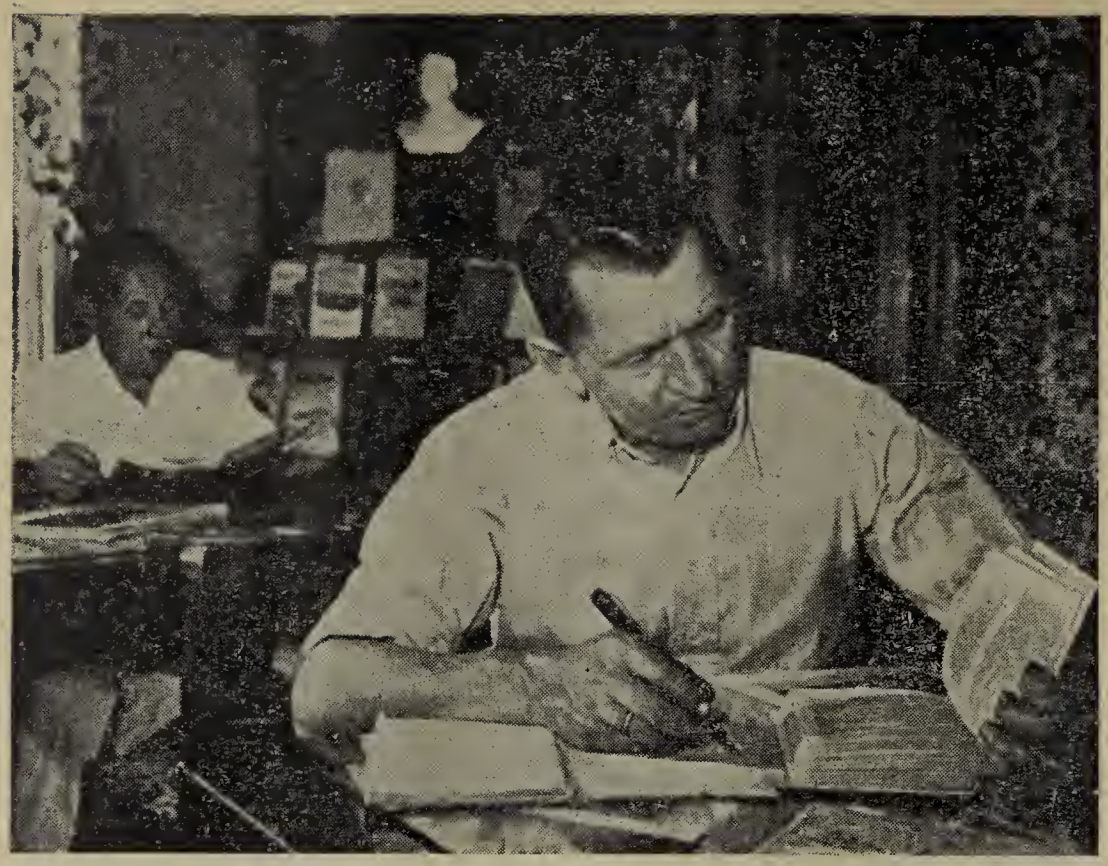
"The child was cured," said Mate, "but in turn my health suffered as a result of the long journey I had to make every day to and from work. This year I obtained this flat which I would not have dared to dream of in the past. We are living well now. If difficulties still exist, what does it matter when we see them diminish with each day that passes?"

Mrs. Mate resumed.

"My little one goes to a brand new school in György Kilian Street, I am quite at ease about her. Then I also work. With what my husband and I earn, we have plenty for paying the rent, gas and electricity, clothes, plays, books, not to mention food, of course. And we save enough so that we are able to plan the purchase of bigger things.

"You can see for yourself. The child is already too big for her little cot. The first thing we must buy is a full-size bed. Then we need a bookcase, we can't go on piling up the books and pamphlets we buy in stacks on the floor. We also should have a centre light fixture for this room."

Young Catherine Mate is enthusiastic about her mother's preserves, jams and jellies.



In the factories, reading rooms and libraries attract many workers.

After work, play. It is good to be alive!

The Mates are not the only workers who used to live in backyards and basements and who now live in centrally heated flats with every convenience. In Hungary, those who have travelled the same road are very numerous. And those who are not yet accommodated in flats like that will soon be so. The law for the expansion of the Five-Year Plan provides for the construction of 220,000 new flats. As for being well supplied with linen and clothes, well-stocked larders, wireless sets, cinema and theatre tickets, books, etc., this is now applicable to the whole working class. That is not surprising for the building of socialism means building for the well-being of everyone. The best builders of this creative work, turners, millers, workers in the rolling mills, textile workers, etc., are showered with honours by our government and our people. Their number is constantly increasing. Their photographs adorn buildings, and appear in the newspapers. Their work, experiences and methods are explained and commented on in our press so that they can be applied generally. In building socialism, the working people are experiencing the joy of life, and are advancing with assurance towards an ever broadening and richer future.

Matyas Rakosi has declared:

"When we speak of the results of the Hungarian People's Democracy, we must remember very clearly the achievements of the Hungarian working class and sing their praises, achievements which justly merit the gratitude of all our people."

Yes, the Hungarian workers are and will remain worthy of their historic role. They will fight hard, conscientiously and enthusiastically for socialism, for peace and for a happy future for the Hungarian working people.

The Development of Economic Crisis in France

By

ANDRE BARJONET

Secretary of the C.G.T. Confederal Centre of Economic and Social Studies

THE main features of the situation in France to-day are the development of war economy and the growing struggle of the workers against the causes and effects of war economy.

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I. Trend of Production

THE index of industrial production is about 140 (1938=100). There should be no illusion about this index, because 1938 was a particularly bad year and does not represent a valid base year. In contrast, compared with 1929 as a base year, the industrial production index scarcely amounts to 112 to-day. Furthermore, this index takes no account of the essential building industry. *If the building industry were included, the index of industrial production would to-day be about* 97, *based on* 1929 *as* 100.

Furthermore, since the American aggression in Korea, the only French industries which have expanded production are those directly or indirectly working for war. In contrast, most industries producing for peaceful uses are either stationary or declining, as shown by the following table :

Industrial Production Indices (1938=100))	June 1950	Last known month 1951	Variation since June 1950 Plus
Industries of Military Interest.			
Petroleum	195	286 (June)	46.6%
Rubber	181	222 (July)	22.6%
Steel	141	159 (June)	12.7%
Industries producing for Peaceful Uses.			Minus
Wool	108	104 (June)	3.7%
Cotton	114	109 (June)	4.4%
Building	133	133 (June)	—
Footwear	73	65 (May)	10.9%

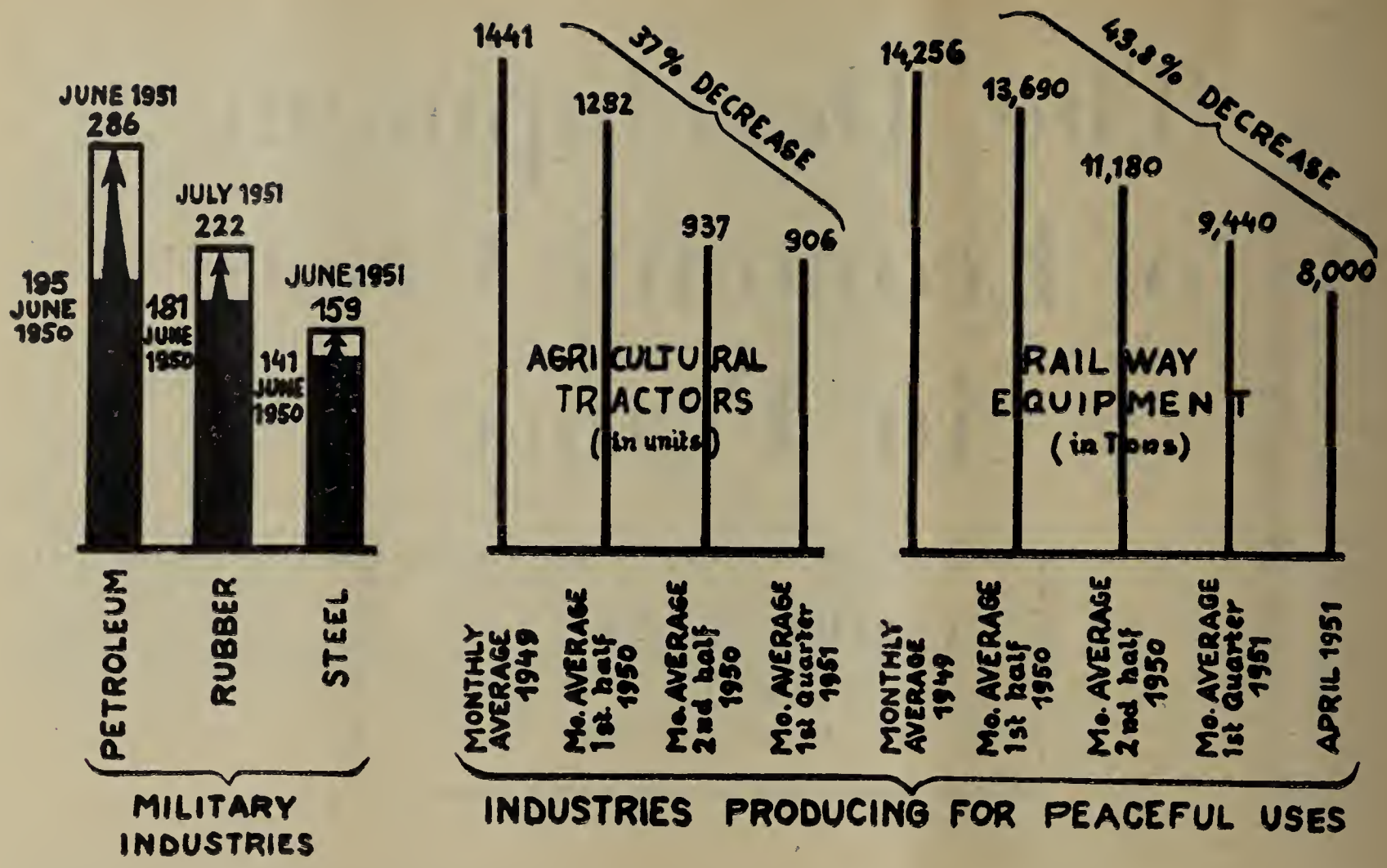
Similarly, there is a definite decline in the peace industry of agricultural tractor production :

	Tractors.
Monthly average, 1949	1,441
Monthly average, first half 1950	1,282
Monthly average, second half 1950 ...	937
Monthly average, first quarter 1951 ...	906

The monthly average fell 37% from 1949 to the end of the first quarter of 1951. The situation is the same for the production of rolling stock :

	Tons.
Monthly average, 1949	14,256
Monthly average, first half 1950	13,690
Monthly average, second half 1950 ...	11,180
Monthly average, first quarter 1951 ...	9,440
Month of April 1951 (last known month)	8,000

The monthly average fell 43.9% from 1949 to the end of April, 1951.



II. Condition of Agriculture

TAKEN as a whole, French agriculture is in complete stagnation. In comparison with 1938, the area of plough land has fallen by about one million hectares (1 hectare = 2.47 acres). In comparison with 1950, the area of land under cereal crops has fallen by 358,000 hectares.

The basic public services of the rural economy are in a lamentable situation. Even according to official figures, 100,000 more kilometres (1 kilometre = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile) of rural roads are needed, and 26,500 rural parishes, in which 70% of the rural population reside, are without water systems. One thousand parishes plus isolated farms and hamlets are without electricity. Finally, there are 3,000,000 hectares which need to be improved and drained and 250,000 hectares need to be irrigated. The actual work being carried out at the present time along these lines is insignificant; at the present rate it will take a century to complete the network of rural roads.

Rural housing is in a still worse state; the average age of houses is 100 years. The Minister of Agriculture has estimated that 2,600,000 million francs would be necessary to repair rural dwellings.

But the stagnation and even decline of French agriculture as a whole must not be allowed to conceal the growing difference between small and average farms on the one hand, and the capitalist holdings on the other, which are making ever higher profits. *Capitalist concentration in French agriculture is advancing rapidly, and one farmer in ten now possesses as much land as the other nine together.*

III. Foreign Trade

FOREIGN trade has shown a deficit from the Liberation until September 1, 1950, inclusive. The French foreign trade balance became favourable for the first time between July and November, 1950. The "record" was broken in October, 1950, when exports exceeded imports by 13%.

But this surplus in France's trade balance was a temporary one, and in December, 1950, the proportion of exports to imports fell to 99%, to 85% in January, 1951, and to 60% in August, 1951.

Here it should be noted that the sharp rise in prices of imported goods—70% between May, 1950, and June 1951—had a critical effect on France's foreign trade. To obtain the same volume of imports as in the first half of 1950 it is now necessary to export 33% more than then.

In addition, the semi-colonial structure of France's foreign trade, already pointed out by Benoit Frachon at the 27th Congress of the C.G.T. in October, 1948, has taken on a more and more definite form.

In March, 1947, the value of exports of war materials and semi-finished goods was only 13.7% of total exports. Since then the trend has been as follows: 40% in 1948, 40% in 1949, 45½% in the second half of 1950, and 48% in September, 1951.

During the same period the percentage of manufactured goods exported has fallen from 71.6% to 38%.

IV. The Financial Situation

THE financial situation shows a basic tendency towards monetary inflation and the depreciation of the franc. The quantity of notes in circulation rose from 1,382,000 million francs in June, 1950, to 1,818,000 million in October, 1951, with a sharp increase of 41,000 million at the end of September.

Total bank deposits are also rising, although more slowly, at least according to the latest known figures: 1,400,000 million francs in June, 1950, 1,607,000 million in June, 1951. Monetary inflation cannot therefore be denied, although it is still rather low in relation to the prospects of the immediate future.

In fact, owing to the delay in putting arms production programmes into operation, the Treasury temporarily holds a surplus obtained through the increase in taxes and the rise in prices, which has brought increased revenue in the form of indirect taxes; the effect of the budgetary deficit will thus be shown in the last months of 1951, even though not apparent earlier.

Since, moreover, within the framework of the trade policy at present imposed on France, currency resources will rapidly diminish under the dual effect of the rise in world prices of imported goods and the increase in imports because of the reduction in customs duties, it is not impossible that the franc will be further devalued in the coming months.

The dollar has already increased in a few weeks from 350 francs to 433 francs on the free market quotation for October 15, and a kilogramme of gold has increased in price from 504,000 francs to 592,000 francs at the same time.

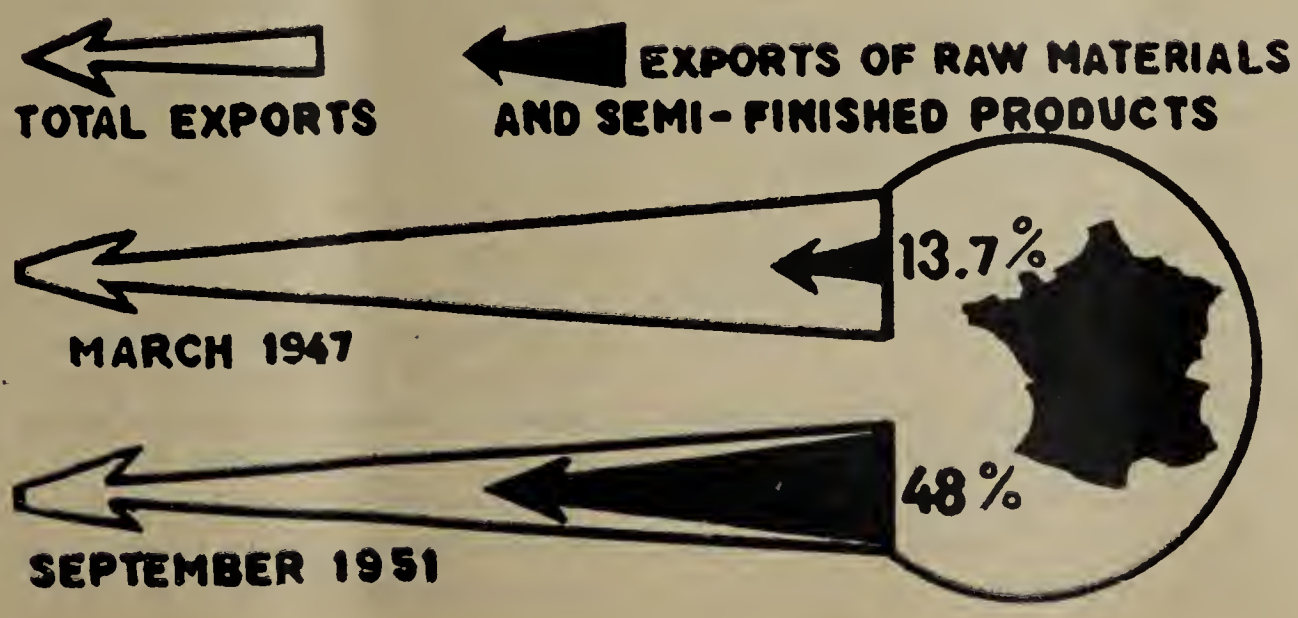
The deficit in the public finances officially stands, at the moment, at 476,000 million francs as compared with 342,000 million in 1950, but the statements recently made by M. Petsche, French Finance Minister, to the Finance Commission of the National Assembly, indicate that this deficit will amount to at least 800,000 million francs.

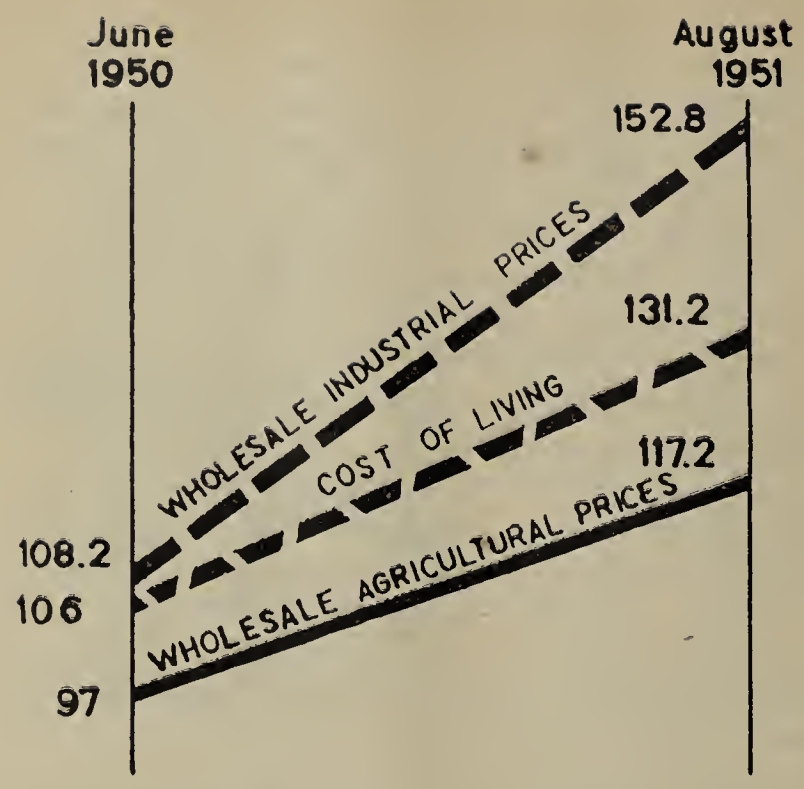
The French Government finds itself faced with the prospect of a new and very grave financial and monetary crisis, of which the size and nature became clear during the month of October.

V. Trend of Prices

SINCE the United States' aggression against Korea, the official index of wholesale industrial prices has rised from 108.2 (1949=100), to 152,8 in August, 1951. This is a rise of 41%. Those industrial products which have the greatest influence on the cost of living have undergone the greatest rise in price.

During the same period wholesale agricultural prices, although increasing considerably, have lagged far behind industrial prices, having risen from 97 to 117.2, an increase of 21%.





The official index of prices for family consumption, which does not reflect the full increase, shows that retail prices have risen by 24% since June, 1950, from 106 to 131.2, taking 1949 as 100.

During the same period the minimum living wage demanded by the C.G.T. has risen from 19,497 *francs to* 26,350 *francs in August, showing a* 35% *rise in the cost of living.*

After the cantonal elections in October, the Government decided to make a new series of price increases—for example, sugar 12%, milk 16%, electricity 12%, bringing a sharp new rise in the cost of living.

VI. The Workers' Standard of Living

IN this situation, it is easy to understand that the living standards of French workers have steadily deteriorated. A comparison of price and wage indices show that the purchasing power of wages is today less than half its 1938 level. The low level of the working population's purchasing power can easily be seen from its effects on France's home trade.

Thus in June, 1951, the number of bankruptcies amounted to 479 compared with a monthly average of 402 in 1938 and 376 in 1950. Similarly, taking 1939 as 100, the daily turnover of consumers' co-operatives fell to 93.

The following table analysing the purchasing power of the French wage-earner, in terms of hours of work, published by the French financial newspaper *Les Echos* on July 27, 1951, and brought up to date for September, requires no comment :

	Time reqd. to earn in Oct. 1938.		Time reqd. to earn in Sept. 1951.	
Food.	h.	m.	h.	m.
Bread	0	15½	0	25
Potatoes	0	6	0	9
Wine	0	17	0	31
Milk	0	11	0	20
Rice	0	27	1	26
Gruyère (cheese)	1	55	5	25
Sugar	0	30	0	51
Beefsteak	2	40	6	5
Veal	2	45	5	20
Mutton	0	53	2	30
Butter	2	53	6	10
Coffee	2	2	7	13
Chocolate	1	24	3	16
Other Necessities.				
Cigarettes	0	17½	0	32
Soap	0	31	1	28
Metro fares...	0	6½	0	10
Coal	0	3	0	9
Postage	0	3	0	7
Electric light globes ...	0	30	0	36
Suit of clothes	46	0	150	0
Bed sheets	11	0	27	14
Bicycle	75	0	166	0
Railway fares	2	48	3	18

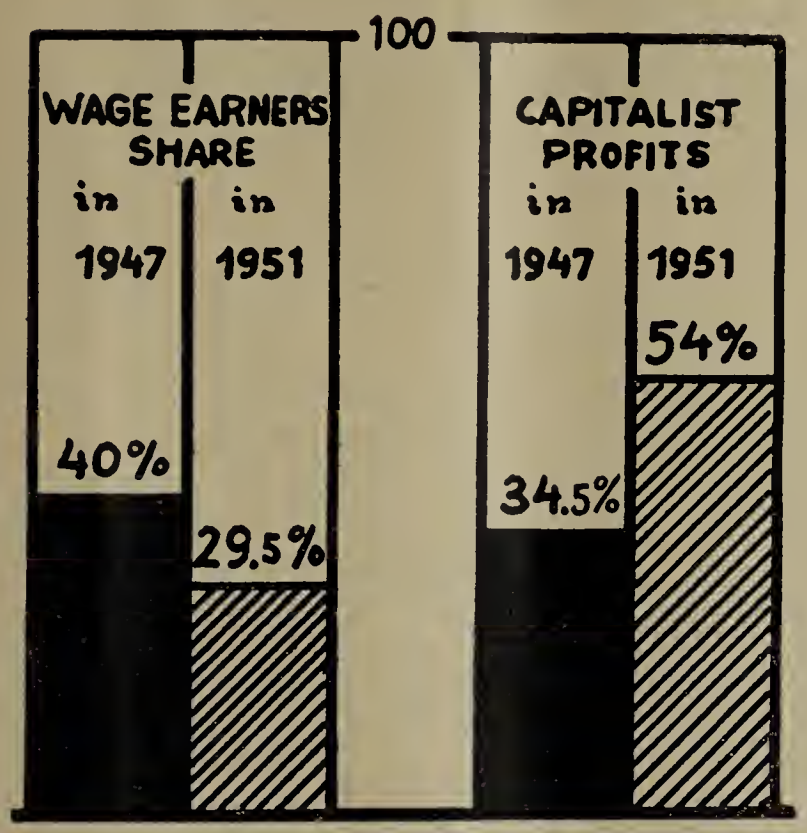
Naturally, this continuous impoverishment of the working class is counterbalanced by an unprecedented rise in capitalist profits.

The changes in the distribution of the national income, according to figures of the Confederal Centre of Economic Studies, leaves no doubt of this. The wage earners' share, which amounted to 40% before the Marshall Plan in the first half of 1947, has to-day fallen to 29.5%, whereas capitalist profits as a whole have risen from 34.5% to 54%.

The French working class is reacting very strongly to this situation. Since the beginning of the year, 6,541 actions for demands have taken place, including 1,768 strikes and 1,641 token stoppages. Of this total, we have been informed that 2,300 have been won. The percentage of successes is high—35%. The real percentage is undoubtedly higher because the gains obtained are rarely communicated to the C.G.T. very soon.

As a result of these activities and, above all, thanks to the increasingly powerful united action which is their main feature, the Government has twice been forced—in March and August—to raise the minimum inter-occupational guaranteed wage. These actions have also enabled hundreds of thousands of workers in nearly every industry to obtain increases in real wages amounting in some cases to as much as 30%.

If one takes account of the fact that the freezing of wages is one of the basic elements in any policy directed towards war, since the expansion of arms production means the reduction of the output of consumer goods and therefore the necessary reduction in the possibility of buying consumer goods, it is clear that the present fight of the French people for better living conditions is, at the same time, striking a considerable blow against the Government's war preparations.



Distribution of national income.

Moreover, the transformation of the peace economy into war economy, the increasing number of American bases on French territory, and the violation of workers' and democratic rights which is growing more intense as the war policy advances, mean that the war threat is becoming more apparent to the entire French working class.

Wider and wider sections of the working people are therefore coming to realise that a fight must also be waged against the basic causes of the economic difficulties with which they are faced; in other words, against the war policy and for a peace policy. The essential feature of this fight to-day is the campaign which is developing in the factories for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Great Powers and against German rearmament.

ECONOMIC NOTES

LIVING STANDARDS IN SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

THE living standards in the countries of South and South-East Asia, which are inhabited by more than a quarter of humanity, are appallingly low.

Below we give some facts which will help to throw light on the poverty of the populations of these countries.

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THE annual national income per inhabitant in 1949 gives an approximate idea of the poverty in these countries.

(*Survey of the Economic situation in Asia,* United Nations, 1951).

Indonesia	**30 dollars**	**Burma ... ...**	**33 dollars**
Pakistan	**51 dollars**	**Ceylon ... ...**	**67 dollars**
Philippines	**44 dollars**	**India ... ...**	**57 dollars**
Thailand	**36 dollars**		

These figures are bigger than the reality; in addition they take no account of the differences in income between the various classes. In contrast let us note in particular that the salary of the president of General Motors in 1949 was 586,000 dollars.

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IN the Southern and South-East Asian countries, famine threatens tens of millions of people. Norris Dodd, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisations, recognised in his 1951 annual report :

> There is a real danger that in the formulation of huge defence programs, urgent agricultural requirements may be overlooked and expanding rearmament needs may slow up even current modest plans for economic betterment in many underdeveloped countries . . . In some of the most needy regions, per capita food consumption . . . . has not regained even the low pre-war levels."

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WITH more than a quarter of the population of the globe, South and South-East Asia in 1950 provided less than a hundredth (0.7%) of the world production of steel (1½ million tons out of almost 190 million tons).

In 1948, South and South-East Asia, with 23% of the world's arable land, possessed less than 0.5% of the tractors existing in the world, and these few are of course owned by the landlords. In Burma in 1948 there was one tractor per 720,000 inhabitants, one per 40,000 in Ceylon and in India one per 50,000.

At the same time, in Czechoslovakia there was one tractor per 440 inhabitants, and these are owned by the peasants.

According to a survey made by the Economic Commission for Europe on engineering industries (April 1951) "in Western Europe the production of tractors, if necessary, could probably have increased by a third or more." But the engineering industry is engaged more and more on reamament work.

In Great Britain, according to the same report, armament orders to the engineering industry were estimated at 170 million pounds in three years.

That is why the U.N. report on the situation in Asia, already quoted, states : "Agricultural equipment has been more difficult to obtain because minerals and raw materials have been used for the rearmament programmes."

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THE housing shortage is another aspect of living standards in the countries of South and South-East Asia.

A mission of experts sent to South and South-East Asia by the United Nations stated in their report published July 1951 :

"The mission has been informed that more than 100 million families in Asia (perhaps 150 million) live in overcrowded, unhealthy, substandard dwellings in the towns and countryside. . . .

> " For millions of the population sleeping accommodation consist of a tiny common room shared by men, women and children. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, and cholera cannot be controlled. Sleep is often impossible. Ventilation and light are inadequate; floors are dirty or muddy: roofs are low, dirty and inflammable. . . . Rodents and insects infest the huts. Sometimes mud huts erode from the action of rain, or wash away altogether."

It is stated that military aid for Asia for 1951-1952, voted in October 1951 by the American Government, is 535 million dollars. It is used to provide napalm bombs for the French army in Indo-China or for the military equipment of Chiang Kai-shek's mercenaries on Taiwan. But according to the report of the expert mission itself, it is estimated that the cost of a new brick house in the countryside in Pakistan would cost 260 dollars.

American military aid for 1951-1952 would therefore suffice to build 1,910,000 houses!

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.A.

American Negroes Do Not Agree to "Wait"

A prominent French African, M. Hoaume, a Catholic deputy from Dahomey in the Assembly of the French Union, recently declared: "In the last two world wars when you needed us we replied 'ready.' Today, when we ask you to grant our obviously just demands you reply 'Wait.' I warn you that in the event of another war, if you ask us to take part in it, our reply will be 'Wait.'"

This same policy of "Wait" is also being applied to the Negro people in this country, and Dr. Alphacus Hunton, editor of *New Africa,* by going to jail rather than inform, has shown that he too does not intend to take "Wait" for an answer.

It is significant that just this week Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, was once again refused a passport, this time to go to China. Here again is the "Wait" policy, by placing Paul under this sort of "imprisonment."

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, another officer of the Council, is under indictment because of his leadership of the Peace movement in the country. He too would not agree to "Wait."

The Council of African Affairs and its officers will not just wait for peace and justice, but are fighting for it every day.

Let us all support the Council on African Affairs, its program and its leaders.

We say "Wait" is not for us. What do you say?

Africa, Monthly Bulletin of the Council on African Affairs (New York), September 1951.

GUATEMALA

Principles and Programme of the General Confederation of Workers

The large number of Guatemalan workers organised in the General Confederation of Workers understand the big responsibility they have assumed for the town and country workers, the people generally, for their country, for future generations of workers throughout the world, in deciding to create the best possible instrument for carrying on the struggle in the trade union field.

When we set up for the first time in our country a United Workers National Centre, we took into consideration, on the basis of a wide objective survey, the living conditions of the Guatemalan workers, the economic and political conditions existing in Guatemala, the experiences of the working class movement of other countries and the international situation existing since the 2nd World War.

Our observations are as follows:

In the first place, it has been sufficiently demonstrated that in any country a reactionary policy which is directed against the specific demands of the workers, is in direct line with the role of the monopoly capitalists who seek world domination and a third world war in order to accomplish their aims.

Secondly, it is evident that the low purchasing power of the Latin American workers is primarily due to the economic structure of our countries, to their semi-dependent position, and to the fact that foreign monopolies obstruct their economic development and make their complete independence impossible.

Thirdly, it is also evident that trade union disunity is used by national and international reaction to smash or paralyse trade union activity, and even to obtain control of the trade unions for the purpose of using them against the very interests of the workers.

Fourthly, the pressure of international capitalism is making itself felt most strongly in the semi-dependent and colonial countries. In addition to this, the working class must fight against the backward state, against archaic production methods and against a powerful feudal reaction, which is fully supported by the foreign monopolies.

Fifthly, among the semi-dependent Latin American countries, Guatemala is one of the most backward, and the Guatemalan workers are among those who suffer the most from poverty, hunger, ignorance, and disease.

Finally, attacks against the people's democratic liberties are directed, above all, against trade union liberties and the political and social rights of the workers.

To reach its objectives, the working class of Guatemala, organised in a powerful United Workers' National Centre, makes the following rules the principles of their organisation:

a) to keep the working class movement free from all employer or governmental influence prejudicial to its proper interests;

b) to maintain the widest trade union democracy in our ranks;

c) to educate the working class in the spirit of international working class solidarity.

Octubre (Guatemala), 14.10.51

ARGENTINA

Increase in Production Brings No Improvement in Workers' Economic Situation

The *Monthly Economic Review* of the Argentine Republic is forced to admit that the year 1950 reveals a very considerable increase in production in the most varied spheres.

The Government and the pompous trade union leaders produce figures which prove that the increase in production has not raised prices beyond the rise in wages. But wages have been frozen by collective agreements for two years, and purchasing power has declined. That is shown by the "official prices" fixed by the Government for certain articles. The price of fresh noodles has risen officially from 1.40 to 2.40, of manufactured noodles from 0.80 to 1.40, of wine from 1.15 to 1.40, of sugar from 1.50 to 1.70 and so on.

There has been neither lowering of prices, nor increase in wages, but a reduction in purchasing power.

Perhaps there has been an improvement in working conditions as a result of the production increase? Not at all. The statement of the newspaper *Democracia* that the increase in textile production has been obtained with fewer workers and shorter hours proves that far from leading to an improvement in working conditions, it has been effected by intensifying exploitation and worsening conditions.

The so-called prosperity of the workers is reflected in the higher cost

of living, starvation wages and the enormous enrichment of the local employers and the imperialists.

Having acquired experience in this field, the workers have, in face of the desertion and systematic betrayal by the trade union leaders of the C.G.T., undertaken the independent organisation of their struggles to win their demands, against the high cost of living, for the improvement of working conditions, against exploitation and for an equitable distribution of wealth for the benefit of all those who produce it and for the country, and not for the oligarchic octupi and the agents of imperialism, fomenters of war.

Unidad Sindical (Buenos Aires), October 1951

ITALY

Problems of the Youth

An examination of the true economic and social conditions of the great mass of the people and particularly of the youth reveals that thousands of young people entering adult life, who want to work, learn a trade, raise a family, and devote their energies towards healing the moral and material wounds left by the war, are deprived of the most important opportunity of all, the opportunity to work.

The unemployment statistics of juvenile labour during the last few years, show that in December 1948, the number of unemployed youth under 21 seeking their first job, was 363,785; this figure rose to 405,688 in 1949, to 475,970 in December 1950, and to 482,192 in February of this year.

During this time, the percentage of young people under 18 employed in industry has taken a tremendous downward turn, dropping from 8.8 per cent in January 1947 to 5.3 per cent in October 1950. These figures indicate that in Italy today, there are tens of thousands fewer young people in industry, resulting at once in an increase in the average age of the employed workers. It follows that in the near future it will be almost impossible to find the skilled and specialist labour to replace the old cadres in the nation's industry, and this will lead to deterioration in the quality of production both for the home and export markets.

It is the same in the countryside where they are going to the lengths of using the law to exclude large numbers of young peasants under 18 from taking advantage of the decree which obliges the landowners to employ a certain number of unemployed, while those over 18 are systematically struck off the lists of available man power.

Among the intellectuals, thousands of young graduates at the end of their studies are finding it impossible to obtain positions commensurate with their abilities and qualifications, and are forced to seek work which does not even pay for the sacrifices they have made.

This phenomenon of unemployment which condemns large sections of the youth to poverty, has other features as well: low wages for young people, insufficient medical aid, the most serious infringements of the law and of work agreements, total absence of unemployment relief for the youth, an inadedquate number of trade schools, and those which do exist lack sufficient equipment and financial means.

The situation has become impossible for the youth. It is to the credit of the C.G.I.L. that they heeded the cry of the new generation for a way out of the dilemma thrust upon them by the government leaders and took the initiative in calling the National Conference of Italian Youth. This Conference took place at Parma on October 13 and 14, 1951.

The unity achieved by the youth in preparing the Conference and the hundreds of actions undertaken by them for the solution of their problems and the triumph of their demands make us certain that it is possible to attain the fundamental goal of the National Conference, namely, a future of profitable work for all Italian youth.

Renato Tesei, Secretary of C.G.I.L. Youth Commission, in *Assistenza Sociale*, November, 1951.

CYPRUS

The Peace Excursion

In spite of mass protests, the government has refused to the end to grant permission for the Pancyprian Peace Congress which was initially to have been held in August. Government, however, could not prevent the people of Cyprus from demonstrating their love of peace and their strong condemnation of the policy of the warmongers. A mass demonstration was organised in support of peace in the form of an excursion to a summer resort.

This excursion, which was held on the 16th September, was an outstanding success. 183 buses from all parts of Cyprus took over 5,000 people to the meeting place, in addition to those that came from the nearby village. Enthusiastic demonstrations in support of peace took place in every village through which the buses passed. Songs, including the well-known hymn to peace by Shostakovitch, and Greek dances were performed by members of the Progressive Youth Organisation of Nicosia. The return was the occasion of new enthusiastic demonstrations by the people of the towns and villages lying along the route of the excursion. Thus the people of Cyprus, in spite of the petty restrictions imposed by the government, have found the way to express their love of peace.

Information Bulletin, organ of Progress Party of Cyprus Working People (AKEL), Oct., 1951.

AUSTRALIA

Trade Unions and the People's Movement

All sections of the working people are, in their own way, trying to resist the economic consequences of the war preparations of the capitalists.

Taking peace as the starting point, the real problem is to unite the actions of the various sections of the working people into one common front of struggle.

The working class movement, which is the best organised and most conscious section and, therefore, best able to lead the struggle for peace, must, to an increasing extent, take into account, when entering into struggle, the effect of their actions on other sections of the people. For example, during the butter shortage in N.S.W., the action of the Waterside Workers in refusing to load butter for export met with widespread support from the working people. In taking this action the Waterside Workers were defending the interests of the working people generally.

It is necessary for the trade unions to go still further. Why is there a shortage of butter? Because of the brutal exploitation of dairy farmers, especially the small farmers, and the fact that the Federal Government, which can find £500 million for war, refuses to provide a subsidy to dairy farmers that will enable them to make a satisfactory living. The same problem confronts the poultry farmer, potato growers and other small farmers.

It is the duty of the trade union movement to support the genuine demands of the small farmers, to reach understanding and agreement with them.

The struggle of the miners against the attendance bonus, in the early part of the year, also has important lessons. By adopting the tactics of stopping work one day a week instead of being provoked into a general stoppage, and by linking this struggle with the fight for peace, the miners added greatly to the strike experience of the trade union movement, consolidated their own ranks, dealt a heavy blow at the A.C.T.U. reformist strike-breakers, helped forward the cause of unity in the working class movement, and won support from other sections of the people. These achievements were made possible because of the struggle of progressive

forces within the Miners' Federation to overcome the tendencies to narrow the struggle to the economic and trade union issues.

In contrast with these experiences of correct methods of work, there are other examples of struggles that have caused disunity among the workers and repelled the potential allies of the workers among other sections of the people.

The conclusion we must draw is that the trade union movement can be a very powerful factor in helping to build the alliance of workers, farmers and middle class people. To do this, however, it is necessary to break with reformist methods of work, with trade union and craft narrowness and economism, and to approach all issues from the standpoint of their effect upon the working class as a whole and the people's movement.

In other words, every struggle must be approached and developed with the aim of strengthening the unity of the working class generally, and of winning the support of farmers and middle class people; that is, of building the people's movement for peace.

Communist Review (Sydney), August 1951.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

November 5

FRANCE.—For the fourth time since February 1947 the price of cigarettes and tobacco is increased. For the most popular brand of cigarettes the increase is 23 per cent.

November 6

NEW ZEALAND.—Prime Minister Holland announces that the entire resources of the British M.I.5 (military intelligence) will be at the disposal of New Zealand's secret police. This strengthening of the "police state" resources of the reactionary New Zealand government on the plea of "security" is directed against militant working-class organisations and trade unions.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Two thousand London dockers end their month-old "work to rule" action against undesirable engagement practices on the basis of negotiations which are taking place to settle the dispute.

November 7

U.S.S.R.—The 34th Anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution is celebrated throughout the Soviet Union. Messages of greeting are received from progressive and peace-loving persons and organisations all over the world.

ITALY.—Throughout the province of Milan 185,000 workers participate in a 24-hour solidarity strike in support of workers on strike in the Breda engineering plant who are protesting against discharges and industrial demobilisation.

WESTERN GERMANY. — President Theodor Heuss rejects the invitation of President Wilhelm Pieck of the German Democratic Republic to meet in Berlin to discuss the re-unification of Germany.

AUSTRIA.—The World Peace Council ends its session in Vienna. An appeal addressed to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris demands the admission of People's China to the U.N., a unified and demilitarised Germany, an armistice agreement in Korea and the independence of all the Asian peoples, that Egypt, Iran, Morocco and other countries in the Near and Middle East and North Africa be permitted to manage their own affairs without foreign intervention, and simultaneous, progressive and effectively controlled disarmament including the prohibition of atomic and other mass destruction weapons. Among many important resolutions passed was one calling for cultural exchanges among all peoples. The Council was attended by 227 delegates and observers representing 57 countries.

MALAYA. — British troops arrest 2,000 inhabitants of the village of Tras in Pohang. Surrounded at night in the Nazi tradition, the men, women and children are forced out of their beds into trucks under armed guard, and taken in armoured convoys and guarded trains to concentration camps. The village is wiped out as completely as Lidice because the villagers are charged with being "sullen and unco-operative" in the British war against the Malayan people.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, announces a sharp cut in imported food and government spending which will mean a reduction in supplies of rationed goods and other foods, as well as less building, affecting hospitals, schools and clinics.

FRANCE.—The Administrative Committee of the C.G.T. meeting in Paris, publishes a communique taking note of the numerous victories won by united action with other trade union organisations, particularly the Christian unions and the Force Ouvriere. It notes that between August 15 and October 31 the cost of living increased 6.5 per cent. and suggests the necessity for renewed effort for the minimum wage of 23,600 francs per month throughout France plus an increase corresponding to the cost of living increase since August 15. To win this demand the C.G.T. requests an immediate meeting of the National Commission on Collective Agreements and invites the other national centres to meet with it to define the amount of the new minimum wage.

November 8

ITALY.—At the provincial congress of the C.I.S.L. (Christian trade union centre) in Massa Carrara in Central Italy, 100 delegates walk out of the meeting in a demonstration of solidarity with two trade union leaders in this province who had resigned from the C.I.S.L. in protest against meddling in the trade union life of the confederation by the Christian Democratic Party.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Sentences of imprisonment up to five years are imposed on 63 Africans and up to one year on 12 others for having attended an "illegal" meeting. During the banned meeting, which was held last March, the police forced a violent clash which resulted in the deaths of 14 Africans and 2 white policemen—hence the savage sentences.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The National Union of Railwaymen obtain an 8 per cent. wage increase from the Railway Staff National Tribunal.

FRANCE. — The Metal Workers' Union issues a statement saying that the speed-up and "productivity" campaign has caused more than 1½ million accidents during the year 1950.

November 9

ARGENTINA.—Police use tear gas and clubs against demonstrators in an anti-Peron political rally. Twelve persons are injured.

UNITED STATES. — Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in an address at Brandeis University says that from the Asian point of view the United States is "losing its humanity and idealism. . . . We are drifting in the direction of repression, drifting dangerously fast."

— The New York longshoremen's strike ends under threat of an injunction after a 25-day strike against the wage provisions of a contract negotiated by International Longshoremen's Association president Joseph P. Ryan. No firm settlement of the dispute has

resulted from the strike and a board of enquiry which had urged the workers to return to their jobs is continuing its efforts to reach a settlement.

IRAN.—Six thousand youths demonstrate in Teheran against Anglo-American imperialism on International Democratic Youth Day. One thousand police and steel-helmeted soldiers are on hand. The demonstrators adopt resolutions calling for equal political rights for women and the reopening of Teheran University which had been closed because of anti-imperialist demonstrations.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Delegates of four unions representing 100,000 dockers decide to press for substantial wage increases, a second week of annual paid holidays and an increase in the guaranteed wage of £4.8s. when work is not available for full time employment in any week.

— Seven hundred workers at Morris Motors at Cowley are informed that no work is available in the coming week because of armament stock piling. The failure of materials is expected to continue.

FRANCE.—At the call of the National Teachers' Union, school-teachers throughout France strike for 24 hours in protest against recent laws which provide state aid to private church schools. The overwhelming majority of teachers of all political views join the strike and parents support it extensively.

— Following the demand of the Administrative Committee of the C.G.T., the Ministry of Labour decides to convene the National Commission on Collective Agreements for November 21.

— Following the decision of the management of the Salmson automobile plant in Boulogne-Billancourt to close the plant, the workers oppose this decision and decide to place the plant under the safeguard of the workers who will run it and produce to fill outstanding orders. The workers are determined to produce for peace.

MOROCCO.—Mahjoub ben Seddik, General Secretary of the Morocco Railwaymen's Union (C.G.T.), is arrested by French colonial police for making a speech denouncing police provocations in Casablanca. The Administrative Committee of the French C.G.T. appeals to all French workers to show their solidarity with their Moroccan brothers.

November 10

GUATEMALA.—About 5,000 railwaymen walk out for one hour, to demand the reinstatement of several workers and the resignation of the company's vice-president. Rail transport throughout the country is halted temporarily.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Members of the National Union of Mineworkers at a mass meeting at the Parc and Dare Collieries, South Wales, protest against the participation of the union's president, Sir William Lawther, in the Trades Union Congress' promise to co-operate with the Tory government.

SPAIN.—Thirty-four leaders of the famous Barcelona strikes which shook the world by their audacity last March are in General Franco's worst prison under threat of execution. Subjected to terrible torture in the "model" prison in Barcelona they have been moved to the dreaded Reformatorio de Adultos in Ocana, Toledo, because of the widespread demand of the Barcelona workers for their release.

November 11

ITALY. — 11,000 workers of the Breda engineering plant in Milan return to work after striking for 11 days in protest against the attempt of the management to expel, with police aid, 3,000 workers in accordance with a disastrous agreement concluded by the management, the government and the C.I.S.L. (Christian trade union). The strike ends in victory and most of the dismissed workers are re-engaged.

GREAT BRITAIN.—A rally of 9,000 people in London to celebrate the 34th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution sends declarations of friendship to Moscow. The Dean of Canterbury affirms that for 34 years the Soviet Union has toiled for peace.

November 12

MALAYA.—The entire population of the "resettlement" village of Bukit Changgang, in Silangor, are arrested for aiding the Malayan patriots in their struggle for independence against the British. This is the second occasion that the people have been forced by British soldiers and armed police to leave their homes. "Resettled" at Pandam Masan near Port Swettenham under close "police protection," the villagers are warned that failure to "co-operate" with the British will result in concentration camp treatment similar to the village of Tras in Pohang.

GREAT BRITAIN. — One thousand members of the Fire Brigades' Union demonstrate through the streets of London in support of their wage demands for parity of wages with the police.

— South Wales miners elect Will Paynter, a greatly respected militant and Communist, as president of the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers. Arthur Horner, General Secretary of the N.U.M., was a previous president of the Area.

ISRAEL.—More than 2,000 workers stage a hunger march through Tel Aviv, carrying banners saying, "We are hungry," "Peace and Bread," "Food for the People, Prison for Profiteers." The demonstration follows on the formation of 400 emergency workers' councils throughout the country, and is organised and addressed by leaders of the Israeli Communist Party and the Mapam (Left Socialist) Party. Speakers demand better food distribution, additional rations for workers' families and larger allocations for children.

November 13

ITALY.—More than 130,000 peasants of the city and province of Bologna leave work for one day to demand approval by the Senate of the bill to revise agricultural contracts.

MALAYA.—Between 6 and 7,000 workers in rubber plantations strike for higher wages on 29 estates covering an area of 50,000 acres. The soaring prices of food and clothing force the workers to make their demand. Planters and owners claim it is a "bandit plot."

GREAT BRITAIN.—Two hundred and fifty school teachers lobby members of the House of Commons to demand equal pay for equal work for men and women. A crippled teacher is forcibly ejected by the police and her walking stick broken.

FRANCE. — The Federation of Miners (C.G.T.) calls a strike in the coal mines of the Départements of Pas-de-Calais and the Nord to protest against the government decision compelling miners to pay 15 per cent. of the cost of medical supplies, which for more than 60 years have been furnished without charge. Numerous examples of united action among C.G.T., Force Ouvrière, and Christian trade unionists take place as 45,000 miners heed the first strike call.

November 14

EGYPT. — Demonstrating against British imperialism, more than 1,000,000 persons in Cairo march in complete silence under a police-enforced ban on shouting. This is reported to be the largest mass demonstration in Egypt's history. Banners and placards call for the British to get out of Egypt, the

nationalisation of the Suez Canal, opposition to Anglo-American imperialism, the release of political prisoners in Egypt, for trade union rights and for peace. This follows a similar demonstration of nearly 1,000,000 in Alexandria on November 13. Other demonstrations are taking place throughout Egypt.

FRANCE.—More than 100,000 coal miners, out of 171,000 in the Départements of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais are now out on strike against a 15 per cent. charge for medical prescriptions.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Engineering employers offer the 38 trade unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, an increase of 11 shillings per week and an additional week's holiday with pay, for the 2,500,000 workers represented by the unions. The workers accept the offer.

SYRIA.—The largest popular demonstration seen in Damascus pledges unity with the Egyptian people in their struggle for independence.

LEBANON. — Business premises in all Lebanese cities close as a token of sympathy with Egypt's struggle for independence. Lawyers refuse to attend courts, and deputies unanimously vote for a resolution supporting Egypt.

ITALY.—In all industries in Turin workers stop work for one hour in protest against the closing of the Wamar pastry bakery. As a reply to the workers' demands the management of the bakery had dismissed 70 employees, discharged a member of the shop committee and finally proceeded to close the plant. The solidarity action is endorsed by all trade union organisations.

November 15

BERLIN. — The W.F.T.U. General Council, the most important body next to the World Congress, opens its sessions with an address by W.F.T.U. President Giuseppe Di Vittorio.

ITALY. — The Congress of the C.I.S.L. (Christian trade union confederation) ends after noting the withdrawal of two other provincial centres like that at Massa Carrara (see item under November 8). They are the centres in Pistoia and Asti, which declared themselves independent and immediately held a congress in Pistoia. The reason for these defections is the continual meddling in the internal affairs of the Confederation by Catholic Action.

November 16

FRANCE. — The coal mine strike ends in victory for the miners, with the government withdrawing its 15 per cent. charge. This will result in the payment by miners not of 15 per cent. of all charges, but only a maximum of 60 francs, 15 per cent. on 400 francs. All medical prescriptions in excess of 400 francs are to be paid in full by the Social Security Administration. The full demands of the workers would have been won had not the Force Ouvrière and Christian trade unions concluded this agreement with the government without the participation of the rank-and-file miners.

UNITED NATIONS.—Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky proposes to the General Assembly that it draft a convention on the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of international controls. He further recommends a one-third arms and armed forces cut by the U.S.S.R., Britain, U.S.A., France and China, presentation of full official data on each country's forces and arms, including atomic weapons and military bases on foreign territory, and the creation of an International Control Organ under the Security Council to supervise the above proposals.

November 18

ITALY.—About 2 million aged pensioners participate throughout Italy in the day of protest organised by the Italian Federation of Pensioners, affiliated to the C.G.I.L. They demand of the government an immediate pension increase of 3,000 lire per month.

November 19

FRANCE.—Printers throughout the country go on a 24-hour strike in sympathy with the printers of Marseilles who have been on strike since October 31. The sympathy strike is called by the C.G.T. Marseilles printers are demanding a 10 per cent. wage increase.

November 20

GREAT BRITAIN.—18,000 fire fighters, members of the Fire Brigades Union, end a 2-day ban on routine cleaning and maintenance duties in protest against the refusal of the local authorities to raise their wages to parity with the police which they formerly had. All fires and emergency calls were dealt with as guaranteed by the union, but hundreds of firemen carrying out the ban were suspended, and many were forcibly ejected from fire stations by the police. All firemen reported to fire stations for duty, including those who had been ejected by the police. Pressure of opinion forces the government to withdraw use of the police against the firemen. Police were resentful of being used in this manner.

AUSTRALIA. — The National Convention of the Miners' Union reaffirms its affiliation to the Miners' International, Trade Department of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

UNITED STATES. — Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 83-year old outstanding Negro scholar and leader, and his four associates in the former Peace Information Centre, are acquitted on charges that they were acting as the agents of a foreign power when they advocated peace in the United States. Judge McGuire states that the government failed to prove charges that the Peace Information Centre had violated the Foreign Agents' Registration Act.

ITALY.—Heavy rains have raged throughout Italy for the past 10 days causing heavy floods of unprecedented disaster. The city of Rovigo is completely inundated. More than 100,000 persons are homeless and hundreds are dead, and first estimates indicate property damage of about 300 thousand million lire. The C.G.I.L. appeals to all unions and citizens to set up solidarity committees to help the refugees and opens a national subscription with a donation of 5 million lire. It calls for unions, individuals, political parties and mass organisations to develop a competitive spirit in contributing to the fund. The W.F.T.U. has given 5 million French francs to aid the victims of the flood.

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MEETING

of the

GENERAL COUNCIL

of the

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Berlin, November 15-21, 1951

RESOLUTIONS

and other official documents

SUPPLEMENT

to

World Trade Union Movement, No. 23, 1951

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Resolution

on the

General Report of Activity of the W.F.T.U.

I.

THE General Council approves the report of activity of the W.F.T.U. presented by the General Secretary. Carrying out the decisions of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress, the Executive Bureau and Committee have worked to consolidate the workers' unity in the struggle to raise living standards, for peace and for democratic rights and liberties.

II.

The General Council registers with satisfaction that despite the violent campaign which the imperialist forces and their supporters within the trade union movement have carried on against the W.F.T.U., the World Federation has continued to extend its influence and to increase its membership, which now stands at more than 80 millions.

III.

The formation of Trade Unions Internationals, the organisation of a conference of trade unions of Asia, the regional conference and the trade conferences of Latin American countries, the submission to the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O. of reports on problems which are vital for the workers (measures to be taken to suppress unemployment, to abolish racial discrimination, to achieve the practical application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, etc.) and the practice of unity in action, has strengthened the struggle to improve the economic and social situation of the workers.

IV.

The W.F.T.U.'s support for all the decisions adopted by the World Peace Council to eliminate the danger of a third world war, the W.F.T.U.'s contribution to the European Workers' Conference against the Remilitarisation of Germany, the formation in factories of committees in defence of peace, have made the workers' struggle to defend peace more effective.

V.

However, the imperialist camp led by the ruling circles of the U.S.A. is intensively preparing a new world war. The signature of a separate "peace" treaty with Japan and of a military agreement between the U.S.A. and that country, the integration of Western Germany in the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc, the attempts to impose the imperialist policy of the United States on the Latin-American countries, the occupation of different Western European countries by American troops, and the establishment of military bases in numerous regions of the world, the continuation of the criminal intervention in Korea, the occupation of Taiwan, the pursuit of the war in Viet Nam reinforced by material aid from the American imperialists, the aggressive action of the imperialists in the Near East—all those attacks on the national independence of the peoples gravely endanger the cause of peace.

VI.

The imperialist policy of unleashing war has resulted in a continual lowering of the living standards of the workers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. The offensive against trade union rights is being accentuated and anti-working class laws are being passed. Unemployment is still a scourge for the working people of a great number of these countries.

VII.

The leaders of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are carrying on action to try and divide the trade union movement and to weaken the resistance of the working class to the offensive being carried on by the capitalist monopolies.

VIII.

In complete complicity with their rulers, they have the cynicism to ask the workers to consent to new sacrifices and to additional privations in the sole interests of the warmongers.

IX.

In these circumstances, the General Council considers that still more energetic action by the W.F.T.U. is necessary in order to unite the workers of all countries, regardless of their political, philosophical and religious opinions or of their trade union affiliations, in the struggle for better living and working conditions and for peace.

X.

At the present moment the essential tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions must be:

— to give impulse to the struggle of the workers and to widen the foundations of united action in order to satisfy their vital demands.

— to assist trade union action to develop support for the national liberation movements in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries.

— to rally the forces of the workers in action to maintain peace, without which there can be no permanent improvement of living conditions.

— to denounce untiringly the attempts of the imperialists and their agents to deceive the peoples and to sow hatred and division with a view to drawing them into a new world war.

XI.

For the application of these tasks, the General Council recommends to the Executive bodies of the W.F.T.U., to the National Centres, and to the Trade Unions Internationals:

(1) — to constantly widen the international solidarity campaign for all workers struggling to improve their economic situation and for all victims of repressive measures and persecution.

(2) — to devote more attention to the defence of the demands of young male and female workers every-

where, particularly at their place of work, to help in the organisation of and to participate in the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth and to take part at all levels in the preparatory conferences.
— to assist, also, in the preparation and holding of the Conference in Defence of the Children.

(3) — to intensify assistance to the trade union organisations of Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East, and Latin-America, by widening the activity of the Liaison Offices of the W.F.T.U., to strengthen the recruitment of the masses into the trade unions. to strengthen the organisation of the unions, and to promote the formation of trade union branches and trade unions where they do not yet exist.

(4) — to support the trade union movements. in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries in their efforts to form trade union cadres and to improve their work among the working people, to organise regional trade union conferences in order to examine questions concerning the defence of economic and social interests, and to ensure the establishment and respect of legal rights, without any distinction between the workers of these countries, and of democratic liberties and national independence.

(5) — to support firmly the decisions of the 2nd Session of the World Peace Council and to strengthen participation in the signature campaign for the Appeal for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers, taking care to accompany this campaign with explanatory work.

(6) — to give systematic aid both to the European Workers' Committee and to the national movements against the remilitarisation of Germany in order that they may improve their relations with workers of all opinions and tendencies, thus widening the struggle and making it more effective.

(7) — to assist trade union organisations to struggle against Japanese rearmament and against the establishment of American military bases in the Far East, to activate the trade union movement to support actions aimed at bringing hostilities to an end in Korea and in Viet Nam, and to take an effective part in the Conference for the Peoples of the Asian countries planned by the World Peace Council.

(8) — to develop clear and precise explanatory work, accessible to all workers, in order to combat the calumnies and lies as well as the aggressive plans of the imperialists and their agents, and in order to defeat splitting manœuvres within the labour movement.

(9) — to show more initiative in developing the exchange of delegations between the workers of capitalist and colonial countries on the one hand, and those of the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union on the other. The reports of the journeys made by these delegations should be given the widest publicity possible.

(10) — to continue to improve the contents and the distribution of the Review "World Trade Union Movement," to study the possibilities of increasing the number of languages in which the Review appears, and of publishing the "Information Bulletin" of the W.F.T.U., to publish a greater number of popular pamphlets dealing with subjects of importance to the working class and to publicise the economic and social programme of the W..F.T.U. more widely by means of the Press and the radio.

XII.

The General Council is certain that trade union organisations will do everything to strengthen the workers' unity still more in order to defend their essential economic and social demands and to ensure the safeguarding of peace throughout the world.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

Resolution

on the

Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise

their

Living Standards and Against the Economic Social Consequences of War Preparations

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1.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. notes that the war preparations of the imperialists are resulting in a constant lowering of the living standards of workers in capitalist and colonial countries. Real wages are falling in many countries, unemployment is growing, taxes are being increased, the prices of basic necessities are continually rising, the sums devoted to social needs and housing are being reduced. Furthermore, the fall in the workers' living standards is continually reducing the purchasing power of the peoples, reducing the volume of trade, worsening the general economic situation and causing the growing impoverishment of the middle sections of the population. The fight of the working class for the defence and improvement of the living standards of all workers is thus of the greatest interest to large sections of the population, who must be called upon to give active support to the workers, thus widening the people's fighting front for bread, freedom and peace.

2.

In all capitalist countries the material conditions of the workers have seriously worsened. In the United States the prices of basic necessities have substantially increased and the purchasing power of wages has fallen by a third since the last war. Within one year of the intervention in Korea, the cost of living has increased by 14 per cent. The development of war industry has not solved and cannot solve the problem of unemployment in the United States. Even according to official figures, which are below the real figures, at the present time there are millions of partially or completely unemployed in the United States, leading a miserable existence.

3.

In Great Britain the prices of basic necessities are twice as high as before the war. Since the intervention in Korea, the cost of living has increased by 25 per cent.

4.

In France, the standard of living has fallen considerably. The real hourly wages of the workers are 50 per cent. lower than they were before the war. During the same period the burden of taxes has trebled.

5.

In Italy, according to official figures, nearly three-quarters of the families have an income lower than the minimum living requirements, while the income of 49 per cent. of the families is not even sufficient to ensure subsistence. There are about 2,000,000 unemployed in the country, plus 2,500,000 partly unemployed.

6.

The workers in colonial and dependent countries are in a particularly distressing situation. Millions of them are in a state of complete destitution. Deaths from terrible working and housing conditions, from hunger and epidemics are continually increasing.

7.

Intensified exploitation, organised robbery of the working people and the armaments race are bringing the capitalist monopolies considerable profits. Between 1946 and 1951, the profits of the big capitalist companies trebled in the United States and doubled in Great Britain. In contrast, hunger and impoverishment are the fate of the workers in the capitalist countries where the ruling circles are now preparing to thrust them into a new world war.

8.

Only in the countries where capitalist exploitation has been abolished and where the governments are pursuing a peace policy is there a constant rise in the standard of living of the workers.

9.

The General Council notes with satisfaction that in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the People's Democracies, and the German Democratic Republic the national economy and the well-being of the workers is steadily improving. National income and the real wages of workers by hand and brain show a continual rise in these countries. In all the People's Democracies, unemployment has been entirely abolished. The victories won by peaceful and constructive labour in the lands of socialism and democracy strengthen the cause of peace throughout the world and represent a source of strength and conviction for the workers in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

10.

In spite of the monopolies' offensive, the savage repression and police terror, the workers in capitalist and colonial countries are intensifying the struggle against the policy of war, hunger and poverty. The many strikes and mass demonstrations in which millions of workers are taking part bear witness to this fact. These struggles are often supported by wide sections of the population.

11.

The principle of united action is penetrating increasingly deeply into the minds of the working people.

Powerful organisational pressure and strike movements in France, by trade unions belonging to the C.G.T., C.F.T.C., and Force Ouvrière, prove this. During 1951 most of the campaigns for demands ended in success for the French workers as a result of united action. United action was the slogan for great working class struggles, particularly the strikes of metal workers, agricultural workers, and State employees of Italy, the German metal workers of Essen, the dockers of Hamburg, copper miners and dockers in the United States, the general strikes of railwaymen in Argentina, the strikes of workers in Chile and Brazil, the struggle of the New Zealand dockers, and for many other workers' actions.

12.

Joining in the general struggle of the workers for the improvement of their economic conditions, workers belonging to trade unions of varying outlooks are increasingly realising the harmful effects of the disruptive and anti-labour policy of the right-wing trade union leaders as well as of those of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. The leaders of this organisation rejected the proposal of the World Federation of Trade Unions for common action in defence of the vital and urgent needs of the workers, although this proposal was in the best interests of millions of workers.

13.

Just as during the pre-war years, the splitters are undermining the unity of the ranks of the working class, concealing their true aims behind chatter about the workers' interests. In reality, they are acting in accordance with the interests of the capitalists. The leaders of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions support a policy of wage freezing and intensified exploitation of the workers by the monopolies. They are smashing the strikes of workers fighting to defend their economic and social demands against war preparations and their consequences. Actively supporting the policy of preparing for war, the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. are trying by every method to divert the workers from their just struggle for bread, peace, freedom and democracy. They are endeavouring to split the trade union movement in Africa and Asia in order to hinder the struggles for national liberation.

14.

The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade union organisations:

(a) To strengthen activity directed towards rallying the workers' forces in the struggle to improve their living standards, against the consequences of preparing for another war, and for the development of an independent and peaceful economy.

(b) To carry on broad work of explanation among the workers and particularly to expose the true meaning of the policy of the reactionary forces and their agents in the ranks of the working class movement, who are endeavouring to deceive the workers, to divert them from the struggle for their basic demands, and to turn them by the fraud of class collaboration towards subjection to the interests of the capitalists. To propose to all levels of the trade union organisations affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. the carrying out of united action on the basis of the proposals made by the W.F.T.U. to the I.C.F.T.U., and thus to demonstrate to all workers and to public opinion the real causes of the refusal of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders to accept the positive and reasonable proposals of the W.F.T.U. To expose publicly those who may persist in refusing common action.

(c) To examine and popularise experiences drawn from the struggle of workers in different countries. To convene regional and industrial conferences, to examine the problems relating to the raising of workers' living standards.

(d) To set up wherever possible, bearing in mind the positive experience of workers in France, Italy and other countries, united action committees in the factories as well as provisional committees and trade union co-ordination committees, to undertake all other forms of activity leading to unity, and to promote alliances and strengthened co-operation between unions of different outlook.

(e) To fight systematically against the manifestations of sectarianism which still exist, to recognise that united action or trade union unity are won by unceasing and persevering struggle in the factories and in the trade unions. United action or trade union unity can be achieved by putting the problems interesting the workers before them in a simple and clear manner, by helping them to formulate their demands, by being ready to defend even their most modest demands. United action or trade union unity can also be won by clear and positive criticism before all the workers of the policy and the manœuvres of the splitters of the working class. It is necessary that the workers who are still under their influence understand the treachery of their leaders and at the same time learn from their own experience how to expose their lies.

(f) To give more effective support to the workers' action and to develop much wider demonstrations of international solidarity.

(g) To strengthen aid to the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

15.

The General Council recommends all supporters of the W.F.T.U. to make the W.F.T.U.'s programme known and to work on the basis of this programme among all sections of the workers, whether organised or not.

16.

On the basis of the economic and social programme of the W.F.T.U., the General Council stresses the necessity of obtaining the satisfaction of the following important demands:

The guarantee of full employment and a minimum living wage, the sliding scale, the fight against speed-up, the introduction of social security paid for by the Government and employers, the abolition of racial discrimination, the suppression of forced labour in all its forms, the respect of the principle of equal pay for equal work, and the obtaining of guarantees for the application of these demands by means of collective labour agreements or contracts.

17.

The General Council calls on trade union organisations to publicise the importance and contribute to the success of the International Economic Conference, convened for April, 1952, in Moscow.

18.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. appeals to all workers to close their ranks in the fight to improve conditions, against the arms race, and against the constant threat of another world war.

To win the battle for united action means ensuring for all working people a better life, liberty and peace.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

DECLARATION TO THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THE General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Berlin, draws the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations to the poverty of the workers in capitalist and colonial countries, intensified by the unchecked armaments race unleashed by the imperialist governments.

These governments are devoting enormous sums to war preparations. They are slashing expenditure on cultural and social needs. The purchasing power of wages is falling, prices and the cost of living show a steady rise, taxes are increasing, inflation is spreading, and trade union rights are violated.

At the same time, the capitalist monopolists are drawing fabulous profits from the starvation of the working masses.

The continued deterioration in the economic conditions of the workers is causing concern to all honest people throughout the world. Wage-earners in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are protesting and demonstrating even more strongly against the poverty forced upon them by the policy of the imperialist governments.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, authoritative spokesman for the workers of the world, cannot be indifferent to their claims. It therefore appeals on this matter to the United Nations General Assembly, particularly in view of the fact that the many constructive proposals submitted by our Organisation to the U.N. Economic and Social Council have been disregarded.

Such was the case with the proposals made concerning measures to be taken for the abolition of unemployment and the achievement of full employment, for the improvement of the standard of living reduced by war economy, the suppression of racial discrimination, etc.

In the present situation it is essential to take positive measures for improving the conditions of life for the workers. The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions calls on the General Assembly to recommend the Economic and Social Council to consider the proposals presented by our organisation. We propose that the General Assembly draw the attention of the Economic and Social Council to the necessity of studying, as soon as possible, a practical programme for raising the living standards of the working masses, the improvement of social legislation and the development and guarantee of the exercise of trade union rights, and to stimulate the development of normal trade relations between all countries.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. fully supports the Appeal addressed by the Peace Council to the United Nations and to the peoples of the world. The W.F.T.U. urgently calls for effective measures to put an end to the arms race and to prevent the unleashing of a new war. Such measures must involve primarily the progressive and simultaneous reduction of armaments, the banning of atomic weapons, the cessation of hostilities in Korea, the withdrawal of invasion forces from territories and territorial waters of other countries, non-intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples, and the conclusion of a peace pact between the Five Great Powers.

The W.F.T.U. calls on the General Assembly to bring to bear the full authority of the United Nations to save humanity from the threat of another world war. The workers of the world demand that the General Assembly put an end to the terrible arms race which benefits only the enemies of co-operation between the peoples. The workers of the world demand that the immense sums now being devoted to the production of armaments be used for raising the living standards of the people, for their welfare and their cultural development.

Berlin November 21, 1951.

Letter

to the

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

Sent by the W.F.T.U. Following a Decision

taken by

The General Council

Berlin, November 15-21, 1951

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to Sir Vincent Tewson, President

Mr. G. Oldenbroek, General Secretary
of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

24 Rue des Lombards, Brussels, Belgium.

Sirs,

We have been mandated, by a decision taken by our General Council in Berlin on November 21st, 1951, to send you the following letter.

Last July, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Vienna, sent you a proposal for the organisation of common action for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers in capitalist and colonial countries.

You sent us a telegram containing gross slanders against the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated trade union organisations, but, in actual fact, you failed to reply to our proposals.

The General Council has examined the contents of your reply and we want, first of all, to reply to the allegations contained in your telegram.

You state that you are perfectly capable of solving, without our interference, the problems facing the workers in these countries.

The facts prove that your claim is not justified. You have not been capable of solving the problem facing the workers, for two main reasons:

—because you do not defend the workers' interests with conviction and determination;

—because you divide and weaken their forces.

The same facts prove that when the workers belonging to your organisation have been able to obtain a partial settlement of their problems, they have done so without your aid and most frequently, against your wishes.

You ask us why we are doing nothing for the members of our unions in countries which are supposedly "under Communist control."

If you consider as such the free countries of People's Democracy and Socialism, we are prepared to answer you on this question.

The national economies of these countries are in full development. Unemployment has been entirely wiped out there, and the workers' living standards and real wages are steadily rising.

The living standards of the Soviet people have considerably improved as a result of the fulfilment ahead of schedule of the five-year plan for the reconstruction and development of the national economy. During the years following the war, the price of manufactured goods and foodstuffs has been reduced on four different occasions. The total income of manual and intellectual workers and peasants was 62 per cent. higher in 1950 than in the pre-war year of 1940. The National Economic Plan of the U.S.S.R. is being successfully implemented.

As regards your statement about the existence in these countries of "concentration camps" and "forced labour camps," this is a deliberate slander launched by imperialist propaganda. Sir Vincent Tewson, you yourself went to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in 1946-47. At that time you expressed friendly sentiments towards the trade unions of those countries. Other leaders of your Confederation made not only oral but written declarations on the great work done by the trade unions in those countries on the workers' behalf. We ask you to read, for example, the report on its visit to the Soviet Union in 1945 made by the C.I.O. delegation led by James Carey.

Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., wrote an introduction to this report in which he said that he considered the report as a document of paramount importance not only for the American workers, but also for all those who wanted to know the truth about the Soviet trade unions and who wished to contribute to the establishment of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples.

In the statement made by Carey at the Press conference and published in the report, he says that the delegation was particularly struck by the amazing heroism of a people which, in incredibly difficult conditions, halted the Nazis before their great towns and who, in so doing, helped to change the course of the entire war in favour of the United Nations. He declared: "We were horrified by the wholesale destruction wrought by the Nazis; but we were filled with the greatest admiration for the determination and united effort of the people, which has already brought about substantial reconstruction and promises great things for future elevation of living standards."

He goes on to say that as active trade unionists, they naturally attached special attention to the work of the Soviet trade unions. They were deeply impressed by their activities promoting the workers' interests and by their magnificent and wholehearted participation in winning the war and in the tasks of reconstruction. He

added: "We have also noted with pleasure their many activities of social welfare and of a cultural character and the comprehensive nature of the social security system they operate. Our observations have increased our pride in being associated with such a great trade union movement through the World Federation of Trade Unions."

These were the terms used by Carey in 1945 when the Soviet people had only just begun to carry out the great Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction and development of the national economy of its country, devastated by the Nazi invaders.

But this does not prevent James Carey from saying quite the opposite to-day.

You could have obtained documentation on working and living conditions in the Soviet Union from the reports made by the British workers' delegations which visited the U.S.S.R. in 1950 and 1951, delegations composed mainly of Labour Party members; from the reports of the American trade union delegations, composed of representatives of trade unions affiliated to the C.I.O., the A.F.L., and to the independent unions of the United States of America, which went to the U.S.S.R. in 1951; as well as from the many reports of other foreign workers' delegations which go every year to the Soviet Union, freely penetrating the "iron curtain," which exists only in the imagination of the warmongers.

Any objective, honest and decent observer inevitably reaches the following conclusion: the living and working conditions of the workers of the U.S.S.R. and of the People's Democracies are improving from year to year and the trade unions of these countries are doing truly great work on behalf of their members.

You are displeased because your activity is subjected to criticism in the W.F.T.U. Review and publications of our trade union organisations.

You are also displeased because the workers accuse you of supporting the imperialists' plans for aggression, of not defending their vital interests and of carrying out the orders of the imperialist governments.

You should prove that these criticisms are unjustified, but you fail to do so. On the contrary, you yourselves admit to the unpopularity of your rôle.

For example, the April issue of your organisation's Review published an article by one of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., George Meany, who, speaking of the application of the arms programme under United States direction, declared:

". . . We will be under obligation to sell the workers we represent tough Government controls because we took part in determining the necessity for such controls. We will be under obligation to tell our people they cannot get wages and working conditions they want and feel they are entitled to. We will, in a sense, become Government enforcement agents. But labour leaders generally are willing to undertake this unpopular assignment. . . ."

The reference made in your telegram to the difficulties resulting from "Communist aggression" in Korea is again nothing more than support for the criminal intervention by the U.S. imperialists against the Korean people. Thousands of miles away from their frontiers, the American and other imperialist armies are allegedly "defending" themselves against the "Communist aggressors."

More than a million men and women in Korea have fallen victim to this American aggression, among their number two members of our General Council were killed in their own country. You will never get the workers to believe that thousands of miles away from home, the American and other imperialist armies are defending themselves against "the Communist aggression." The Korean People's Army is fighting for the freedom and independence of its homeland, and the Chinese volunteers are forced to defend in Korea the integrity of their frontier against constant violation by the imperialist interventionists.

You go on to ask why we expelled the Yugoslav trade unions from the W.F.T.U.

It is perfectly clear that the W.F.T.U. has never expelled the Yugoslav trade unions from its ranks Only the Fascist elements whose presence, as you are aware, is incompatible with the Constitution of the W.F.T.U., were expelled from the executive bodies of our Federation. The Executive Committee and General Council meetings of November, 1951, elected genuine representatives of the Yugoslav workers to the executive bodies of the Federation.

You speak up on behalf of the Yugoslav Fascists, but you remain silent about the expulsion of eleven trade unions from the C.I.O. by the leaders of this Trade Union Centre which is affiliated to your organisation. The reactionary leaders of the Yugoslav unions are accomplices in a policy which is keeping the Yugoslav workers in poverty; and you are acting as their advocates.

The eleven trade unions expelled from the C.I.O. went on record against the anti-working class policy of the American Government and for the defence of the vital demands of their members. You endorse these expulsions. The condemnation by you of this arbitrary decision against these American trade unions would have received the support of all workers, whereas your intervention in defence of the traitors to the Yugoslav working class only promotes additional mistrust of your organisation.

In your telegram you mention the State Treaty with Austria. You dare, in complete violation of the truth, to declare that this country is being exploited by the Soviet occupation authorities. You maintain a guilty silence about the activities of the American, British and French occupation authorities who are carrying out the remilitarisation of Austria, who support the big landowners, and whose reactionary policy is an intolerable burden for all Austrian workers.

You ask what the W.F.T.U. intends to do to speed the conclusion of a peace treaty with Austria.

We are ready to approach the governments concerned to speed the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, and we propose a joint approach to this effect. We also propose that our two organisations make joint representations to the governments of the countries concerned for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

But these questions were not raised in our telegram of 6th July, 1951.

The conditions of workers in capitalist countries and, in particular, in colonial countries, are arousing the legitimate anxiety of all honest trade unionists.

Can you deny that in France and Italy, the living standards of the workers are steadily falling? It is sufficient to say that there are millions of unemployed in Italy, that the purchasing power of wages in France is now half the pre-war level, and that in Great Britain, whose trade unions you represent, Sir Vincent, the price of basic necessities is systematically rising and taxes are on the increase, while the workers' wages never catch up with the cost of living.

Similar examples can be given for other capitalist countries, including the United States (typical admissions in this connection are contained, for example, in the report made by W. Green to the A.F.L. Congress last September).

We proposed to you the examination of measures for fighting against the growing destitution of the working class in the capitalist countries. You refused outright, calling for proof of our sincerity.

But by what right do you dare to make such a demand?

The entire activity of the W.F.T.U. and of its affiliated organisations confirms our right to put our proposals to you. The successes won by the French and Italian workers in their persevering struggle for the satisfaction of their economic and social demands are the result of the united action of all trade union organisations in these countries. It is no accident that Christian, Socialist, independent and other trade unions, including those affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., are associating themselves with the demands put forward by the Italian C.G.I.L. and the French C.G.T.

The proposal made by the W.F.T.U. to your organisation is fresh evidence of its sincere desire for co-operation with all trade union organisations, irrespective of their political, religious and other views, for the purpose of waging a more effective struggle for the satisfaction of the essential needs of the workers.

We propose to you once again that, in order to strengthen the workers' unity, we undertake common action in defence of the urgent economic and social demands of workers in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, and that we give them effective assistance in their fight for better living and working conditions.

You accepted our common programme in 1945. This programme is still our programme to-day. It can serve as a basis for the establishment of common action by all workers throughout the world.

By a positive reply, you would prove that you are really ready to fight under the slogan: "Bread, Peace and Freedom," since every trade union organisation is in duty bound to defend the basic demands of its members.

This is why, despite the tone of your telegram, we are renewing our proposal.

Awaiting your reply,

Yours truly,

GUISEPPE DI VITTORIO,
President of the W.F.T.U.

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

Vienna, November 27, 1951.

Resolution on Social Security

THE General Council stresses once again that the defence and improvement of social security is of vital interest to the workers.

The General Council records the fact that at the same time as social security, incomplete or even non-existent in many colonial countries, is seriously threatened in many capitalist countries, it is undergoing very extensive and steady improvement in the Soviet Union and in the countries which are on the road to Socialism.

The General Council endorses the resolution adopted by the Executive Bureau at its session of July 2-6, 1951, in Vienna, regarding social security in relation to the economic and social demands of workers in capitalist countries.

It approves the organisation of an International Conference on Social Security.

The General Council calls on National Centres and trade union organisations in those countries where social security schemes do not exist or are underdeveloped or threatened, to organise a united workers' front on the basis of the broadest possible united action, to:

- develop and give general support to movements for demands relating to Social Security, while seeking to obtain the funds from government and employer sources;
- help trade union and other organisations in countries which do not yet benefit from social security schemes to obtain them;
- improve existing legislation by organising mass action by the workers;
- defend social security threatened by serious attacks in many countries;
- organise in every country, in forms complying with the structure of the prevailing social security system, occupational, inter-occupational, national and regional conferences for the defence and improvement of social security, in preparation for the International Conference.

The W.F.T.U. General Council calls on all organisations to take an active part in the International Conference on Social Security.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES IN WESTERN GERMANY

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. draws the attention of the workers of all lands to the increasingly severe attacks delivered by the Adenauer Government of Western Germany against the democratic liberties of the workers and their organisations. These measures, which are intended to lay the basis for remilitarisation, show the workers and public opinion that, on orders from the American imperialists, German Fascism is preparing to stage a comeback. Many bans have already been placed on the democratic Press, the Free German Youth organisation has been banned, attempts have been made to suppress the referendum against the remilitarisation of Germany and the peace movement and its members are being persecuted.

While the German people are discussing the carrying out of free elections throughout Germany with the aim of restoring German unity and speeding the conclusion of a peace treaty,

While this demand has the backing of all peace-loving people throughout the world,

The Adenauer Government is declaring its intention of seeking to ban the German Communist Party. The experiences of history teach us that this is not merely a blow against this Party alone, but also against all workers, and that other banning measures will follow. The trade unions are particularly threatened in Western Germany. Minister Dr. Lehr has frequently made threats against them.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. protests against these banning measures and calls for full democratic liberties for all democratic organisations and movements.

It appeals to all workers in Western Germany to defend their organisations and their democratic liberties.

But the Adenauer Government's repressive measures are also a threat to the workers in Germany's neighbouring countries, for these measures are part of the American preparation for war in Europe and intensify the danger of the repercussions of similar measures in other countries also.

The General Council therefore appeals to workers throughout the world and to their trade union organisations to send protests to the Adenauer Government against the repression of democratic liberties in Western Germany.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

IN the name of 80 million organised workers of the world, the General Council of the W.F.T.U. greets the valiant Egyptian and Sudanese peoples who are courageously struggling for their freedom and national independence.

The working masses of these countries, by fighting the Anglo-American imperialists, are struggling at the same time to put an end to poverty and to the particularly difficult conditions of life which, in the main, are a result of the centuries-old domination of foreign imperialism.

The Egyptian and Sudanese working class, in order to fulfil its rôle as the vanguard of a united front of struggle for national liberation, must ally itself with all democratic and popular forces. The paramount tasks of the trade union organisations of Egypt and the Sudan are:

—the consolidation of the unity of the working class for the improvement of its living conditions, for freedom and trade union rights and for social legislation, as well as for the strengthening of an increasingly broad alliance of the workers with other sections of the population in the struggle for freedom, national independence and peace.

The W.F.T.U. calls on all trade union organisations and all workers throughout the world to support in every way the Egyptian and Sudanese people in the rightful struggle which they are carrying on for the defence of their freedom and their national independence from the Anglo-American imperialists who, by occupying their territory and by the pressure they exert with a view to imposing on the peoples of these countries aggressive alliances (Mediterranean Pact, unified military command, etc.), are thereby threatening world peace.

The W.F.T.U. denounces the intervention of the British army to force the workers of the Suez Canal zone under armed threat to work for the imperialists.

The General Council gives its complete support to the resolution adopted by the second session of the World Peace Council concerning the countries of the Near and Middle East, and demands the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian and Sudanese territory.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN IRAN

IN the name of 80 million organised workers, the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions expresses its solidarity with the Iranian people who are carrying on a just fight against British imperialism for the utilisation of their national oil resources for peaceful ends, for the economic development of their country, and for the improvement of the standard of living of the population.

The General Council greets the Iranian working class and in particular the workers of the oil installations at Abadan, the men and women textile workers of Isaphan and the workers of Teheran, who are carrying on a particularly energetic struggle against the Anglo-American monopolists who wish to appropriate the Iranian oil industry.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. attaches particular importance in these circumstances to the strengthening of the unity of the Iranian workers and the granting of the right to free activity for the Central Council of Unified Trade Unions of Iran in order to make more effective the struggle of the Iranian working class for better living and working conditions.

The World Federation of Trade Unions wishes the Iranian workers full success in their action for the consolidation of their ranks and for the creation of a national front with other sections of the population, and in their fight for the true independence of their country and for the improvement of the people's living standards.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON NORTH AFRICA

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U., meeting from November 15 to 21, 1951, in Berlin, after examining the general situation in North African colonial countries in particular,

Expresses satisfaction at the development of the action of the working masses to win their well being and freedom.

It enthusiastically greets the struggle of Algerian dockers against the war in Viet Nam, and pays them special tribute for the new action they have taken on behalf of the struggle of the Egyptian people.

Such demonstrations show that international working class solidarity and internationalism are not empty words.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. denounces to the whole world the methods of savage repression which the colonial regime is seeking to establish to an increasing extent in North Africa against the peoples and workers of these countries who are demanding their just right to freedom from their oppressors and to better living and working conditions.

It protests indignantly against the shooting in Casablanca (Morocco) and against the arrests of democrats and militant trade unionists.

It also protests against the imprisonment of hundreds of young Algerian democrats who have been detained for months and even years, in colonial prisons.

The General Council learns with indignation of the colonialist sentence recently passed on four agricultural workers in the Oran region (Algeria) for their outstanding part in the strike against starvation wages and inhuman working conditions.

The General Council expresses its complete solidarity with all these victims of the regime of oppression and war in these countries.

It demands the punishment of those responsible for the crimes committed against the working peoples of these countries and the immediate release of all imprisoned democrats and trade unionists.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. supports the move to bring the Moroccan question to the attention of the United Nations.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

MESSAGE TO THE AUTHORITIES IN FRENCH MOROCCO

To General Guillaume,
Resident General in French Morocco,
Rabat.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. has learned that Brother Mahjub Ben Haj, General Secretary of the Federation of Railway Trade Unions of Morocco has been arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for having spoken at a meeting which took place on November 6, 1951.

The W.F.T.U., in the name of its 80 million members, energetically protests against this attack on elementary trade union and democratic rights and demands the annulment of this unjust sentence and the immediate release of the railwaymen's union leader, Mahjoub Ben Haj.

General Council of the W.F.T.U.

G. Di Vittorio
President

L. Saillant
General Secretary

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

PROTEST AGAINST THE ABSENCE OF A LABOUR CODE IN OVERSEAS TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH CONTROL

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U., meeting in Berlin from November 15 to 21, 1951, having heard the reports of delegates from African colonial territories under French control on the manœuvres leading to the rejection of the report made by the Overseas Territories Commission of the French Council of the Republic calling for the adoption of the entire draft Labour Code for Overseas Territories voted by the French National Assembly on 30th April 1951,

Considering that such actions cause substantial harm to the interests of colonial workers and to the development of the trade union movement in these countries,

Deploring the fact that this Code has been in draft form since 1945 without ever being adopted,

Convinced of expressing the deep and fervent desire of the workers in French colonial territories, who have frequently put forward this just demand,

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. calls for the adoption and speedy application of the entire Labour Code for French Overseas Territories at present before the French Parliament.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. appeals to all African trade union organisations to support and continue to put forward this major demand.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON THE SENTENCING OF THE DAKAR DEMONSTRATORS

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. has learned of the arrest and sentencing of Gueye Abdoulaye, Gueye Selle, Sarr Dembane, Da Thierno, teachers; Gerard Cauche, journalist; and Vickie Cauche, secondary school teacher, to terms of imprisonment and to heavy fines for having participated in a solidarity demonstration with anti-Franco Spanish youth in Dakar.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U., in the name of the millions of working people it represents, condemns this action; noting that most of the sentenced persons are teachers, it considers that these measures constitute both support for dictator Franco's bloody régime and an attack on the national education system.

The General Council instructs the Secretariat to take all measures to give effective international solidarity to these brothers, and calls for a review of the trial, the restoration of their rights, and their reinstatement in their official posts.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

CABLE OF PROTEST AGAINST THE ABIJAN (IVORY COAST) TRIAL

The President of the Abijan Assize Court, Ivory Coast, French West Africa,

The Governor, Ivory Coast, Abijan.

The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Berlin from November 15 to 21, 1951, having been informed of the indictment of nearly 400 African democrats on the Ivory Coast, and of the severe sentences already passed, having learned of the infringement during the trial of the rights of the defence, and of the death of some of the accused in prison, solemnly protests in the name of its 80,000,000 members against these attacks on democratic liberties and demands the release of the prisoners and the ending of the reign of terror which exists on the Ivory Coast.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RECOMMENDATION ON THE SETTING UP OF A COLONIAL DEPARTMENT ATTACHED TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE W.F.T.U.

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. notes with great concern the intensified exploitation of the colonial countries due to the imperialists' preparation for another war.

In preparing for war, the imperialists are seeking to maintain their domination over the colonies, principal sources of raw materials for war industry.

In order to allow the Federation to give more effective aid to the trade unions of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the General Council recommends the setting up of a Colonial Department of the W.F.T.U.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. instructs the Secretariat:

(1) In accordance with the decisions of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in Milan, to examine the problems connected with the rights of workers of countries of emigration with a view to co-ordinating efforts for common action by trade union organisations for the calling of a Conference to study migration problems and the rights of migrant workers.

(2) To obtain the application of international conventions and social legislation in force in metropolitan countries to the workers of dependent territories, without any discrimination.

(3) To send whenever possible W.F.T.U. delegations to Latin-America as well as to the colonial and dependent countries to study the situation of the working class and agricultural workers, and to observe the application of social legislation and trade union rights, so that the W.F.T.U. may be able to reinforce its help to the trade union organisations of these countries.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON BEHALF OF THE 34 SPANISH WORKERS ARRESTED IN BARCELONA

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. notes that the Fascist Government of Spain has intensified its reign of terror against the workers and patriots who are fighting against tyranny, hunger, ruin and war.

As part of this terrorist campaign, Franco has imprisoned 34 workers in Barcelona, who are accused of having organised the powerful general strike and the protest demonstration of the Catalan people against Franco in March this year.

The Government is demanding the death penalty for these militant workers in order to take revenge for the serious blow dealt by this struggle to the Franco régime, and has handed those 34 workers over to the Military Tribunal, where they have no possibility of defence.

In face of this threat to the lives of the workers Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, Isabel Vicente, and their 32 imprisoned comrades, the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated National Trade Union Centres, as well as the workers of all countries, must mobilise in order to save them from death.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. resolves:

To call on all organisations and all workers throughout the world to send protests, and instructs the Executive Bureau to take all possible action with the United Nations to defend these brothers, who are in danger of death.

To send Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and his 33 comrades imprisoned in the Ocana Prison in Toledo messages expressing the complete solidarity and active support of the W.F.T.U. and all its affiliated organisations.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN GREECE

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U., after examining the situation in Greece, notes that the Athens Government, carrying out the American imperialists' orders, is maintaining a régime of Fascist terror in Greece which is stifling the Greek people.

More than 60,000 Greek patriots are being tortured in the jails of American-occupied Greece, and many have died there. More than 3,000 of the prisoners have been sentenced to death. Very serious attacks have been made on trade union rights, and trade union freedoms have been suppressed.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U., in the name of 80,000,000 workers, indignantly condemns before the whole world the reign of terror which has prevailed in Greece for the past seven years, and sends fraternal greetings to the Greek people fighting heroically and selflessly for peace, democracy, and national independence.

The General Council strongly protests to the Athens Government and demands the immediate release of all imprisoned trade unionists, and of the Members of Parliament Manolie Glezos and Antonis Ambatielos. It calls for a general political amnesty, the repeal of all terrorist laws such as Order No. 509 and the law on "Security Committees," and for the abolition of the death camps and demands the complete restoration of trade union rights.

The General Council vigorously protests to the United Nations and calls on it to take measures to halt the reign of terror and to bring about a general political amnesty in Greece.

It appeals to all workers' organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and to all workers to express their solidarity with the Greek people fighting for its freedom, national independence and peace.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PERSECUTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS IN VENEZUELA

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. notes that the military dictatorship of Venezuela, under the orders of the American imperialists, is carrying on savage repression of democratic and trade union organisations. Hundreds of trade union leaders have been imprisoned for many months in complete isolation and without any charge being made against them. Among them is J. Farias, leader of the oil workers and member of the Central Committee of the C.T.A.L., whose life is in danger.

The General Council condemns this policy of the military junta of Venezuela and demands that guarantees be given for the life and immediate release of J. Farias and other trade union leaders arrested for their trade union activities.

It calls on all affiliated organisations to launch a campaign for the defence of the trade union rights and democratic freedom of the workers of Venezuela.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION AGAINST THE CRIMINAL TRIAL OF JOAO AMAZONAS, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE W.F.T.U.

THE General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions notes the shameful trial that the Government of Getulio Vargas has instituted against trade union leaders and other personalities of the democratic movement in Brazil, including the trade union leader, Joao Amazonas, member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a victim of continuous persecution which prevents him from carrying out his duties as a member of our world trade union organisation.

The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions protests to the Brazilian Government against the persecution of Joao Amazonas and other working class and popular leaders, and demands the annulment of the trial instituted against them, which constitutes an attack on democratic and trade union rights.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. appeals to all affiliated organisations to express their solidarity with the Brazilian workers in the struggle which they are carrying on in defence of their rights.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

RESOLUTION ON THE TRANSFER OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE W.F.T.U.

THE General Council of the W.F.T.U. approves the Executive Bureau decision regarding the transfer of the headquarters of the W.F.T.U. following the measures of a Fascist nature taken by the French Government against the Federation, banning its headquarters in France.

Berlin, November 21, 1951.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

DEC. 20, 1951 • No. 24

The WFTU does not ask you to renounce your political opinions or your religious convictions, but it calls upon you, as well as upon all trade union organizations, to intensify the fight for higher living standards and for peace, desired by all of us. In this struggle we all can and must, without distinction, unite our forces in fraternity.

Appeal from the General Council of the W.F.T.U. to the workers of the world.
(Berlin, 11 November, 1951).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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The Workers See Clearly Through The Game of The I.C.F.T.U. Leaders

WE are publishing below the text of the second letter sent by the W.F.T.U. to I.C.F.T.U.

Our first proposal dates from July 6, 1951. In it we spoke of the growing poverty of workers in capitalist and colonial countries, a fact recognised by anyone who is interested. We said that the trade unions must take more forceful action on behalf of workers with urgent needs. This is the legitimate concern of all those who honestly assume their trade union responsibilities.

The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. replied to our proposal of July 6 with the usual insults from the lower depths of anti-Sovietism. In order to avoid replying to our proposal for common action by all trade unions against the deterioration in the living and working conditions of millions of human beings, the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. put forward the claim to an exclusive prerogative over trade union action in the capitalist and colonial countries.

The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. know that their claim to an exclusive prerogative has no basis in reality among the workers in France, Italy, in the 21 Latin-American Republics, in Colonial and North Africa, in Egypt, the Sudan, the Middle East, in South-East Asia, in Japan and the Pacific. In those countries where they exert their influence, their so-called trade union prerogative comes into conflict with the desires of their own members. Their exclusiveness consists basically in complete disagreement between these autocratic trade union leaders and the mass of workers.

The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. had little hope of being taken seriously in granting themselves exclusive rights which the workers are daily challenging to a growing extent.

They then sought to convert our proposal for common action for the workers' urgent demands into a discussion on completely different issues.

These gentlemen of the I.C.F.T.U. believe that they are great experts in the field of international policy. Modesty is not their strong point. When the question under discussion is the issue of wages, and the insertion of better guarantees for the workers in collective agreements, they tell the W.F.T.U. that it must concern itself with the signing of a State Treaty with Austria. This is one of their methods of sidestepping the issue.

They think they are subtle. They imagine that they were doing the W.F.T.U. a very bad turn, but they forgot that in 1947, at the W.F.T.U. General Council meeting in Prague, one of their own men, then President of the W.F.T.U., had the request submitted by the Austrian trade union delegation withdrawn from the agenda. In fact, Arthur Deakin considered that it was not useful to examine this request at that session of the General Council. This was in June, 1947. Deakin was President of the W.F.T.U. until January, 1949. He made no further reference to the request of the Austrian trade unions, and his friends, the leaders of the Austrian trade unions, adopted within the W.F.T.U. the same silence on their own request and the same line of conduct with regard to trade union unity.

The reminder of these irrefutable facts unleashed the fury of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders. In the November, 1951, issue of their Review they nevertheless admit: "*If Deakin in fact again proposed postponing discussion of the question, his sole motive for doing so was the desire to act justly.*" The I.C.F.T.U. is therefore confirming the fact that one of its leaders got the W.F.T.U. General Council of 1947 to refer back the request of the Austrian trade unions. We record this admission, leaving Deakin clinging to his desire for justice.

The I.C.F.T.U. tried to justify this superb justice of one of those responsible for the international trade union split by referring to the functioning of the translation department of the W.F.T.U. According to the I.C.F.T.U., this department is responsible for the fact that in 1947 the former President of the W.F.T.U. obtained the withdrawal of the Austrian question from the General Council's agenda. This is a blatant diversion. In the Editorial of No. 19 of the W.F.T.U. Review, it was stated that "*the then President of the W.F.T.U., Arthur Deakin, who was chairing the General Council meeting refused to allow Böhm's (President of the Austrian Trade Union Federation) proposals to come up for discussion.*" Faced with this precise fact, the I.C.F.T.U. Review merely splits hairs about a matter of translation which has no connection with the General Council.

The report made by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat was in the hands of all delegates to the General Council. The President of the Austrian Trade Union Federation spoke at the session of June 12 on this report. He made a number of proposals to the General Council. No story about translation can distort the truth: the President of the W.F.T.U. immediately demanded that the Austrian Trade Unions' proposals be referred back because, according to the Minutes of the meeting they "*essentially concerned the Allied Control Authorities, and the General Council could not take any decision.*"

The I.C.F.T.U. blames the office-boy when its manœuvre against the W.F.T.U. comes unstuck. What magnanimous grandeur in the arguments of the trade union notables, specialists in "State Treaties"! But it will not fool anyone about the causes for the reference back in June, 1947.

But suppose that in November, 1947, at the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau meeting, the ex-President had, through his desire for justice, kept the document on the Austrian question in his dispatch case, without either the translation department or the Secretariat noticing this fact. Suppose for one instant that in May, 1948, at the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee meeting in Rome, this same dispatch case concealed the same document and that the translator on duty had lost his tongue.

Let us make an effort to believe that in September, 1948, at the Executive Bureau meeting, the ex-President's desire for justice made him leave behind at Transport House both the dispatch case and the document because the translator had not completed the work of establishing grammatical agreement between the President's desire for justice and his working-class policy.

Pushing our good nature to the extreme, let us suppose that it was only in July, 1951, at the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, that the dispatch case consented to open, and that it was only at that date that the ex-President was finally and completely convinced that everything had been translated into all the official working languages of the W.F.T.U., so that he could then invite the Federation, with the I.C.F.T.U. as intermediary, to concern itself with the State Treaty with Austria. This " referring back " cure taken by Deakin and his friends therefore lasted a little more than four years!

Imagine, against all probability, that the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. had never thought, in questioning the W.F.T.U. on Austria, of linking this question with the fact that the headquarters of our organisation are now in Vienna following the Fascist-type decision taken by the French Government against our headquarters in Paris.

Suppose, finally, that the intentions of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders towards the Austrian workers and people are as pure as the driven snow.

Having supposed all this, it is now up to the I.C.F.T.U. to make a reply.

On November 27, 1951, on behalf of the W.F.T.U. General Council, we wrote to the I.C.F.T.U.: " *We are ready to approach the governments concerned to speed the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, and we propose a joint approach to this effect.*"

This is a precise proposal which calls for no referring back. We are awaiting a reply. The Austrian workers, also, and with them, the workers of every country, are awaiting a reply in order to evaluate the desire for justice claimed by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. We shall speak about this again.

But once again, this is not the question.

We did not raise any such political problem in the proposal we made to the I.C.F.T.U. on July 6, 1951.

We raised a question having direct bearing on the normal powers and functions of trade unions, that is to say, the need to unite all trade unions in common action to defend the urgent economic and social interests of all workers.

On November 27 we recalled this same question by raising it once again. The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. turned a deaf ear to the question and are continuing to do so.

According to *The Times* of December 4th, 1951, these "specialists" on trade union questions have recently given further indications about their programme for the defence of the workers' interests. They insist on intensifying their participation in war preparations. They want closer ties with all the agencies of the North Atlantic Pact, entirely in the hands of the American monopolists and the warriors of the Pentagon.

But the workers of all lands will unite. They will compare the aims of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, and the prospects of poverty, hardship and mourning which these leaders are offering them with the appeal from our General Council for disarmament, the welfare of the peoples, and for the immediate satisfaction of the pressing demands of millions upon millions of men and women.

The workers will strengthen their unity at every place of work, in the towns and the countryside, on the basis of the W.F.T.U.'s programme. They will develop the fighting potential of their trade unions so as to place them effectively at the service of the working people's interests.

Together with the Executive of the W.F.T.U., they will declare that they "*expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. The trade union organisations cannot stand aloof from the actions undertaken by the workers.*"

They will support and back the W.F.T.U.'s unity proposals, whether they are affiliated to our world trade union organisation or not. To support and back the W.F.T.U.'s proposals means, for all workers, unity and action coupled with the exposure of those who oppose their unity and the isolation of those who sabotage their action.

Our letter of November 27, 1951, will help them in the course of their essential struggles. It will be publicised among the masses and, in this way, the workers will see still more clearly through the game of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

Letter to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

Sent by the W.F.T.U. following a decision taken by the General Council

Berlin, November 15-21, 1951

To Sir Vincent Tewson, President

Mr. G. Oldenbroek, General Secretary
of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 24 Rue des Lombards, Brussels, Belgium.

Sirs,

We have been mandated, by a decision taken by our General Council in Berlin on 21st November, 1951, to send you the following letter.

Last July, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Vienna, sent you a proposal for the organisation of common action for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers in capitalist and colonial countries.

You sent us a telegram containing gross slanders against the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated trade union organisations, but, in actual fact, you failed to reply to our proposals.

The General Council has examined the contents of your reply and we want, first of all, to reply to the allegations contained in your telegram.

You state that you are perfectly capable of solving, without our interference, the problems facing the workers in these countries.

The facts prove that your claim is not justified. You have not been capable of solving the problems facing the workers, for two main reasons
—because you do not defend the workers' interests with conviction and determination;
—because you divide and weaken their forces.

The same facts prove that when the workers belonging to your organisation have been able to obtain a partial settlement of their problems, they have done so without your aid and most frequently, against your wishes.

You ask us why we are doing nothing for the members of our unions in countries which are supposedly "under Communist control."

If you consider as such the free countries of People's Democracy and Socialism, we are prepared to answer you on this question.

The national economies of these countries are in full development. Unemployment has been entirely wiped out there, and the workers' living standards and real wages are steadily rising.

The living standards of the Soviet people have considerably improved as a result of the fulfilment ahead of schedule of the five-year plan for the reconstruction and development of the national economy. During the years following the war, the price of manufactured goods and foodstuffs has been reduced on four different occasions. The total income of manual and intellectual workers and peasants was 62% higher in 1950 than in the pre-war year of 1940. The National Economic Plan of the U.S.S.R. is being successfully implemented.

As regards your statement about the existence in these countries of "concentration camps" and "forced labour camps," this is a deliberate slander launched by imperialists. Sir Vincent Tewson, you yourself went to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in 1946-47. At that time you expressed friendly sentiments towards the trade unions of those countries. Other leaders of your Confederation made not only oral but written declarations on the great work done by the trade unions in these countries on the workers' behalf. We ask you to read, for example, the report on its visit to the Soviet Union in 1945 made by the C.I.O. delegation led by James Carey.

Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., wrote an introduction to this report in which he said that he considered the report as a document of paramount importance not only for the American workers but also for all those who wanted to know the truth about the Soviet trade unions and who wished to contribute to the establishment of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples.

In the statement made by Carey at the press con-

ference and published in the report, he says that the delegation was particularly struck by the amazing heroism of a people which, in incredibly difficult conditions, halted the Nazis before their great towns and who, in so doing, helped to change the course of the entire war in favour of the United Nations. He declared: "We were horrified by the wholesale destruction wrought by the Nazis; but we were filled with the greatest admiration for the determination and united effort of the people, which has already brought about substantial reconstruction and promises great things for future elevation of living standards."

He goes on to say that as active trade unionists, they naturally attached special attention to the work of the Soviet trade unions. They were deeply impressed by their activities promoting the workers' interests and by their magnificent and wholehearted participation in winning the war and in the tasks of reconstruction. He added: "We have also noted with pleasure their many activities of social welfare and of a cultural character and the comprehensive nature of the social security system they operate. Our observations have increased our pride in being associated with such a great trade union movement through the World Federation of Trade Unions."

These were the terms used by Carey in 1945 when the Soviet people had only just begun to carry out the great Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction and development of the national economy of its country, devastated by the Nazi invaders.

But this does not prevent James Carey from saying quite the opposite today.

You could have obtained documentation on working and living conditions in the Soviet Union from the reports made by the British workers' delegations which visited the U.S.S.R. in 1950 and 1951, delegations composed mainly of Labour Party members; from the reports of the American trade union delegations, composed of representatives of trade unions affiliated to the C.I.O., the A.F.L. and to the independent unions of the United States of America, which went to the U.S.S.R. in 1951; as well as from the many reports of other foreign workers' delegations which go every year to the Soviet Union, freely penetrating the "iron curtain" which exists only in the imagination of the warmongers.

Any objective, honest and decent observer inevitably reaches the following conclusion: the living and working conditions of the workers of the U.S.S.R. and of the People's Democracies are improving from year to year and the trade unions of these countries are doing truly great work on behalf of their members.

You are displeased because your activity is subjected to criticism in the W.F.T.U. Review and in the publications of our trade union organisations.

You are also displeased because the workers accuse you of supporting the imperialists' plans for aggression, of not defending their vital interests and of carrying out the orders of the imperialist governments.

You should prove that these criticisms are unjustified, but you fail to do so. On the contrary, you yourselves admit to the unpopularity of your role.

For example, the April issue of your organisation's Review published an article by one of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., George Meany, who, speaking of the application of the arms programme under United States direction, declared:

". . . We will be under obligation to sell the workers we represent tough Government controls because we took part in determining the necessity for such controls. We will be under obligation to tell our people they cannot get wages and working conditions they want and feel they are entitled to. We will, in a sense, become Government enforcement agents. But labour leaders generally are willing to undertake this unpopular assignment . . ."

The reference made in your telegram to the difficulties resulting from "Communist aggression" in Korea is again nothing more than support for the criminal intervention by the U.S. imperialists against the Korean people. Thousands of miles away from their frontiers, the American and other imperialist armies are allegedly "defending" themselves against the "Communist aggressors."

More than a million men and women in Korea have fallen victim to this American aggression, among their number two members of our General Council who were killed in their own country. You will never get the workers to believe that thousands of miles away from home, the American and other imperialist armies are defending themselves against "the Communist aggressors." The Korean People's Army is fighting for the freedom and independence of its homeland and the Chinese volunteers are forced to defend in Korea the integrity of their frontier against constant violation by the imperialist interventionists.

You go on to ask why we expelled the Yugoslav trade unions from the W.F.T.U.

It is perfectly clear that the W.F.T.U. has never expelled the Yugoslav trade unions from its ranks. Only the fascist elements whose presence, as you are aware, is incompatible with the Constitution of the W.F.T.U., were expelled from the executive bodies of our Federation. The Executive Committee and General Council meetings of November 1951 elected genuine representatives of the Yugoslav workers to the executive bodies of the Federation.

You speak up on behalf of the Yugoslav fascists, but you remain silent about the expulsion of eleven trade unions from the C.I.O. by the leaders of this Trade Union Centre which is affiliated to your organisation. The reactionary leaders of the Yugoslav unions are accomplices in a policy which is keeping the Yugoslav workers in poverty; and you are acting as their advocates.

The eleven trade unions expelled from the C.I.O. went on record against the anti-working class policy of the American Government and for the defence of the vital demands of their members. You endorse these expulsions. The condemnation by you of this arbitrary decision against these American trade unions would have received the support of all workers, whereas your intervention in defence of the traitors to the Yugoslav working class only promotes additional mistrust of your organisation.

In your telegram you mention the State Treaty with Austria. You dare, in complete violation of the truth, to declare that this country is being exploited by the Soviet occupation authorities. You maintain a guilty silence about the activities of the American, British and French occupation authorities who are carrying out the remilitarisation of Austria, who support the big landowners and whose reactionary policy is an intolerable burden for all Austrian workers.

You ask what the W.F.T.U. intends to do to speed the conclusion of a state treaty with Austria.

We are ready to approach the governments concerned to speed the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, and we propose a joint approach to this effect. We also propose that our two organisations make joint representations to the governments of the countries concerned for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

But these questions were not raised in our telegram of 6th July 1951.

The conditions of workers in capitalist countries and, in particular, in colonial countries, is arousing the legitimate anxiety of all honest trade unionists.

Can you deny that in France and Italy, the living standards of the workers are steadily falling? It is sufficient to say that there are millions of unemployed in Italy, that the purchasing power of wages in France is now half the pre-war level, and that in Great Britain, whose trade unions you represent, Sir Vincent, the price of basic necessities is systematically rising and taxes are on the increase, while the workers' wages never catch up with the cost of living.

Similar examples can be given for other capitalist countries, including the United States (typical admissions in this connection are contained, for example, in the report made by W. Green to the A.F.L. Congress last September).

We proposed to you the examination of measures for fighting against the growing destitution of the working class in the capitalist countries. You refused outright, calling for proof of our sincerity.

But by what right do you dare to make such a demand?

The entire activity of the W.F.T.U. and of its affiliated organisations confirms our right to put our proposals to you. The successes won by the French and Italian workers in their persevering struggle for the satisfaction of their economic and social demands are the result of the united action of all trade union organisations in these countries. It is no accident that Christian, Socialist, independent and other trade unions, including those affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., are associating themselves with the demands put forward by the Italian C.G.I.L. and the French C.G.T

The proposal made by the W.F.T.U. to your organisation is fresh evidence of its sincere desire for co-operation with all trade union organisations, irrespective of their political, religious and other views, for the purpose of waging a more effective struggle for the satisfaction of the essential needs of the workers.

We propose to you once again that, in order to strengthen the workers' unity, we undertake common action in defence of the urgent economic and social demands of workers in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, and that we give them effective assistance in their fight for better living and working conditions.

You accepted our common programme in 1945. This programme is still our programme today. It can serve as a basis for the establishment of common action by all workers throughout the world.

By a positive reply, you would prove that you are really ready to fight under the slogan: "Bread, Peace and Freedom," since every trade union organisation is in duty bound to defend the basic demands of its members.

This is why, despite the tone of your telegram, we are renewing our proposal.

Awaiting your reply,

Yours truly,

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

GUISEPPE DI VITTORIO,
President of the W.F.T.U.

Vienna, November 27th, 1951.

The Chilean People Fight Under the Banner of Unity

by CESAR GODOY URRUTIA

THANKS to the widespread activity in support of its demands and strong working-class organisation, the Chilean trade union movement, whose principal National Centre is the Confederation of Chilean Workers affiliated to the C.T.A.L. and to the W.F.T.U., is among the most powerful in Latin America.

Treachery of Gonzalez Videla

ECONOMICALLY, Chile has always been a prize coveted by imperialism, because of her strategic raw materials.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, British imperialism succeeded in controlling the exploitation of nitrate of soda which covers almost the whole of the desert stretching across the northern part of the country.

At the beginning of this century, British imperialism was almost entirely supplanted by German capital and, since the first World War, North American imperialism has exclusively dominated the exploitation of the rich minerals such as saltpetre, copper, manganese and sulphur.

To secure their domination the American monopolies made political use of parties, lawyers, journalists, and influential leaders from the old national ruling group.

When it saw its interests threatened, after the coming to power in 1938 of the Popular Front, U.S. imperialism tried by every means to win the successive presidents of the Republic over to its cause. Of these, Aguirre Cerda and Juan Antonio offered only a very weak resistance, not daring at the time to break completely the agreements they made with the people.

Gonzalez Videla, on the contrary, elected at the end of 1946 thanks chiefly to the support of sections of the workers and peasants, violently broke with the people in his second year of office. He passed over to the enemy's camp, and unleashed the most brutal repression against the working-class movement, forcing it to fall back momentarily and to adopt a defensive position. The government condemned Bernardo Araya, General Secretary of the Confederation of Chilean Workers, to several years in prison.

Not only did Videla pass repressive laws on the pretext of "defending democracy," but he still tried to divide the trade union organisations and to impose government control on them. Bernardo Ibanez, notorious agent of the American State Department and member of the Executive Committee of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions, lent himself willingly to all these manoeuvres.

The government's policy of surrender and treachery has suffered repeated defeats. Neither the Pisagua concentration camp where more than 2,000 workers and popular leaders are detained and subjected to a military regime, nor the fierce police repression directed against strikes and the trade unions, have been able to smash the living strength of the trade union organisations nor demoralise and intimidate the people.

All these trials have been overcome due to the class consciousness of the Chilean workers, and their long heroic tradition of struggle which came to the forefront again at the beginning of this century and is symbolised by the founder of our country's trade union movement. Luis Emilio Recabaren, whose fame extends throughout the continent.

"La vivienda" (the house). (Chilean drawing).

May Day Unity

NOT for a single day have the Chilean people ceased to struggle. Condemned to illegality, the resistance movement has spread to every section of the population, and unity has replaced the old rivalries and sectarianism.

The cause of unity has made the most notable progress in the trade union field. One after another joint activities taken by the people are paving the way to trade union concentration and preparing the necessary conditions for achievement of organic unity.

May Day this year was a magnificent demonstration of the feeling for unity and fighting spirit of the people.

The government made desperate but vain efforts to prevent or lessen the importance of the demonstration organised by the Unity Committee with the participation of every trade union organisation.

In an intensive radio and press campaign it warned the public to have nothing to do with the "Red May Day" and threatened to use the repressive apparatus of the state against all those who ventured out into the street on that day.

In spite of the propaganda and hysteria coming from official sources, long columns under the close surveillance of the police and army marched, with workers' banners held high, to the Capital where more than 60,000 workers met in the Plaza de Artesanos in a mighty united demonstration.

The main slogans of the parade were: unity, reduced cost of living and higher wages, restoration of the people's liberties, repeal of repressive laws, freedom for political prisoners, independence of the working class movement, opposition to the agreements made by the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Washington and to the sending of troops to Korea, and support for Peace.

Represented at this demonstration were all the Trade Union Centres and Workers' Federations, the organisations of government employees, private enterprises, the municipalities and the treasury, bank clerks, students, friendly societies, women's organisations, the Union of Intellectuals and even the small trade union group controlled by the government and affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

It has been a very long time in the annals of the Chilean trade union movement since there has been a May Day so militant and so united as was this one.

The Miners' Battle

THE extraction of copper, entirely controlled by the U.S. monopolies, is the principal

"Poblaciones" (shanty town on the outskirts of Santiago).

★

Chilean workers demonstrate their fighting spirit and desire for unity at a big May Day rally.

★

mining industry in Chile. The three most important centres are Chuquicamata of the Chile Exploration Co., Potrerillos of the Ander Copper and El Teniente of the Brandon Copper.

During 1949, production of pure copper at these centres was raised to 175,833 tons at Chuquicamata, 49,163 tons at Potrerillos and 126,516 tons at El Teniente. Add to this 20,319 tons extracted from the small mines exploited by national capital, and the total comes to 371,831 metric tons, which makes Chile the top producer of copper in Latin America and the second in the world.

The copper workers, with the workers in the saltpetre and coal mines, organised in their industrial unions affiliated to the Miners' Federation, were one of the main pillars of the Chilean Workers Confederation, and carried on bitter struggles for their demands against the imperialist companies.

Therefore, the repression let loose by the government in 1947 fell with particular force on the workers of these industries which are essential to the Chilean economy. With the aim of dismembering and destroying their organisations, the government decided to interfere in their internal affairs : it appointed their officers by decree; it arrested the real union leaders and the most active militants and shut them up in concentration camps or exiled them to the most inhospitable parts of the country.

Neither the imperialist companies who were behind this policy nor the government which was only their agent or dummy, could have imagined that at the end of two or three years the working-class movement would have been reorganised and that the workers would again pass over to the offensive.

In May of this year, the struggle suddenly flared up among the copper workers. The movement began in a section of the mines of Chuquicamata, and spread to the rest of these mines. The Chile Exploration Co., aided by the Chilean authorities, proceeded to dismiss the strikers and to arrest the trade union leaders who were brought before the courts under the provisions of the mis-named law "for the defence of democracy" which is typically fascist in character.

The strike spread to the remaining trade unions in the copper mining industry under the leadership of the Copper Federation whose president, having in the end betrayed the movement, was repudiated by the membership and expelled by order of his own party, the Socialist Party.

Living and working conditions of the workers have been forced down to levels hitherto unknown in Chile. The worker Senator Elias Lafertte denounced the situation on May 16 in the Senate. Among other revelations his speech contained the following statements :

The workers vigorously demonstrate their opposition to the Government's anti-national policy during the general strike of June 27, 1951.

"Living in a harsh geographical environment, isolated in a veritable concentration camp at an altitude of 3,500 metres, where physical effort is three times as great, the miners of Chuquicamata each produce an annual average of 30 tons of copper, whereas in the United States the annual production per worker does not exceed 18½ tons.

"The Chile Exploration Co., in its accounts, falsified so as not to give the whole picture, nevertheless is forced to admit having made 14 thousand million Chilean pesos in ten years (which is, at the official rate of exchange, 230 million dollars). The daily wage of the Chuquicamata workers averages 57 Chilean pesos, about 17,000 pesos per year.

"The copper extracted by each worker in one working day represents a value of 5,164 pesos. On the world market, copper is worth about 50 U.S. cents a pound, whereas the worker's wage barely reaches one cent per pound of copper extracted.

"The surplus value extorted from these workers, without doubt, reaches the highest percentage known anywhere. It is in these circumstances that the government of Chile considers that to rise against this iniquitous state of affairs constitutes 'an attack on the security of the nation'."

The fight of the copper trade unions against the imperialist companies has had other profound repercussions in Chile. The government has gone so far as to arrest the Socialist Member of Parliament and writer Baltasar Castro and has asked for his parliamentary immunity to be raised, accusing him of inciting the miners of El Teniente to strike.

On the other hand, the labouring class of Chile, in close cooperation with sections of office workers and officials of the middle class, has widely expressed its solidarity with the struggles of the copper miners against the inhuman exploitation of the imperialist companies.

National Work Stoppage against High Living Cost

BUT the discontent in broad sections of the population was so great that a national work stoppage for 24 hours was observed on June 27 throughout the whole country in every field of work: transport, public services, banks, industry, universities and colleges, municipal services, press, hospitals, etc. This protest strike was caused mainly by the increase in the cost of living due to the constant rise in prices and the wage freeze, by the violation of democratic liberties and trade union rights and by the determination of the Chilean people to achieve trade union unity and to safeguard peace. Despite warnings from the government which considered the movement "subversive," the workers took notice only of the decisions emanating from the leadership of their trade unions and from the Unity Committee Against High Prices, organ of the united front set up to lead this action of bringing all the activities of the nation to a halt.

At Santiago de Chile a great meeting took place, on the morning of the strike, at the Caupolican Amphitheatre which was crammed so full that the audience overflowed into neighbouring streets where loudspeakers had been installed to broadcast the speeches.

Representatives of trade unions of every tendency without exception, officials and employees of private firms, teachers, students and other sections of society took the floor amid general enthusiasm.

After the meeting, which acclaimed the slogans for increased wages, respect for trade union rights, freedom for political prisoners, and for peace, a tremendous demonstration formed and marched towards the centre of the capital.

The day of June 27th against the high cost of living and for trade union rights marked a new step forward on the road to trade union unity of the Chilean workers.

A Wave of Strikes Throughout the Country

THE disastrous economic situation of the whole country, the low standard of living of the people and the continued rise in the cost of living, resulting from the government's policy of submission to the imperialists' plans of aggression and war, have unleashed an irresistible wave of strikes spreading throughout the country.

The copper miners have not been the only ones to throw themselves into the struggle. The best proof of the fighting spirit of the people lies in the great strikes of the railway workers, dockers, bank employees, civil servants, employees of private firms, electrical workers, etc.

Of different political and religious opinions, from different trade unions, all of which could serve to divide them, the workers, nevertheless, stand united in the common fight for the defence of their social and economic interests on an occupational basis and on a local and national scale.

These great united activities extending over the whole country have nothing in common with the irresponsible adventurism of certain individuals who, having been led by circumstances into the leadership of the trade union movement, have opposed the fundamental interests of the workers, and have put themselves at the service of a determined section of the ruling class.

The Fight for Peace

IN the course of these joint actions, the importance of the fight for peace was never for a moment under-estimated.

Conscious of the dangers of the present imperialist policy, which is trying to drag humanity towards a new catastrophe, the Chilean working class understands that one of its principle duties is to work with greater intensity for the cause of peace.

Many trade union organisations have given serious consideration to the situation and decided to recommend that their members sign the Appeal for a Five Power Pact and set up Peace Committees in their places of work.

Up to the present moment several hundreds of thousands of signatures have been collected; but Chile, owing to its political and trade union development, has been able to collect less than a

During a demonstration by the people of Santiago against an increase in public transport fares, the mobile guard charges the crowd, killing eight demonstrators and injuring many others.

million signatures, which represents less than 20% of the total population.

During the peace campaign, two very interesting experiments were noted: the formation of committees in work places, in every workers' centre, which carried on a great deal of activity, and the drawing of the children into the peace movement.

Hundreds of children's committees sprang up, formed mainly of workers' children, who became the pioneers of the campaign and even went as far as organising public demonstrations, the largest of which took place in Forestier Park in the capital where more than 20,000 children took part in an impressive demonstration in favour of Peace.

Women have also played a leading role. One woman in the working class district of Quinta Normal near Santiago, collected 12,000 signatures at factory gates in her district.

Some of our nation's celebrities of world renown, such as the writer Gabriela Mistral and the poet Pablo Neruda, gave their support to the Continental Peace Congress in Mexico in 1949. Gabriela Mistral, despite her position as a consular official, has just launched a fervent appeal to intensify the fight for peace.

"Liberation" (Chilean drawing).

Salient Features and Prospects

ON reviewing the present situation in the Chilean trade union movement, we note the following features and prospects:

1. This movement is developing in unity and mobilising ever greater numbers of the people, with the working class in the lead.

2. It has drawn large sections of the middle class into the struggle, strengthening the alliance between them and the working class and favouring unity of all democratic forces.

3. It is imbued with a deep national sentiment which is being transformed into an anti-imperialist consciousness which links activity in support of immediate demands with the fight for national independence and for peace.

4. It is intensifying the fight for the independence of the trade union movement, for the restoration of the people's liberties and democratic rights, and through unity of action it is creating the necessary conditions for organic trade union unity by setting up a United Trade Union Centre.

5. Its weak point is the peasant movement, where the ban on the right of rural workers to organise, and police persecution, makes the work of organisation and propaganda difficult. We must organise the agricultural workers, develop activity in support of their demands, and stimulate the fight for agrarian reform.

The Chilean trade union movement feels itself linked more strongly than ever to the international working class movement represented by the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U. and is convinced that its activity is bound up with the general fight of the workers throughout the world for bread and freedom, for independence and peace.

Important Lessons of the French Teachers' Strike

by PAUL DELANOUE
General Secretary of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)

THE French people's fighting front against the disastrous effects of the "Atlantic" policy pursued by the Government is steadily growing. The recent teachers' strike in France marked an important step along the path towards the unity of manual and intellectual workers.

For more than a month, from mid-September to October 24th, French secondary, technical and university teachers, in close unity and without distinction as to trade union affiliation or political views, conducted a new kind of strike. Throughout this period, they refused to carry out any examinations of pupils under their charge.

This movement had very great repercussions. Many of these teachers were taking part for the first time in an economic movement of this nature. Never before in living memory in the Paris Law Faculty, for example, could one recall a strike involving all teachers. The students, their parents, State employees as a whole and all French opinion had their attention drawn to the dispute between the teachers and the French Government. What was the dispute about?

The Aims of the Strike

THE teachers put forward two main demands. The first related to the minimum pay for civil servants (in France this includes teachers); this minimum would have risen from 182,300 to 211,000 francs per year if the French Government had respected the clauses of the Civil Servants' General Charter adopted in 1947, following a proposal made by Maurice Thorez, who was a minister in the government at that time.

The second demand was that the graduated wage scale established in 1948 on the basis of this minimum wage for State employees should be applied to all *civil servants*.

A number of remarks must be made about this programme.

Firstly, the teachers were defending not only their material conditions, but also the wages of all civil servants, and their movement made a powerful contribution to popularising the necessity for unity among civil servants when taking the necessary action.

Secondly, this movement for economic demands had every moral justification. Since the Government had not respected the clauses of the law adopted in 1947, the teachers declared throughout the dispute: *we are the ones who respect the law which you have violated.*

Finally, and although this was not explicitly stated by the committee which directed the movement, this teachers' strike was not unrelated to past struggles and to the action of the working class. The continuous rise in the cost of living has led the workers to fight for their living conditions. As a result of these struggles, basic wages in the private sector of the economy rose by about 91 per cent. between 1948 and 1951 (an increase still completely inadequate in comparison with the rise in prices). The teachers were demanding that the basic wage

of State employees be increased by 91 per cent. in line with the basic wage of workers in the private sector.

This movement thus tended towards establishing de facto solidarity between industrial workers and State employees, in the sense that the advantages won by one section should have repercussions on the other.

Some Aspects of the Movement

THIS movement was conducted in a very democratic way. A "University Action Committee" was set up covering representatives of *all trade unions or professional bodies* concerned, without distinction as to trade union affiliations. It eliminated the division which had done so much harm to different sections of civil servants over the past few years.

This movement was at all times under the control of all the people concerned; the Committee issued regular communiques keeping all the participating organisations informed of measures taken and of the state of negotiations.

When the Government declared: "You are disregarding the interests of the students and their families by not allowing them to sit for examination," the University Action Committee told the leader of the French Government: "This concern for youth has been the basis of our calling for many years and our life's vocation. It is because we want to provide youth with high-quality teachers and the nation with high-quality servants that any compromise, however limited, which would subtract from our protest a fraction of its solemn firmness appears to us to be contrary to the interests of the nation, and therefore impossible."

When the French Government tried to "requisition" the teachers or to mobilise the students' parents against the strike, or to use the police, *gendarmes,* and general police inspectors to supervise examinations, the University Action Committee warned public opinion and denounced the government's manoeuvres. In general, *the parents manifested solidarity with the teachers; the students assured their professors of their solidarity; and it proved impossible to hold the examinations under police supervision.*

The movement broadened as time went by. It began in Paris but very rapidly spread to the provinces. At the outset, secondary school teachers only were involved, but the movement very rapidly spread to higher education.

Throughout the strike, the University Action Committee held firmly to the principles upon which it had been set up. When the attempt was made to split the teachers off from other public servants and to insinuate that special advantages would be given to the teachers alone, if they ended the "examinations strike," they replied: We are defending *all State employees,* we are defending the laws of the Republic and the national interest.

And, in fact, the Government was forced to grant a wage increase to all civil servants.

Lessons of the "Examination Strike"

THE University Action Committee itself drew the conclusions from its action at the end of the strike. It stated: "Our movement has already obtained the following results:

1. It has, by exerting pressure on the Government, obtained as from 26th September 1951 a substantially higher credit allocation than originally planned, thus making it possible to provide civil servants with increases of up to 19 per cent. and to bring about a slight increase in wage differentials.

2. It has forcefully placed the serious problem of the decline in the status of State employees before the Government and public opinion which seemed to be unaware of this fact.

3. It has rallied all sections of the teaching profession and all university organisations without distinction of affiliation or branch, in a unanimity of purpose which has proved to all that the teaching profession is an organic whole, conscious of the responsibilities of its mission.

4. It has enabled teachers to increase their moral authority among other State employees and has contributed through this resolute action to a real awareness of the unity of public servants fighting for the respect of their dignity.

5. Finally, by the declarations imposed on the Government, it has ensured a firm foundation for the subsequent development of our action."

This movement, *which was only the first stage of an action of much greater scope,* would undoubtedly have grown if primary school teachers, who were not involved in this form of strike, had been able to show more effective solidarity, and if civil servants as a whole had been able to achieve unity in action with the teachers much sooner.

But this strike was nevertheless a considerable advance in the development of the political consciousness of the teachers. It should be borne in mind that a large number of them belong to professional organisations which have never had any organic link with the labour movement. It is these same teachers who have realised that only united action, backed by the active sympathy of the nation, can defend their living conditions and the dignity of their calling. They declare that Education forms one whole whose national and democratic features they intend to defend.

The Labour Movement and Higher Education

HITHERTO, strike movements in the teaching profession had involved, in the main, primary and secondary school teachers. But today, this method of action is used by university teachers in particular.

This is an indication of a serious crisis and of a new situation.

It became clear to everyone during the French teachers' strike that the completely justified demands put forward by the bearers of French thought would not be obtained without hard battles. The President of the University Action Committee, Professor P. Bennezon, wrote in No. 28 of the Review *L'agrégation* :

"One day we ought to draw up a list of the inelegant and even unworthy means employed by the Government against us; our telephone conversations were tapped; the radio carried on a systematic campaign against us; public opinion was stampeded by deliberately false information. It is an extremely serious thing that it was possible to use such methods against us." These observations are identical with those formulated by the entire French labour movement.

Some University teachers in various branches had undoubtedly already joined the labour movement, had already taken out their C.G.T. card, but in these cases, this was essentially the adoption of a position of principle by men who had understood the historic role of the working class, which is defending the highest values of our time.

But now for the first time, and on a large scale, sections which had hitherto expected satisfaction for their demands from negotiation alone or from mere conversations with the government turned to other methods of action, to mass action which called for the support and understanding of the people.

This is a new historical fact. Quite probably these people are still not ready to join workers' organisations. The movement launched by these professors was undoubtedly absolutely "independent." It was jealous of its autonomy, which was quite appropriate under the circumstances, and which contributed to its success.

But it was shown quite clearly that the crisis created by war preparations is affecting new sections, and frequently to a very great extent. And these sections are not prepared to accept the material or moral restraint which the "Atlantic" governments are seeking to impose on them.

Our labour movement, therefore, has fresh possibilities before it; it can expand its campaign for economic demands and for peace by including the aspirations of sections of society which hitherto have been outside our ranks but which, like all workers, want a good and peaceful life.

THE MINERS DO NOT WANT THE "BENEFITS" OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTIVITY

By HENRI MARTEL

President of the Miners' Trade Unions International (Trade Dept. of WFTU)

THE intensified war preparations of the imperialists are accompanied by a frenzied campaign for increasing capitalist productivity, a cure-all, it appears, for all the evils that befall the workers.

The miners of the capitalist countries, however, are not falling for this. They are carrying on difficult and courageous battles against the policy of poverty and war which is crushing them with the high cost of living and heavier and heavier taxes, against the attacks on their social gains, for the defence and improvement of rights acquired in hard struggle by several generations of miners.

What have those who boast of the benefits of productivity to say to the Belgian and French miners who, during the last few months, have come out in hundreds of actions against the closing of the mines and against dismissals. In France, the labour force has fallen from 332,000 workers in 1947 with a production of 47 million tons of coal to 264,000 in 1950 with 52 million tons. The forecast for 1951 was 247,000 miners with an output of 54 and a half million tons.

The individual yield for each shift at the coal face has gone up from 950 kg. (2,090 lbs.) in 1947 to 1,334 kg. (2,928 lbs.) at the end of October 1951, compared with an average of 1,158 kg. (2,548 lbs.) from 1929 to 1938 (official figures).

Production has increased by 40 per cent as compared with 1938.

The miners' purchasing power is 50 per cent lower than before the war, with a 48-hour working week for underground work compared with 38 hours 40 minutes in 1939.

Productivity has increased by more than 37 per cent since 1947. The average daily wage, which was 678 francs for an underground worker and 466 francs for a surface worker in April 1947, has risen to 1,108 francs for an underground worker and 812 francs for a surface worker, an increase of 69 per cent, while the cost of living has risen by more than 180 per cent between April 1947 and October 1951. Thus *greater productivity means greater poverty for the French miners.*

The same is true for the Belgian miners, who are at present fighting and striking, forging unity over the heads of the splitting leaders, to win an hourly increase of 2 Belgian francs which the employers have refused to grant in spite of the fact that profits have increased. Profits reached 527 million in 1950 and have already reached about 620 million for 1951.

In France, the average amount paid the miner per ton of coal is 1,212 francs. However, the French coalmines have produced a profit of 88 thousand million francs, and a ton of coal which

is sold for 4,800 francs at the pithead costs from 12,600 to 15,000 francs when it reaches the ordinary consumer.

Sixty-six coal and lignite mines have been closed, in which the cost of production was only 3,500 francs per ton, yet bad American coal is bought at more than 7,000 francs a ton. That is an insight into what capitalist productivity means.

This productivity is costing the miners dearly: 262 killed for 1949-50 and 30,000 victims of silicosis in the Nord-Pas de Calais coalfield of France alone. In Belgium, the miners are on strike against the increase in the number of accidents.

In order to increase production, the mine operators in France, Holland, Belgium, the Saar and Germany impose heavy fines on the workers, short time, and demotion, cynically violating the miners' rules and agreements. They even go so far as to beat up the workers, as was shown by the miners' strike in one of the pits of the Borinage (Belgium) to obtain the removal of a foreman for having used violence against a worker. This man was condemned by the judge of the Conciliation Board. In the pits of Notre-Dame in the north of France, an overseer had savagely beaten up a young worker, but the management refused point-blank to punish him as he deserved.

A similar incident at Carvin (Pas-de-Calais) brought the miners out one hundred per cent on strike for three days in splendid working class solidarity with a North African worker who had been brutally beaten up by a foreman.

Productivity and the International Labour Organisation

LABOUR productivity was the principal subject of the deliberations of the 4th session of the I.L.O. Commission on the Coal industry which was held in Geneva in May 1951.

This session took place within the framework of war preparations. What the reports could not state openly, however, was stressed quite cynically in some of the speeches.

Thus, in the meetings of the so-called "Workers' group," Kennedy of the U.S.A. proposed an increase in coal production in order to conserve the oil reserves for periods of war and crisis; he congratulated the British on the agreement they had made on productivity and considered—like American experts who travel throughout the mining areas of the Marshallised countries—that the norms of production in Western Europe are clearly inadequate.

Confirming the fact that Belgium is preparing for war, Brother Van Buggenhout, representative of the Christian trade unions and a Belgian Senator, deplored the fact that "the present war psychosis is in danger of bringing the two blocs into conflict with each other."

Openly supporting this policy of productivity for war both in a session of the Productivity Commission and in a public session, Edwards from Britain, ex-secretary of the Miners' International, and member of the National Coal Board, declared that *there is a war threat which necessitates greater production* and that *it is absolutely necessary to insure guarantees for the Western Democracies by increasing productivity.*

When the French Government decided in 1950 to close down the Auchel colliery (Pas-de-Calais), 300 miners stayed at the coal face for thirty days, forcing the government to reverse its decision. Our photo shows the miners leaving the pit after victory had been won. In the foreground on the right is Auguste Lecoeur, Secretary of the Miners' Federation.

It is the workers who pay with their lives and health for capitalist "productivity." Our picture shows the funeral of thirteen miners killed in a pit explosion at Saint Eloy-les-Mines (Puy-de-Dome, France).

War preparation serves as a pretext for *an attack against the forty-hour week.* In the verbatim report of the sub-committee on working hours, we can read such statements as the following, which leave no doubt on this subject:

"The employers' delegates are not opposed to the reduction of working hours, but they consider that the conditions as far as economic stability and security are concerned, which must be taken into account, do not permit them to take this course at the present time."[1]

"The Belgian Government delegate agrees to the revision of the convention, but is of the opinion that the greatest prudence should be shown when broaching the question of working hours in the coal mines because, on the one hand, of the present general situation and, on the other, of the existence of the Schuman Plan."[1]

The government delegate of the United Kingdom declared that the present moment was not opportune in view of the international situation.

The argument is taken up in the preamble of the resolution of the "Workers' Group" in which it is stated that the difficulties preventing the ratification of Convention No. 46[2] lie especially in the fact that the ratification would, in the opinion of the governments, make it impossible for them to deal with such exceptional situations as that which we are experiencing at the present time.

1 Retranslation from French.
2 Convention limiting working hours in the coal mines.

Following logically on the position taken in favour of war preparation, the main aim of the Geneva session was to increase productivity. It dealt with bringing the workers into line en bloc on the pretext of improving their welfare and conditions in the coal industry by seeing that they received a fair share of the advantages resulting from increased productivity.

The employers' attitude was maintained within the sub-committee on productivity to such an extent that they delegated the task to a working committee of six persons who, in turn, passed the work on to a drafting committee composed of the same number of persons.

Discussion in working drafting committees changed nothing regarding the point of view of the employers. The concessions insisted on most strongly by the right-wing leaders in the "Workers' Group" did not even succeed in modifying it. The employers only agreed on secondary points, refusing point blank to accept the detailed proposals on important problems linked with productivity such as safety and health measures, inspection by workers' organisations, and a precise definition of "the fair share due to the workers."

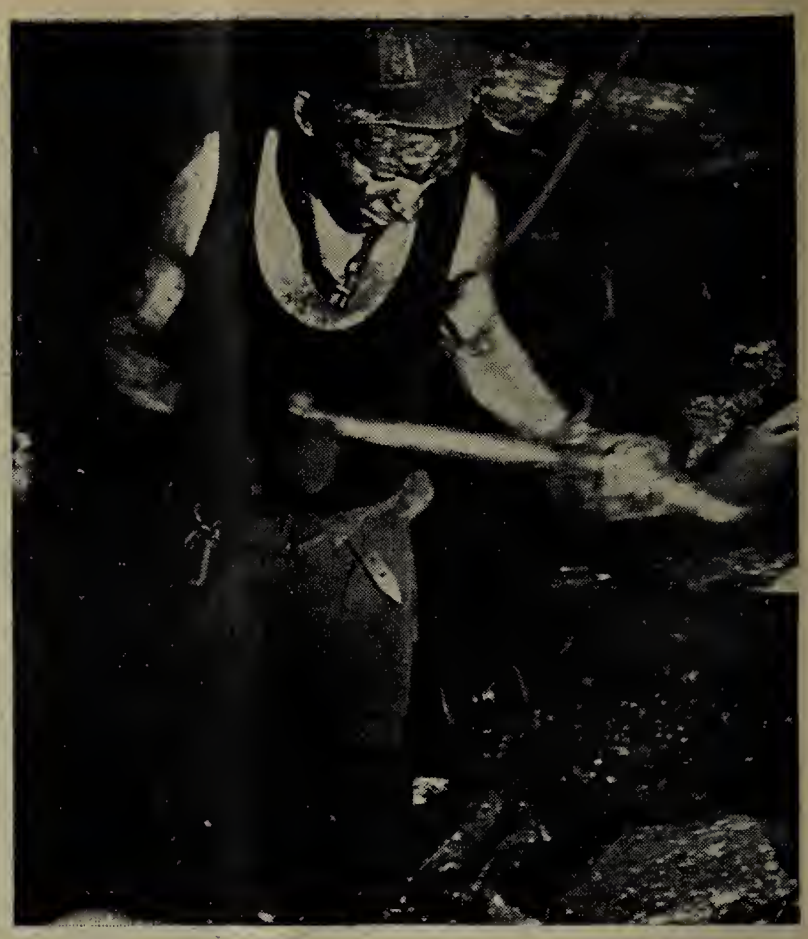
Other items on the agenda such as working hours, the minimum age for admittance to underground work, etc., were there only as decoration to the main plan which was to find ways and means for increasing productivity for war.

Capitalist Productivity, an Attack on the Workers' Living Standards and Peace

THE resolution on productivity, which swindled the workers, was adopted by 35 votes against 7, with 3 abstentions. I voted against this resolution, demonstrating with quotations from the economists' texts and international newspapers, including those of the U.S.A., that productivity as a dispenser of benefits for the workers is a trick exposed by the determined struggles which the miners in the capitalist countries are forced to wage to protect their victories on the social front against continuous attacks.

The experience of countries such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Saar, Germany and Great Britain, added to that of America and the colonial and semi-colonial countries, enabled me to demonstrate that an increase in productivity does not suppress the class struggle; it limits the workers' share, increases the capitalists' profits, and today serves to intensify rearmament. It aggravates speed-up, wears out the workers, and kills them in greater number.

While, on the contrary, productivity in the countries freed from capitalism really provides a source of greater well-being, of political and social progress from which the workers derive constant benefits.



As for the miners of Western Europe, they know the kind of benefits they can expect from the much-vaunted productivity at Geneva. They are daily forging wider and stronger unity as each day brings new proofs that increasing productivity leads to an intensification of exploitation and of the class struggle, and the facts quoted above show that in France and Belgium governments and employers are attacking the miners' social security, one of the greatest gains in the industry.

They are also aware that the campaign for the increase in productivity is directed against their national independence. Experts like Robinson in Belgium, Dyer and Goyen in France come to complete the attacks on our independence by making the mines dependent on and under the direction of the American masters.

The miners are conscious that "productivity" constitutes a threat to peace, since the more they produce the greater the production for war and the less for peace. Thus unity is being achieved in all the coalfields under the leadership of the partisans of peace, for the defence of peace and security, for better pensions and for respect for trade union rights.

"Go home, American . . ." is a popular phrase, for the miners realise that at Geneva everything would have gone very well without the American cream pie of "productivity."

Men and women mineworkers are forced to do exhausting physical work throughout the mines of Western Europe.

International Meetings attended by The WFTU

May-December, 1951*

May 14th-June 4th **New York**	6th Session of the United Nations Economic Employment and Development Commission. W.F.T.U. representative : E. KAHN.
May 29th-June 13th **Geneva**	6th Session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe of the Economic and Social Council. W.F.T.U. representative : J. DURET.
May, 1951 **Geneva**	4th Session of the I.L.O. Coal Committee. W.F.T.U. representative : H. MARTEL.
June 6th-20th **Geneva**	34th International Labour Conference (I.L.O.). W.F.T.U. representative : G. FISCHER.
June 16th **Mexico**	4th Session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America. W.F.T.U. representative : V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO.
June 18th-July 11th **Paris**	6th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO. W.F.T.U. representatives : P. DELANOUE, J. AMELAINE.
June 18th-19th **Paris**	Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organisations (U.N.O.). W.F.T.U. representatives : P. DELANOUE, J. AMELAINE.
July 30th-Sept. 16th **Geneva**	13th Session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council. W.F.T.U. representative : G. FISCHER.
October 2nd-15th **Naples**	I.L.O. Conference on Migration. W.F.T.U. representative : F. SANTI.
October, 1951 **New York**	U.N. Sub-Commission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of Minorities. W.F.T.U. representative : E. KAHN.
November, 1951 **Paris**	6th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. W.F.T.U. representatives : A. LE LEAP, G. FISCHER, S. LEONARDI.
November 12th **Rome**	13th Session of the Council of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organisation. W.F.T.U. representative : VIDIMARI.
November 16th **Paris**	3rd meeting of Non-Governmental Organisations (UNESCO). W.F.T.U. representative : P. DELANOUE.
November 20th-23rd **Geneva**	117th Session of the I.L.O. Governing Body. W.F.T.U. representatives : G. FISCHER, M. SZECSI.
November 21st **Paris**	Conference of Representatives of International Youth Organisations (UNESCO-U.N.O.). W.F.T.U. representative : J. MARCHAND.
December 5th-15th **Genoa**	4th Session of the I.L.O. Committee for Internal Transport. W.F.T.U. representative : G. MASSINI.

*For meetings prior to the above, see the list which appeared in "World Trade Union Movement," (May 5, 1951).

COMMENT ON HENRI JOURDAIN'S ARTICLE

"THE FIGHT FOR A SLIDING SCALE"

By HUGH BRYSON

President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards

In No. 19 of this Review (October 5th, 1951) we published an important article, "The Fight for a Sliding Wage Scale," by Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Workers of the Metal and Engineering Industries.

Following publication of this article, we received a comment from Hugh Bryson, President of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, analysing the question of a sliding scale in the actual conditions existing in the United States.

We are publishing this comment in the hope that other correspondents will, by stating their point of view, provide a valuable exchange of experience of the struggle of the workers in the various countries.

I HAVE read Brother Jourdain's article on the sliding scale in the last issue of your excellent magazine with a great deal of interest. I welcome it because it provides an opportunity to clarify our thinking on this important issue.

It is a little difficult to discuss Brother Jourdain's article because nowhere in it does he explain what he means by a sliding scale.

From our general information we believe that the European trade unions have an entirely different understanding of what is meant by a sliding scale than workers in the United States. To most unions in European countries the sliding scale is a method by which wages go *up* only, according to the cost of living, between *frequent* contract openings. It is a method of preserving *advances* in wages between frequent wages negotiations.

No union man can object to this. What is meant in the United States by the so-called "escalator clause" is something very different. The type of escalator clause now prevalent in the United States was an idea of Charles Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, one of the largest and most anti-labour corporations in this country.

The prominent trade union leader, John L. Lewis, discussed this escalator clause before the big Ford local of the United Automobile Workers and said:

". . . . Charles Wilson claims he invented it, and to the best of my knowledge it's the first time I ever heard him claim that he invented anything that was any good for you. I think he invented it for General Motors; in fact, I know it very well."

Charles Wilson himself stated in a speech:

"I am personally convinced that, if there were no unions and no labor contracts like General Motors has in the automotive industry, the increase in wages would already have greatly exceeded what has occurred. This increase to my mind would be much more comparable with the increase that has occurred in commodities, for if we had a completely free labor market with no unions and no contracts, labor would have been able to sell its services at a rapidly increasing price just as the owners of commodities have been able to do so."

(*Federated Press*, 30/8/51)

This is not merely an anti-labor statement. It also constitutes a damning indictment of the General Motors escalator clause.

The General Motors' escalator clause goes both *up and down.*

The General Motors' escalator clause covers a five-year period during which the basic contract is frozen. For five long years the workers are frozen under a contract which permits the company to speed them up mercilessly, a contract in which many working conditions are extremely bad. During this five-year period the workers have nothing else to do except to watch the Consumers' Price Index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. One prominent business paper commented at the time that at the end of five years the General Motors workers will have forgotten they ever had a union.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics' Index to which wages are tied in this escalator clause understates the true increase in the cost of living of the workers by about 50 per cent. The A.F.L. and the C.I.O. made a study of living costs during World War II which demonstrated the errors of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Index in great detail. Recently, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers brought this A.F.L.-C.I.O. study up to date and proved conclusively that the Bureau of Labor Statistics issues a completely fraudulent Consumers' Price Index. The net effect is that General Motors' workers have learned to their sorrow that agreeing to tie wages to this false index means that they agree beforehand to a steady deterioration in their real wages—while profits zoom to unprecedented levels.

They have developed a real hatred for the labor leaders who have betrayed them by agreeing to such escalator clauses. In the United States today agreeing to such clauses represents collaboration with the employer, for the employer's interests. Walter Reuther is the outstanding example in this country and because of it there is a growing rebellion against him within the ranks of the Auto Workers.

I have dwelt on the General Motors contract because it typifies all the evils of escalator clauses as they are practiced in this country. Some three million American workers are now suffering in this strait-jacket. Almost invariably the fraudulent Bureau of Labor Statistics' Index is used. Almost always, the price exacted for the "benefit" of this clause is a long-term contract, during which basic contract conditions cannot be improved. In some cases, the escalator clause is made a little more attractive by the addition of a small, so-called "improvement factor." When this is added, the employer says he's free to speed up the workers because he's "paid" for it.

The workers in the strong unions have always been able to make out far better than workers under any kind of escalator clauses.

The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, of which I have the honor to be President, has raised the base wages of our workers by 257 per cent. from 1940 to 1950. In this period the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Index increased by 72 per cent. Even the more accurate United Electrical Workers Index rose by 132 per cent.

Other unions like the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the United Mine Workers have also succeeded in raising wages far more than any cost-of-living index. It is impossible to go to these workers and suggest any kind of escalator clause—even a good one.

The true nature of the escalator clause in this country is shown by the fact that it has now been adopted by the reactionary anti-labor Truman Administration, as its own technique for impoverishing the workers and throwing the burden of the growing armament program entirely on the shoulders of the workers. It is part and parcel of the wage freeze program.

Under Wage Stabilization Regulation No. 8 workers are encouraged to sign escalator clauses tied, of course, to this fraudulent Bureau of Labor Statistics Index. This constitutes an escalator clause with an indefinite duration. It starts from January 1951. The workers are therefore saddled with more than the equivalent of a five-year contract as in the case of General Motors. They are saddled with a contract of indefinite duration. This is the master plan by which the employers in the United States and their Truman Administration intend to impoverish the workers of this country.

In view of the practical situation that exists in the United States today, it is impossible to go to the workers and favor an escalator clause. The workers hate escalator clauses and want no part of them. If anybody said that their escalator clauses are bad, but that another kind of escalator clause would be good, they would be impatient or confused.

In view of the practical situation in the United States today most progressive and fighting trade unions favor frequent wage openings. Even under the Wage Stabilization Board regulations, it is possible to match the increase in the Consumers' Price Index since January 1, 1951, by negotiations every six months.

Obviously it is better to negotiate every six months rather than sign an escalator clause. Escalator clauses work automatically up and *down.* When a wage increase is negotiated, you go up and stay up, even if prices drop later.

* * *

MY comments on Brother Jourdain's excellent article should not be misconstrued. I have no quarrel in theory with Brother Jourdain. Everything he says is basically true.

This is not the first time the employers have taken a good thing for the workers and have converted it into a good thing for themselves. They've done this to escalator clauses in the United States. And employers in other countries will undoubtedly try to do the same. Workers everywhere can learn from our experience in the United States. Cost of living indexes in many other countries are probably as bad as in the United States. Workers must adapt their tactics to the conditions in each country. What may be good for all capitalist countries as a group, may have to be modified in some. This is certainly true in the field of escalator clauses in the United States.

ECONOMIC NOTES

• *In July 1951 a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee visited Europe to study United States Economic and Military Assistance to Europe. The following quotations from various U.S. Government officials are taken from the official report of the hearings before this committee.**

DENMARK

Harold Shantz, Counsellor, American Embassy:

"To . . . obtain much larger funds for defence, they have within the past eight months increased taxes and excise taxes, instituted forced savings, increased bank rates, and have taken numerous steps to reduce consumption. . . ." (P. 79).

NORWAY

John E. Gross, Chief, Economic Co-operation Administration:

"I think they have done a good job of adjusting their standard of living. They have kept it at as low a level as anybody could imagine keeping it during this time. . . . I don't think you could go a great deal further down." (P. 101.)

GREAT BRITAIN

Paul D. Dickens, United States Treasury Representative:

"It (the government) is now prepared to let increases in prices absorb a substantial amount of consumer purchasing power so as to prevent that purchasing power from exercising command over additional real resources. In other words, consumers will be expected to spend some £600 million more on consumption in 1951 but to receive some £50 million less in actual goods and services." (P. 117-8.)

GREECE

Mr. Bryan, U.S. Mission:

"Fifty per cent. of the Greek revenue is devoted to the military forces of Greece. That is a terrific load." (P. 142.)

TURKEY

George Wadsworth, United States Ambassador:

"In the last ten years, for instance, their Ministry of National Defence has been allocated between 33 and 40 per cent. of the national budget every year. And that figure includes nothing by way of economic items that go to support the national defence effort; nor does it include cost of coast guard, or national security services, or gendarmerie." (P. 158.)

ITALY

Mildren L. Dayton, Chief, Economic Co-operation Administration:

"The average per capita income in Italy, after taxes, is about $220 per year. This is a terribly low figure, which does not leave much latitude for the expansion of investment programmes, and so forth.... Our programme now for this fiscal year, in fact the whole effort of the country team in Rome, is devoted to obtaining a maximum defence programme. Everything else is secondary to this effort.... I do not feel that after this fiscal year we should attempt to fool ourselves, or the Italians, by leaving the impression that our major purpose is economic co-operation, when it is really military co-operation." (P. 170-1, 176.)

Robert B. Eicholz, Special Assistant Mutual Defence Programme:

"Of all North Atlantic Treaty countries in Europe, Italy probably possesses the greatest resources of presently idle, skilled manpower and industrial plant which can contribute very materially to increased military production in Europe.... Also, while the unemployed are now a drain on the budget, some of them could make soldiers." (P. 181, 2.)

FRANCE

David Bruce, United States Ambassador:

"The French military budget for the year 1949, expressed in dollars, was $1,100 million. In 1950 it was $1,800. In 1951 it is $2,600 million or 9.7 per cent. of the gross national product. The calculations made on a calendar-year basis for presentation to the Congress in connection with the foreign-aid bill are that France will be capable of making an even greater effort in the magnitude of approximately $3,200 million in 1952.... There is involved a fundamental political question. The standard of living in France for a large number of people is already too low." (P. 203.)

Henry Parkman, Chief, Economic Co-operation Administration:

"Even if the optimistic estimates are justified, it is very clear that the defence cost and arms production are going to place a heavy strain on the French economy.... There will be cutbacks in investment, undoubtedly; that is, investment that does not contribute directly to defence. The production of consumer goods will have to be reduced but there is an urgent programme for housing which is the No. 1 social problem in France, and for other social purposes, but which may have to be postponed. The cost of living is rising and it may rise still further." (P. 220.)

BELGIUM

Robert D. Murphy, United States Ambassador:

"At the present time, roughly $410 million per year is devoted to the military, including about $75 million for strategic public work not directly connected with the defence establishment. That marks an increase from 1949, when they were spending about $170 million." (P. 231.)

NETHERLANDS

Mr. Hunter, Economic Co-operation Administration:

"They must tighten credit, reduce investments 20 to 25 per cent., increase consumption 5 per cent., increase taxes and meet this additional burden of this $500 million in four years—or one-fourth of that for one year—by taxes and by loans.... Prices rose 11 per cent., and wages only rose 5 per cent. They suffered more than they had contracted to take, and they complained about it for a long time...." (P. 252-3.)

* Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate on U.S. Economic and Military Assistance to Free Europe, Washington 1951.

THE POLISH TRADE UNIONS

and the material and cultural well-being of the workers

By VICTOR KLOSIEWICZ

President of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions

WHEN our country was liberated by the Soviet Army from the Hitlerite occupation, the working class, in alliance with the working peasantry, took political power into their hands.

This fact created new historical conditions which gave the trade unions the opportunity to become the largest mass organisation of the ruling and governing working class and to take up the problem of systematically improving the living standards and cultural level of the working people. These new conditions form a type of socialist economy whose iron law is an ever-increasing expansion of the material well-being and culture of the workers.

In what ways is this improvement in the situation of the working people under a People's Democracy principally shown?

(a) In the fact that real wages show a permanent systematic rise; this year real wages are 35 per cent higher than in 1938, and according to the planned increase will have risen by another 40 per cent by 1955 as compared with 1949;

(b) In stable prices for the necessities of life, with even a tendency for them to fall;

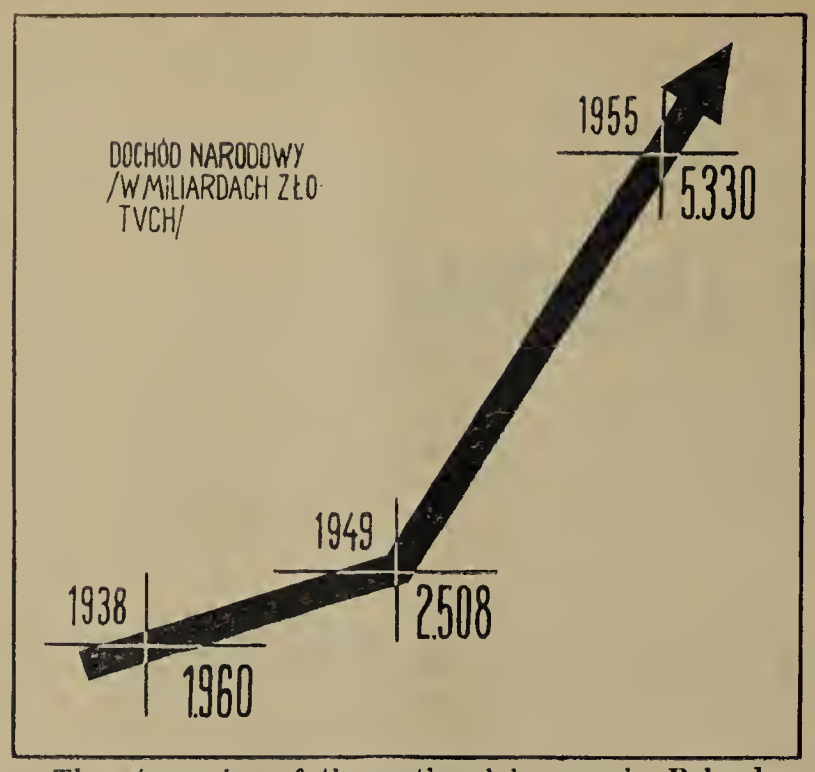
(c) In the large sums allotted by the State to social measures, to medical care, social insurance, cultural and educational purposes, sport and physical culture.

Trade Unions Share in Planning Economic Progress

THE size of the sums allotted to these purposes is best illustrated by our State Budget, in which 31.5 per cent of the total expenditure is allocated to social and cultural purposes.

The disposal of these sums, the determination of their best use, and the principal control over their expenditure has largely been entrusted by the State to the trade unions, which fulfil this responsible function through various committees and union bodies in the factories.

Besides these rights, the Trade Unions, as defenders of the main material, cultural and trade interests of the working people, also exert their influence on general wage and price policies and on all budget expenditure, through their representatives in the State Council, the Presidium of the Council of Minis-



The steep rise of the national income in Poland (one thousand million zlotys).

ters and other leading organs of the State. In this field the Trade Unions may make suggestions for new decisions, express their opinion on new drafts and make demands to the State organs in defence of the needs of the working people.

Thus the trade unions exert an essential influence on the distribution of the national income, beginning with the highest governmental bodies and ending in the factories; this has become possible because in our type of State there is no contradiction between the interests of the working class and the interests of the State; because under the conditions of socialist accumulation permanent improvement of the socialist economy is indissolubly linked with an increase in material prosperity. This is just the opposite of the capitalist system, where, as Marx has written "to the accumulaton of wealth at one pole there is at the same time a corresponding accumulation of misery, slavery, ignorance and moral degradation at the other pole." (*Capital,* Volume I).

In their continuous effort to increase the well-being of the working class the trade unions realise that the way towards this improvement lies in increasing industrialisation of the country, and continuously raising the quantity of goods produced. This does not lead to overproduction as it inevitably would under capitalism, but on the contrary, in the circumstances of our economy, creates the condition for a further improvement in the living standards of the working people.

Our trade unions are therefore interested in increasing the productivity of labour, in perfecting methods of production and in steadily improving the trade qualifications of new workers, for they consider all these necessary for a satisfactory supply of consumer goods to the market.

High productivity of labour in our country is not linked with greater physical effort. It results from a conscious socialist attitude towards work and also from widely-applied mechanisation, which makes human labour easier.

Let us now examine the practical methods by which the trade unions use these wide rights concerning the living standards and cultural level of the workers.

In accordance with their fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the State, the unions conclude collective agreements on wages with the representatives of certain branches of industry. They also supervise the exact fulfilment of these agreements.

Union delegates participate in the award of gratuities, distinctions and government awards which occur very frequently in our society.

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New workers' homes in Lower Silesia.

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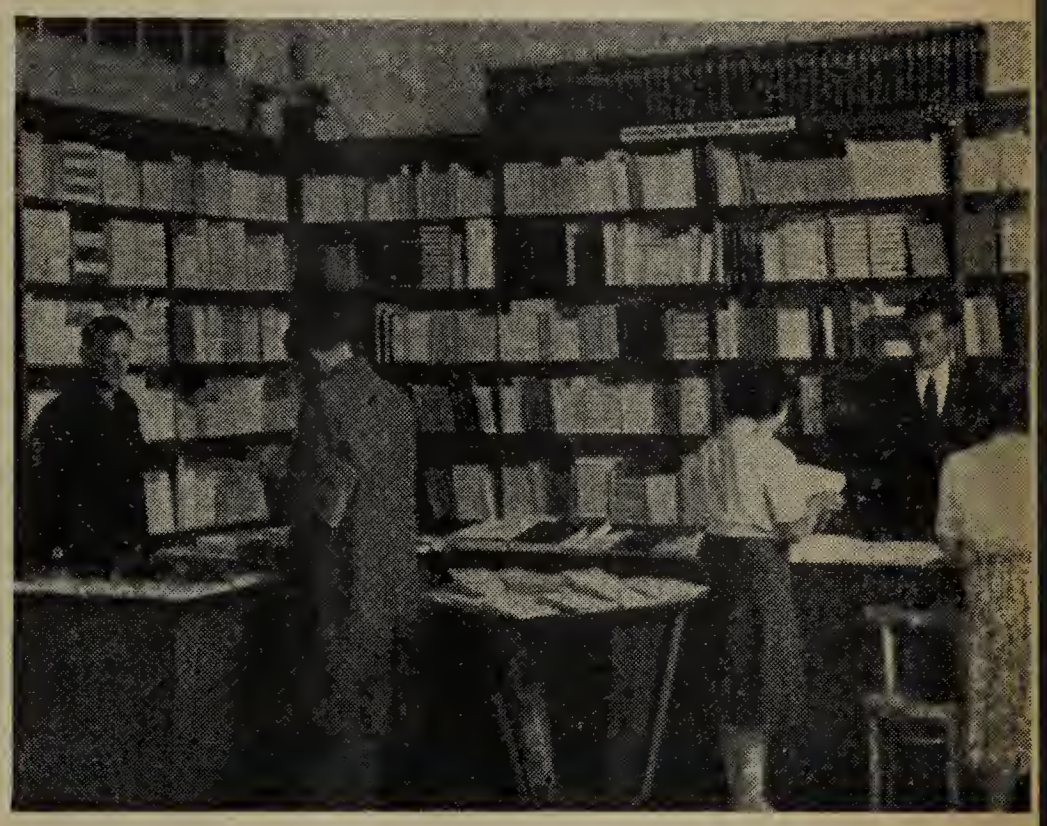
Social Welfare

TRADE union bodies, through their social commissions, play the leading role in organising social welfare, one of the main achievements of Polish workers. The following figures give an idea of its extent: in Poland social welfare covers 5,470,000 workers and 6,570,000 dependents, and 620,000 pensioners. The total expenditure for social maintenance will amount in 1951 to six thousand million zlotys. In the factories there are insurance delegates and social committees, assisting the workers and organising summer camps and kindergartens for hundreds of thousands of children.

There is also a developed organisation of workers' holidays, which did not exist at all under capitalism. These are controlled exclusively by the trade unions. The range of these measures is considerable: this year more than half a million workers spent their holidays in 1,028 rest homes paying only a small fee; by 1955 this number will have risen to one million. There is a great variety of forms of rest for the workers: rest-cures in sanatoria, rest for mother and child, preventive rest and holidays abroad. Good food and comfortable premises (the rest homes are situated in the most beautiful resorts, in palaces, etc.)—all these facts are proof of the great attention paid to the workers by the People's State.

A very important function of the Polish unions is the provision of healthy and hygienic working conditions. This task is the responsibility of trade union commissions for labour protection as well as of the 175,000 elected labour inspectors. The Trade Unions make certain that the large sums allotted by the State for improving safety and hygiene at work are properly used. The six-year plan foresees investments of 1,200 million zlotys for this purpose.

Another form of State and trade union concern for the health of the working people is the extension of legislation on paid holidays which are granted to manual workers after one year of work at the rate of 12 working days, increasing to one month after ten years of work. Special leave is granted for exceptional occasions such as the birth of a child, weddings, etc., and for examinations; pregnant women get 12 weeks' leave; there are also special holidays for miners working underground and many other privileges unknown in capitalist countries. Besides the normal holidays the trade unions also organise leisure for workers on Sundays and holidays, financing it from union funds, and plan large excursions in which millions of workers take part every year.



A foreman gives advice to apprentices in a State Optical Factory.

The Teachers' Federation possesses 258 libraries with nearly 250,000 books at the disposal of the workers.

While their parents are at work, the children stay in the crèche under the watchful eye of qualified nurses.

The Trade Unions play a great role in improving the housing conditions of the workers. They control the funds allotted by the State for repairing workers' flats and for building new houses.

Workers on holiday in the magnificent winter resort of Zakopane.

Trade Unions Promote Cultural Activities

IN our social system care of the welfare of the workers so as to ensure for them the best possible living conditions is linked with the effort to improve the cultural level of the working people. From the first day of their existence, after the war, the Polish trade unions made a special effort to abolish illiteracy and to promote educational and cultural work. The unions engage in extensive cultural activity in Red Corners (small libraries with books and periodicals), clubs, houses of culture, amateur art groups and in self-study circles.

The mass character of these activities is shown by the fact that the unions have 9,000 Red Corners and factory clubs and 120 houses of culture. They organise thousands of courses in foreign languages, radio study classes for university lectures, amateur art groups and other collective activities totalling 8,700 groups. A great success in this sphere of activity was the campaign for the complete elimination of illiteracy which was brought to a successful conclusion this year. In the field of amateur art groups, great results have been attained in propagating Polish national culture and the progressive achievements of other nations. In this connection, it should be mentioned that many gifted artists, especially in poetry and drama, have risen from the working class who can take pride in their excellent achievements.

In addition to these cultural and educational activities which are carried through and financed by the unions, the workers also greatly benefit from the help given by State Cultural Institutions. Workers belonging to cultural groups have free access to museums and exhibitions and receive tickets at reduced prices for cinemas and theatres; talented amateurs have the opportunity of developing their abilities in dramatic schools and also receive grants during their studies.

The unions also pay great attention to and allocate

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In the New Poland, the workers can indulge in such sports as fencing, formerly inaccessible to them.

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On the terrace of the Krynica Sanatorium.

large sums for sport and physical culture. The range of these activities was seen this year at the first Polish trade union festival (Spartakiade) in which more than 250,000 athletes from the whole country took part.

In contrast to the continually deteriorating conditions of the workers in the capitalist countries, where they live under the permanent threat of misery and unemployment and suffer from the worst exploitation, the Polish working class has before it the bright prospects opened up by the Six-year Plan. The increase in the number of workers by more than 100 per cent compared with 1938, the improvement of living standards by 60 per cent and of real wages by 40 per cent, as well as the great extent of the housing and cultural building activity—cinemas, theatres, libraries, department stores and community feeding centres—this is the perspective opened up by the Six-year Plan which is due to end in 1955.

The Polish worker knows that in building modern giant factories, in participating in competition at work, in carrying out creative work for peaceful construction, in ensuring the transformation of his country into a highly industrialised and cultivated land, he is strengthening the position of our State within the camp of the defenders of peace and ensuring a happy and peaceful future for himself and for his children.

SPOTLIGHT

• on World Labour

HYSTERIA IN THE USA.

W. P. KENNEDY, president of the 210,000 member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (independent), revealed to the recent C.I.O. convention a mysterious plot on his life, "or even worse," by so-called Communist plotters behind the "iron curtain." And what was this mysterious and horrible plot? He received an invitation from the Rumanian Trades Unions of Transport and Communications to spend his holidays in Rumania at one of the trade union sanatoria or rest homes in order to "strengthen the fraternal bonds between American and Rumanian railwaymen"!

This simple invitation, similar to those which have been received, *and accepted,* by hundreds of trade unionists from the West to visit the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies, Kennedy interpreted as an attempt to lure him behind the "iron curtain." "Perhaps in some way these evil powers hoped to influence me—with torture or drugs or hypnosis," so that they could "take me over and control my thoughts and actions. Just possible that, through me and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Communists hoped to sabotage, paralyze, control, even destroy, our entire transportation system!"

But this is not all. The night before the invitation arrived Kennedy was awakened at 2 a.m. by the ringing of his telephone. A person with a "European accent" warned him not to accept any invitations to speak behind the "iron curtain."

Naturally Kennedy does not know the identity of his "saviour" from a fate worse than death, but he speculates in his speech that it must be a member of a huge "labour underground army." One could suggest that a much more plausible explanation might be forthcoming from the American F.B.I., were it willing to discuss the matter, for there is little doubt that the F.B.I. could have known of the invitation before it reached Kennedy. In any case the U.S. government prefers not to have American trade unionists visit the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies because such visits clearly reveal the falsity of current official propaganda about these countries. If this was a trap Kennedy fell for it hook, line and sinker.

Is this fantastic? Of course! Is this ridiculous? Of course it is!

There is, therefore, a strong temptation to dismiss this incident as the hysterical raving of a potential candidate for a straight-jacket, of a victim of an acute attack of Forrestalitis (James Forrestal, late U.S. Secretary of Defence, once woke in the night

and ran in his pyjamas out of his house screaming that the Red Army had landed and was attacking America). But such attacks of hysteria can become dangerous, for Kennedy concluded his address to the C.I.O. by calling for the organisation of an underground army of subversion and sabotage to infiltrate the countries where socialism is being built and to destroy them. "We will infiltrate those Communist-dominated countries, assault them, strike from the rear, the front and through the middle . . . Underground and above ground, in Communist-dominated countries and in free countries, by fair means and foul, let us organise our Labour Army."

Yes, such attacks of hysteria can become dangerous, and they *can also help to formulate the official policies of governments.* President Truman has recently signed a bill appropriating 100,000,000 dollars to finance infiltration, subversion and sabotage in the People's Democracies and in the U.S.S.R. in a futile attempt to destroy the efforts of their peoples to build a new socialist and democratic way of life.

Such a proposal is no less hysterical when it becomes official government policy, even though it be propounded by men who pose as reasonable and intelligent persons. Such incidents as these simply demonstrate the extent to which American policy of war preparation and impoverishment of the whole world is degenerating into hysteria.

We are convinced that the masses of American workers will not subscribe either to the rantings of a Kennedy or to the viciousness of the U.S. policy of underwriting sabotage and subversion.

JOHN WOLFARD.

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A REACTIONARY LEADERSHIP LOSING ITS GRIP

JAPANESE workers watched proceedings at the Second National Convention of the All-Japan Communication Employees' Union attentively, this being the first national trade union convention to be held after the signing of the San Francisco 'Peace' Treaty. The A.J.C.E.U. is affiliated to Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions). a right wing U.S.-approved national centre.

The proceedings were also watched with close attention by a Mr. Wilson of the Labour Section, G.H.Q., Occupation Forces, who even went so far as to make a speech in which he told the delegates that trade unionists should stop their peace campaign. and thus fall into line with the desires of his department.

Also present were police and government officials who not only sat in on the Convention itself, but also on private committee meetings.

Vice-President Hase in his speech dwelt on the necessity of re-arming Japan and favoured the ratification of the 'peace' treaty by the Japanese Government.

Congress, however, adopted quite other policy resolutions by an overwhelming vote of 147 to 15. These were ;

1. *Opposition to the San Francisco Treaty, the U.S.-Japanese Security Pact and to the stationing of U.S. troops in Japan;*

2. *Against the remilitarisation of Japan and for an over-all peace treaty;*

3. *For the recognition of the Chinese Government as the representative of the Chinese people.*

With regard to economic demands, the Congress decided to fight for 14,000 yen per month basic wage plus a cost of living bonus and an adjustment of the job-grading system. In support of these demands local branches must always be ready to follow the lead given by union headquarters in such matters as refusing overtime and work stoppages.

A delegate from Fukuoka branch in South Japan made a notable speech in which he stated that one of their union leaders urged support for the separate peace treaty and for the pact permitting the stationing of foreign troops in Japan but that Japan could not live in Asia shut off from other Asian countries. He also said that in Fukuoka they constantly heard the roar of American planes overhead on their way to drop bombs on Korean territory and that their local branch meetings were often interrupted by the noise of these engines.

"And what is happening in Fukuoka?" he went on. "American soldiers and their pan-pan girls (prostitutes) are overcrowding the town and streets. Arable land is requisitioned for B-29 bombers. High piles of munitions can be seen at the docks. Lorries are used as military transports. Our insurance office is used as a military hospital.

"How can we help in our struggle for the future if we do not take action right now against the separate peace treaty which clears the way for turning Japan into a battlefield?

"Fight against the remilitarisation of Japan and for the conclusion of an overall peace treaty!"

The other communications union, the All-Japan Communication Workers' Union (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) and the communication workers' Unity Committee sent observers to the Convention when the A.J.C.E.U. refused to accept delegates. They were able to influence discussion considerably by daily distributing 1,000 information sheets both to the delegates and to the principal places of work.

MARY WOLFARD.

☆

NOTES ON THE AUSTRALIAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

THE Australian Council of Trade Unions representing nearly a million workers began its congress in Melbourne on 3rd September, 1951.

The developing progressive

movement of the workers in the factories, mines and offices and the growing unity of the working class greatly influenced the attitude of the Congress on many important questions, despite the fact that the right-wing leaders blatantly brought pressure to bear on Labor Party supporters to vote for affiliation to the I.C.F.T.U., a breakaway international dominated by American imperialism. This affiliation carried with a majority of about 50 votes.

The large industrial unions such as the Seamen, Waterside Workers, Miners, Ironworkers and the Railwaymen, opposed this affiliation, and those already affiliated to W.F.T.U. Trade Departments announced their intention of remaining so.

On all other important questions progressive rank and file members were able to force Congress to take a progressive stand. It unanimously called for a "No" vote in the Referendum seeking power to ban the Communist Party and militant trade union officials. This was, in the main, an expression of unity in the workshops, mines and offices—against the Government's anti-democratic plans, and largely contributed to Menzies' defeat.

Linked with this decision was the clear call by Congress to the workers of all lands to make determined efforts to enforce peace in the world and to call on the great powers to meet and plan for the abolition of war.

A further expression of the real desires for peace and for the protection of the national interests of our country is Congress's condemnation of the release of German and Japanese war criminals and its protest against the Japanese "peace" Treaty and the rearmament of that country.

Under the watchful eye of the United States' Industrial Attaché in the Public Gallery (who was openly congratulated by another American when the I.C.F.T.U. resolution was passed), the Congress overwhelmingly defeated the move of the right-wing to jettison the traditional policy of the Australian labor movement against conscription. Completely in line with the majority of other decisions, Congress emphatically declared against the conscription of Australian youth and its call-up for compulsory military training.

Many other resolutions bearing on the peace struggle were carried by Congress, such as resolutions against the industrial and political sections of the Crimes Act under which trade union leaders are being jailed, and the re-affirmation of the workers' right to strike.

The Menzies' Government and right-wing leaders expected Congress to approve the Executive's proposal to introduce incentive payments into industry, but it was overwhelmingly defeated.

In order to get through its resolution on the economic programme, the right-wing leadership was forced into making a demagogic condemnation of the "shortcomings of the capitalist mode of production."

The consideration given to the problems of the Aborigines showed the strengthening bonds of sympathy between the trade union movement and the Australian Native people.

The proposed increase in taxation to finance the Menzies' Government war policy was hostilely received by congress delegates and proposals were adopted which sought reduction in taxation and called on the working people to campaign strongly on this question.

Declarations against the amended Arbitration Act which permits state control over Union elections and is designed to interfere with the internal organisation of the trade union movement were also made.

Important resolutions against high prices, for improved social services, education, equal pay, long service leave, and sick leave, were adopted and constitute important points of policy around which *the workers can unite for struggle to improve the standard of living of the working class.*

Congress is over and the campaign of explanation among the workers to mobilise unity of action for the implementation of its better decisions must now be begun by the trade unions.

The most important lesson from this Congress is not the unfortunate reactionary stand taken on international affiliation but it is the tremendous area over which progressive united action can be obtained. The resolutions on peace, on the Japanese Peace Treaty, on conscription, on the Crimes Act, on incentive payments, on military expenditure, on the Arbitration Act, on the standard of living, are all resolutions around which the whole working class can unite irrespective of political beliefs. It is up to progressive trade union leaders and rank and filers to extend and encourage this unity which already embraces almost a million workers represented at Congress. United, the Australian working class can bring to a stop the whole of Menzies' war plans and the concomitant attack on civil liberties and the standard of living of all the Australian people. Unity is clearly the key to the future.

J. R. Hughes, Secretary,
Clerks Union, New South Wales.

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SPOTLIGHT ON THE TWO U.S.A.'S

IN Hyden, Kentucky, U.S.A., shortly after midnight one morning the entire glass front of Mr. Curt Duff's store was shattered by gunfire and considerable damage done to the goods in the shop.

It was designed as a salutary warning to all who object to 'freedom' as expounded by the bosses of private enterprise. For Mr. Curt Duff was concerned with the freeing of five organisers of the powerful United Mine Workers, who had attempted to organise non-union coal mines in Clay and Leslie counties, an attempt which met with the violent opposition of the mine owners.

The attack on the store took place a week after the United Mine Workers had filed a suit for 2 million dollars damages, naming 162 defendants including coal-

mine bosses and county police officials. The indictment accused the 162 of interfering with the union's right to organise and stated that members of the union had been 'intimidated, assaulted, trailed, threatened and forced to leave Clay and Leslie Counties in fear of their lives.'

It also cited the fact that violent action by the strong-arm hoodlums of the mine bosses in collusion with the county police officials also extended to citizens of Clay and Leslie counties, who were friendly and sympathetic to the union. For they too had been intimidated and terrorised and the gunplay action taken against Mr. Duff, a former Sheriff of Leslie county, was a reprisal against his jury activities.

He headed the jury that acquitted Mr. Farmer Napier and four other organisers of the United Mine Workers, charged with trespass in carrying out their work of organising the miners. He was also foreman of the special grand jury that indicted three men charged with assaulting Mr. Napier. They were three county police officials who beat up Napier after arresting him in June 1951. Thus Mr. Curt Duff had incurred the hatred and fury of the mine owners.

These same coal owners and the other moguls of industry who are the paymasters of trigger-happy hoodlums, are the 'brains' behind the policies of the American Government. They have nothing in common with the Duffs and Napiers or the millions of workers who are determined to make America fit for the ordinary American people to live in—that America which refuses to bow to their will and has no aggressive designs on the rest of the world, the America that desires most of all to live in peace with the peoples of all lands without let or hindrance to their way of life.

GWYN WILLIAMS.

☆

STARVATION IN INDIA

DISCUSSION on the Plantation Labour Bill recently took place in the Indian Parliament. This is a Bill to regulate to some extent conditions on the plantations where workers are at present almost entirely at the mercy of the plantation owners. The modesty with which the Bill tackles the problem is shown by the requirement that plantation owners must supply drinking water to the workers. There is

also a permissive clause stating that the individual State Governments *may* rule that employers are to provide educational facilities for workers' children and housing accommodation.

Nevertheless, these timid measures quite upset Dr. Monomoham Das, member for West Bengal, who said that the workers in the tea gardens in the country get an average daily wage of two to two and a half rupees (a rupee is worth about 1s. 6d. sterling or 21 U.S. cents), which although only a fraction of his own income, he seems to find more than generous. The main problem, thinks the learned Doctor, is their 'extravagant habits.'

While the Doctor is living in comparative ease some of his compatriots are starving and, because life offers them nothing but death, are killing their children and themselves to avoid the too great sorrow of watching their own flesh slowly sink and die.

This is what two judges had to say at the hearing of an appeal against a sentence of transportation for life for a man who had killed his two children and then attempted to kill himself:

"This is a most distressing case, reflecting not only shortage of food but acute poverty and persons literally dying of starvation. Only last week we had two cases before us of appellants not in dissimilar circumstances killing their children and attempting to commit suicide. When a father or mother sees children starving and are unable to do anything to alleviate their pangs, they can scarcely be blamed for being driven to these desperate steps. It is imperative that such cases as these should not recur with the frequency with which they have been doing and that relief centres should be opened throughout."

MARY WOLFARD.

READERS' FORUM

We publish below two letters received by the W.F.T.U. The first is from a Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union and describes the struggles of the plantation workers of Ceylon against exploitation. The second letter, dated October 29, 1951, is from the Canadian District No. 10 of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada. This letter requests that European workers be informed of conditions in the Canadian fur and leather industry.

Letter from the Galle Plantation Workers' Union in Ceylon

OUR district has a population of 500,000. Of these, most are plantation workers or agricultural workers. Our union has members throughout the district, a range of about 40 miles from Head Office at Galle, which is 72 miles south of Colombo, capital of Ceylon. Our membership in the district is about one tenth of the whole membership of C.T.U.F., though our influence is more. Full paid up membership is about one fifth of our influence over plantation workers. Our Union is the biggest. There are other unions confined to one or two places or estates. We have members in almost all the big plantations, of which 70 per cent are owned by English companies.

One of our strongest estate committees is in Talgaswela Estate situated about 30 miles from Galle. This estate is owned by Talgaswela Tea Company of Ceylon Limited, founded 1888, European owned mainly. Authorised 40,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 10/- each. Issued 35,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 10/- each fully paid, i.e. Rs. 350,000. Acreage 2055 acres in tea and rubber (1000 rubber and 900 tea and 100 paddy fields, swamps, etc.) Dividends 1914 to 1931 (inclusive)—55, 75, 60, 50, 50, 50, 10, 12½, 25, 40, 40, 100, 95, 45, 40, 30, 10, 50 per cent. There was no income tax in Ceylon up to 1932. During the last 20 years the total dividends have exceeded 1000 per cent less income tax. Crops in 1932—Tea 310,139 lbs, Rubber 417,240 lbs. I think this company will declare a 100 per cent dividend for 1950 and 1951.

Our union committee in this Estate is very strong. We had successful strikes here. Estate workers of this Estate are of 3 units—1) Resident Tamil immigrant workers; 2) Resident Sinhalese workers; 3) non-resident village Sinhalese workers, who work in paddy fields during the harvesting and sowing seasons. The management tries to divide these workers by vicious propaganda. The villages round about are poverty stricken. Over 50 per cent are landless in these villages. They have no grazing lands for their cattle. These villages were famous for their cattle breeding and buffaloes. A river runs through these villages. As the forests are cleared these areas are subjected to floods. Peasants suffer from floods during rainy seasons and there is not enough water for paddy during the dry months. This estate has a huge tank on a hillock. The management does not allow this water to be used on these paddy lands. Instead it is turned in to the estate factory and is allowed to run waste. The Government is indifferent to the representations villagers have made requesting the Government to acquire this tank and its bed. According to an undertaking given by the United National Party premier, he is bound to protect British property in Ceylon. Hence the indifference. The land is leased from the Government for a period of 99 years.

Another interesting thing happened in this district. A European owned Estate named Talangaha is on land leased out from the Government. The lease expired in 1949. The villagers round about petitioned the Government requesting not to renew the lease. But the Government in 1950 renewed the lease. And infuriated villagers want to make this an election issue in the district when general elections will be held in early 1952. The reason the Minister for Agriculture, the premier's son, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, gave was that national wealth of Ceylon will be affected if the lease is not renewed. The production will go down if the estate is worked on a co-operative basis. Here again the people know the real reason for renewing the lease is the agreement his father the Premier, Mr. D. S. Senanayake has signed with the U.K.

Yours fraternally,

(signed) M. D. MYINAYAKA, President.

Letter from Canadian District 10, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union

I BRING you brotherly greetings from the 4th Annual Convention of Canadian District 10 of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the U.S.A. and Canada, and wish at the same time to acquaint you with the situation facing the Canadian fur worker, in which you may be able to render some assistance.

Our industry among others has been hard hit by a Government policy which places guns before butter. Increased excise taxes, curtailment of bank credit, and prohibitive restrictions on consumers, credit buying, have created havoc in the fur industry, to the point where half our workers are idle, or working short time.

The fur dressing and dyeing industry, for example, is operating at half capacity or less.

Unless our efforts to change government policy are successful, if the industry is to be considered as being "non essential," and thus squeezed almost out of existence, then there is no future in it for the worker, and especially for the many fur workers who continue to arrive from European countries.

It is in this connection the European fur workers should be warned.

I have before me a letter from one European consul advising one of his nationals that he can quite easily get a job in Canada at 100 dollars per week. I interviewed a worker from Germany three days ago, who informed me he had come on the advice of the Canadian consul. Advice is to the effect the practice is widespread, with the result that our officers are at times besieged by newly arrived European workers for whom there are no jobs.

It is my hope that W.F.T.U. publications will give some publicity to this matter in the European publications, also through your good offices, that the trade publications, especially the trade union papers, may sound an alarm.

It is indeed scandalous that European workers are encouraged in giving up jobs and homes to come here, only to learn that there is no place in the industries in which many of them have spent the better part of their lives.

You can be sure that our union is taking this matter up with the proper Canadian authorities. I hope you will find the means of passing the information along to the right quarters, or inform us as to how best we can contact the trade unions in these countries.

Hoping for your kind co-operation, and with warm fraternal greetings,

Yours,

(Signed) ROBERT HADDOW, President.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.A.

Spill the Beans

According to the "Herald Tribune," "51 persons with Chinese names—many of them living in this country—all but cornered the soya bean market just before the Korean war. . . . The Chinese cleared an estimated £30,000,000 on a sharp rise in soya bean prices." This news item appeared on August 16. Senator McMahon had suggested that this operation had been handled by Chinese Nationalists (who operate in America as well as in Formosa) and had pressed Mr. Acheson in vain for details. I can understand the Senator's anxiety. Clearly, the operation was highly organised, since more than fifty names were known to the U.S. authorities, and it was on a very large scale, because so great a profit can be made only on an enormous capital stake. But the interesting question is why a group of Chinese Nationalists should suddenly speculate in soya beans before the Korean war began. The trend in soya bean prices had been steadily downwards, and the trend was unlikely to be reversed unless Far East trade was abruptly disrupted by war. Did these Chinese Nationalists work purely on a hunch? If they did, they had amazing gambler's courage and astonishing luck. Or did they know some sort of conflict would start in the middle of 1950? The issue seems important enough to me to warrant a thorough enquiry. Yet very little has been heard of the investigation of the China Lobby which Mr. Acheson promised at the time of the MacArthur hearings.

"New Statesman and Nation," 3.9.51.

NEW ZEALAND

Rebuild T.U. Unity!

One thing revealed plainly by the waterfront dispute was the inability and indeed, undesirability of the Trade Union Congress building itself into a permanent alternative national trade union centre in opposition to the Federation of Labour. Reactionary as is the present leadership of the Federation of Labour, there is room for only one national federation of unions. The aim of militant workers must be to rebuild trade union unity in New Zealand. It must be rebuilt around a progressive and militant policy.

The rôle of the Trade Union Congress must be not as a rival to the Federation of Labour, but as the organiser of a reunited and progressive trade union movement.

Any course other than this will only play into the hands of the Holland Government with its policy of fragmentation, breaking up of the trade union movement. The Holland Government and its backers find the Federation of Labour, under its present leadership, a very convenient tool and are glad to see the Federation bereft of its most militant sections. The aim of progressives must be to build progressive policy within the Federation. To accomplish this means work on the jobs, in the local and national trade unions and in the trades councils and in the labour representation committees and Labour Party branches.

The task before progressives is to build unity in struggle on the basis of the needs and aspirations of the workers. Trade unionists must be made conscious that the basic task before the working class to-day is the struggle for peace, the struggle for agreement between the Five Great Powers. The workers must understand that the success of the struggle against high prices and for trade union and civil liberties is linked inextricably with the success of the struggle to establish a lasting peace in the world. Trade unions must learn the intimate connection between economics, on the one hand, and national and international politics on the other.

Sid Scott in **"New Zealand Labour Review,"** November, 1951.

CHILE

They Want to Starve the People

The land monopoly exercised by the landowning oligarchy is preventing agriculture in Chile from fulfilling its basic rôle of providing food for the population and raw materials for industry.

The big landed proprietors have grabbed immense stretches of land and have only a very small part of it cultivated. The rest is abandoned, so that thousands of peasants are without work, and the country suffers a shortage of livestock and agricultural produce.

One of the many aspects of this criminal policy is the livestock question. Between 1931 and 1948 when the population of Chile was increasing and resulted in a greater dêmand for meat, the stock breeders reduced the national livestock production by 89,000 head of cattle. During the same period, the national production of sheep fell by 500,000 head.

Under the present regime of President M. Gonzales Videla, the consumption of beef per person has fallen from 26.6 kilograms to 24.3 kilograms, that is, a drop of 10 per cent.

Thus, the big landowners and cattle breeders are deliberately and knowingly reducing production, so that there will be less cattle available, with the result that the price of meat is forced up still further and they can speculate to their heart's content, realising huge profits by starving the Chilean people.

"Democracia" (Santiago de Chile), 18.10.51.

MEXICO

An Appeal for Unity

A very important appeal for unity in action by the Mexican working class has just been made by Vicente Lombardo Toledano at the National Congress of the General Union of Workers and Peasants.

The Mexican workers, whatever organisation they belong to, are going through a critical and difficult period. The working class movement finds itself practically paralysed by the fatal policy of the Ministry of Labour which has insisted on interfering in the internal life of the trade unions and placing in their leadership men who are, in reality, the official instruments for destroying the strength of the trade unions and the National Centres.

And that is not the whole picture. The activity of the workers' organisations has been transform-

ed into a slow and cumbersome bureaucracy to such an extent that at the very time Lombardo Toledano drew attention to this fact, the trade union meetings had almost ceased altogether.

The right to strike is practically suspended, and guarantees for the workers do not exist any longer.

During this period, the workers are experiencing a daily reduction in their purchasing power and wages as a result of the constantly rising cost of living and the continual devaluation of our currency.

Faced with such a situation, the most important issue for the workers is to re-establish unity among themselves in order to fight for their immediate and specific demands.

The National Centre or trade union to which the workers may belong, matters little, their political opinions even less. What matters most at this present time is unity, which must be the fundamental aim of the entire working class.

None of the workers' demands can be satisfied, unless the working class movement decides on an effective unity of action. Without this unity they will obtain neither the restoration of the right to strike, nor the necessary guarantees in the fight for wage increases, nor the independence of the trade unions from the public authorities.

On the other hand, the unity of action of the Mexican working class constitutes a patriotic aim, because it signifies a growth in the strength of the resistance against American imperialism, which is more intent than ever on dragging our people into line under their war banners, and imposing on us an economic policy which would prevent the industrialisation of our country, as was the case in other countries on the continent.

It is evident that the objectives outlined by Lombardo Toledano could not be reached in a single day. But it is already a decisive step to have them defined, and once more to have taken the initiative in the fight for a real Mexican working class movement instead of one like the present, which is to-day paralysed by the traitorous and venal leaders in the pay of the Ministry of Labour.

"El Popular" (Mexico City), 20.10.51.

INDIA

Report on Agricultural Labour Enquiry

The Ministry of Labour has been conducting an all-India inquiry into the conditions of agricultural workers in 813 villages in different States which have been selected on the basis of stratified random sampling.

The results of the survey show that in Vandalur 56 per cent. of the holdings were smaller than 2 acres, 33 per cent. between 2 and 5 acres, about 7 per cent. between 5 and 10 acres and only 4 per cent. were larger than 10 acres. Of the total of 362 families in the village, 54 representing nearly 15 per cent., had no land.

The rates of daily wages for casual agricultural workers were generally 12 annas in cash and 4 annas' worth of "kanji" (gruel) for men, and 6 annas in cash with "kanji" for women and children. The agricultural workers' families earned, on an average, an income of Rs.322.5 per annum, of which work in the fields fetched, on an average, Rs.117.3 or 55 per cent. of the total income. Other sources of income were mud-working, carting, and wood-splitting.

On an average, agricultural workers (men only) were employed for 200 days in the year. Agricultural work accounted for 133.7 days and other subsidiary occupations for the remaining 66.3 days. The average annual expenditure per agricultural worker's family was Rs.332.5 compared with an annual income of Rs.322.5. Approximately 28 per cent. of these families were in debt, the average debt per family being Rs.42.

Their diet was poor both in quantity and quality. The very high percentages (75) of the expenditure on food and low expenditure on other items denote a low standard of living.

"Capital" (Calcutta), 18.10.51.

HUNGARY

The New Law on Pensions

The decree of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic on pensions and workers' disability allowances is the most recent in a long series of protective measures for the workers, taken in conformity with the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The capitalist regime of the Horthy fascist period gave small pensions to only one or two favoured categories of workers such as civil servants and a small section of office workers. The great mass of workers received a dole of 10 or 15 pengös masquerading under the high-sounding name of "pension." Half the country's taxes were drawn from the workers and the immense sums obtained from this source were squandered. . . .

The new law establishes two kinds of pensions; one for disability and one for old age. A disability pension is granted to every worker whose inability to work has resulted from an accident at work or from industrial disease. Every worker has a right to this disability pension regardless of age. Of course, the law establishes differentials between various degrees of disability. The worker whose incapacity prevents him from following the trade he has learned and at which he has worked, will receive a pension of at least 30 per cent. of his annual income. The totally disabled worker, or a worker whose condition requires special care, will have the right to a pension of at least 45 to 54 per cent. of his earnings. The amount of the accident pension varies between 42 and 75 per cent. of the worker's wage. . . .

The new law provides for an old age pension for every male worker on reaching his 60th birthday, and for every female worker of 55, who has worked at least ten years. . . .

If a worker having reached retirement age enjoys good health and the ability to continue his work, he may carry on if he wishes to and at the end of a further 5-year period, he will benefit from a higher pension.

For miners and other underground workers the retirement age is five years lower for both sexes.

Under the capitalist regime one half of the contributions to social insurance were paid by the workers, the amount being deducted from their wages. In the People's Democratic State, all taxes and contributions for social insurance are a charge on the employer, that is to say, in most cases, the State itself. The salaries and wages of the workers are not subject to any form of deduction. The establishment of the right to a pension, and the amount of the pension, are decided by the workers themselves through Insurance Committees which work under the direction of the General Council of Trade Unions in all factories and enterprises, even the least important. . . .

The newspaper "Szabad Nep" writes as follows: "These are the results attained up to the present in the carrying out of our Five Year Plan, which have permitted us to make a considerable improvement in pensions and allowances, one of the important problems facing our working people. Thus, while the rights to social insurance which have been won by the struggles of the workers are being daily restricted in the capitalist countries, the countries which are building socialism are devoting more and more care to the workers in line with the leading example of social insurance in the Soviet Union. The new pension law also proves that our State, side by side with the improvement of its material resources, is giving more and more attention to raising the living standards of the working people."

"Bulletin Hongrois," 16.11.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

November 17

JAPAN. — Ten thousand Japanese workers demonstrate around the Parliament building against the ratification of the "peace treaty." They are members of the independent Japanese Government Employees' Trade Union and of various unions affiliated to the right-wing General Council of Japanese Labour Unions, thus showing that opposition to this treaty is by no means confined to the Left.

November 18

PAKISTAN.—Workers of the Copra Mill factory near Karachi call a meeting at which 10,000 persons take part to condemn the aggressive policy of British imperialism in the Middle East and to appeal to the Pakistani government to "take effective measures for the defence of Egypt."

November 20

JAPAN.—One hundred and twenty-five thousand workers of the Electrical Industry Trade Union strike for higher wages.

November 21

JAPAN.—More than 70,000 miners from the seven Hokkaido coal mines strike for higher wages. In the three months from July to September 1951, real wages fell 22 per cent.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Leaders of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions accept an offer of eleven shillings per week increase and an additional week's holiday with pay offered by the employers. A section of the leadership led by the Foundry workers decides to continue negotiations in keeping with the demand for wage increases of one pound per week. The decision to accept affects 3 million workers.

BERLIN.—The W.F.T.U. General Council ends its sessions after adopting important resolutions calling for unity, world peace, improved social security, and resolutions dealing with the problems of the various countries where the working class is leading national liberation movements to throw off the yoke of imperialism and to secure liberty and economic gains for the workers of their countries. The General Council addresses a further letter to the I.C.F.T.U. calling again for united action to support the economic demands of workers in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries whose standards of living are deteriorating under the impact of the arms programmes. It also suggests joint action to aid in securing a state treaty for Austria.

FRANCE. — A huge demonstration against the arrival in France of West German Chancellor Adenauer and against the remilitarisation of Germany is held in Paris.

— At the meeting of the National Commission on Collective Agreements, the C.G.T. representatives secure the adoption by the workers' representatives from all national trade union centres, as well as the National Union of Family Associations, of a resolution asking for the immediate determination of a new guaranteed minimum inter-occupational wage which takes into account the cost of living.

ITALY.—Ten thousand miners in the coal fields of Sulcis (Sardinia) unite in proclaiming a 48-hour strike following a refusal by the Societa Carbosarda to discuss the demanded 200 lira wage increase per day for piece-work. Most merchants close their shops in solidarity with the miners and throughout the area large demonstrations of miners with the participation of the unemployed and workers in other industries, take place.

November 22

AUSTRALIA.—The Federal Executive of the Australian Labour Party reaffirms its opposition to the rearmament of Japan which it states would be a constant menace to Australia.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Financial Secretary to the Treasury states that each worker in Britain pays 66 pounds a year for arms. The total cost of rearmament for the financial year 1951-52 is estimated at 1,295 million pounds.

November 23

UNITED STATES. — Nearly 700 Negro pupils walk out of a segregated Negro high school in Kingston, North Carolina, in a strike demanding school improvements and "equal rights" and facilities with students attending schools for white students.

GREAT BRITAIN.—One thousand delegates representing 150,000 members of the Union of Post Office Workers decide to make an immediate claim for an increase of 9—12 shillings a week for postmen according to age, 24 shillings for higher grade postmen, 25 shillings for male and female cleaners as well as an increase for van drivers.

FRANCE.—Office workers in C.G.T., Christian, Force Ouvrière, and Foremen's unions join in demonstrations in the Paris region for the maintenance of Saturday and Sunday as days of rest.

November 24

IRELAND.—A 12-hour strike by members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union for higher wages ends in Dublin with both sides agreeing to mediation.

ITALY.—Convened by the National Movement of Peace Partisans, the National Assembly for Disarmament and Peace opens in Rome. A large number of leaders who until now have remained outside the Movement of Peace Partisans —high army officers, university professors, technicians, high civil officials, industrialists, artists and intellectuals—sit side by side with the best-known leaders of the Peace Partisans.

— The Atlantic Council meets in Rome In the midst of widespread hostllity throughout Italy in whlch disapproval is manifested in hundreds of work stoppages, protest meetings, popular demonstrations, etc. The pollce are mobilised against the people who protest against the Atlantic Council meeting.

FRANCE.—The Paris Conference on Social Security is held. A permanent defence committee is set up and 20 delegates are elected to par ticipate in the National Conference on Social Security.

November 25

FRANCE.—More than 6,000 delegates participate in the Seine Region session for Peace. Industrialists, workers, office employees and Intellectuals, men and women, Socialists, Communists, Catholics, non-party persons, etc., take part and affirm their intention to fight energetically to safeguard peace.

November 26

SWITZERLAND. — The governing body of the International Labour Office authorises the Director-General of the I.L.O. to investlgate charges made by the Egyptian government that British military authorities are using slave labour in the Suez Canal Zone.

TRIESTE.—Metal workers of the Free Territory of Trieste participate, en masse, in the International Week of Action against super-exploitation, speed-up, overtime work, accidents, sickness and unemployment, which has been organised by the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries, Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.

U.S.S.R.—A meeting of trade union delegations from Italy, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Mexico, France and Poland with the trade unionists of Moscow takes place in the Palace of Culture of the J.V. Stalin automoblle plant. L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Soviet Trade Unions, in the name of the Soviet workers extends fraternal greetings and friendly wishes to the peoples of these countries in their struggle for improvements in their standard of living and for peace.

GREAT BRITAIN. — A protest against the creation of a military base in Cyprus signed by more than 600 Cypriots living in Brltain is delivered to the British Colonial Office. Organised by the Committee for Cyprus Affairs, they also protest against the exploiting of the economic plight of the Cypriot people in order to sow antagonism between neighbouring peoples by recruiting Cypriot labour for blacklegging in the Suez Canal Zone against the wishes of the Cypriot people.

— The Berkshire County Committee of the National Union of Agricultural Workers reject the T.U.C. promise of "amicable relations" with the Tory Government.

UNITED STATES.—Eighty Mexican farm workers trudge 100 miles on foot to complain to the Mexican Consul of Memphis, Tennessee, about primitive working conditions at a Tennessee plantation. They report they are housed in shacks, not given enough to eat, and poorly paid.

TURKEY. — An estimated 360,000 homeless children (40,000 in Istanbul alone), roam the streets of Turkish villages and cities, being forced to steal, beg and prostitute themselves in order to eat. The Turkish Government refuses to take any responsibility for these children and a meagre budget allocation of 750,000 Turkish pounds for child care was dropped in 1949 under pressure of the rearmament programme.

November 27

ITALY.—Imposing peace demonstrations take place throughout Italy. A dramatic demonstration is held in Rome against the Atlantic Council and against rearmament. Thousands of citizens, striking workers, office employees, students young people, breaking through the multiple armed pollce lines, demonstrate for two hours crying "Down with the Atlantic Council! Go home, stranger, long live Peace!" The Carabinieri and police charge the crowd, turning the city into a veritable battlefield. A group of progressive members of Parliament present at the demonstration are struck and arrested by the police.

U.S.S.R.—The third national Conference of the Peace Partisans opens in Moscow at the House of Trade Unions. "Trud" writes: "The Third Conference of Peace Partisans of the U.S.S.R. will be a glorious new page in the history of the struggle for peace in our country."

November 28

WESTERN GERMANY.—After the return from Paris of Chancellor Adenauer, the president of the West German Federation of Trade Unions, Christian Fette, announces that his organisation will support the Bonn remilitarisation policy, despite the opposition of an overwhelming majority of the members of the Trade Union Federation.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The German Peace Council calls for a genuine peace treaty instead of disgulsed occupation statutes.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Ministry of Labour Gazette reveals that the gap between wages and prices has widened by five points during the first ten months of 1951. During this period, wages have increased by more than 4.5 million pounds per week, yet the workers are worse off than in January, 1951.

November 29

TURKEY. — Parliament passes a law providing the death sentence for leaders of parties and organisations "whose programmes have their basis in the class' struggle" and for sentences of 8-15 years in prison for members of such organisations.

UNITED STATES.—More than 150 Negro and white men and women strikers continue their struggle after holding out for nearly four months against armed scabs, threats and outright attacks in the street. They are members of the United Packing House Workers of America (C.I.O.) and are on strike against the W. W. Pickle Company in Montgomery, Alabama. The strike leader said: "We are striking for our very lives. We had no vacation plan, no paid holidays, no anti-discrimination clause and the seniority and grievance procedure clauses were unsatisfactory."

— The Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee, which had requested the United Nations to intervene to save the 34 Barcelona strike leaders from execution by the Franco Government, reports that the president of the General Assembly has replied that the U.N. is carefully and favourably studying possibilities of intervention by the General Assembly.

November 30

AUSTRIA.—A number of Austrian factories have protested against the death sentences imposed on the Barcelona strike leaders by the Fascist Franco Government.

December 1

SWITZERLAND. — Pierre Nicole, member of the Workers' Party, is sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment for "insulting the Government" in articles which appeared in "La Voix Ouvrière," organ of the Swiss Workers' Party.

INDIA. — Further U.S. economic penetration is announced in the

form of an agreement between the Government of India and the U.S. Standard Vacuum Oil Company to construct an oil refinery near Bombay with an annual capacity of one million tons. Only one quarter of the capital will come from India and, in return for U.S. investment, the Indian Government promises "not to seek to acquire" the refinery for 25 years, during the first ten of which it will receive tariff protection.

December 2

HUNGARY.—The Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party publish a decree ending rationing.

FRANCE.—Twelve hundred women participate in a National Assembly for the Protection of Women Workers, organised by the C.G.T.

GREAT BRITAIN.—A mass meeting of the 7,000-strong National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' Union, covering the London docks, decides to ban all overtime. This is to support the lightermen and tugmen suspended for carrying out the decision of the Lightermen's, Tugmen's and Bargemen's Union to ban overtime. A wage dispute of the lightermen and tugmen has been referred to arbitration by the Minister of Labour.

December 3

GREAT BRITAIN.—Over 60 Labour Members of Parliament sign a motion demanding that no reduction in educational expenditures be made through raising the school entry age from five to six years of age or by lowering the school-leaving age from 15 to 14 years of age. The measure to reduce expenditures is proposed by the Tory Government as a contribution to the arms programme.

— At the same time Foreign Minister Eden declares in the House of Commons that the "rearmament programme must be so devised as not to imperil our standard of life or democratic freedoms."

December 4

ITALY.—More than 100,000 food workers participate in a national strike called by the food unions belonging to the C.G.I.L. and the Christian trade union centre. The unity struggle of the two national centres is to obtain a renewal of their national contract.

— To aid the victims of the recent floods, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. has put at the disposal of the C.G.I.L. 40 million lire. In addition, the Central Council of Soviet Co-operatives has made a gift of ten million lire and twenty tractors with ploughs to the National Association of Italian Co-operatives, and the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Women has offered to the Union of Italian Women a gift of ten million lire. Besides these gifts of money, these Soviet organisations have sent to the Italian organisations mentioned 5,000 tons of flour, 250 tons of sugar, 200 tons of semolina, 1,000 tons of seed grains, and 100,000 tons of condensed milk.

— The W.F.T.U. has sent to the C.G.I.L. a gift of five million French francs to aid the flood victims.

December 5

ITALY. — Ten thousand sulphur miners in Sicily who have long been demanding higher wages, jobs for the unemployed and the establishment of wage differentials go on a 48-hour strike. The strike has been preceded by many meetings of workers throughout the island. The workers have opposed the unilateral contract signed by the Christian Trade Union and all the sulphur miners have reaffirmed their decision not to end the struggle before new agreements are signed.

— Workers in paper factories throughout Italy are struggling to obtain the reopening of their work contract. A 24-hour strike, which has been preceded by two similar strikes in July and October, is called to force the paper manufacturers to accept their demands.

CORRECTION

Readers are asked to correct the transfer of captions which appeared in issue No. 23. The caption on page 4 and the bottom one on page 7 should be interchanged.

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In this struggle, WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT *will continue to play its rôle as the fighting organ of the trade union movement of all lands and of all those who fight for freedom, independence and peace, organising and uniting all tendencies within the working-class around a progressive trade union policy which will lead to our common victory over the forces of reaction.*

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